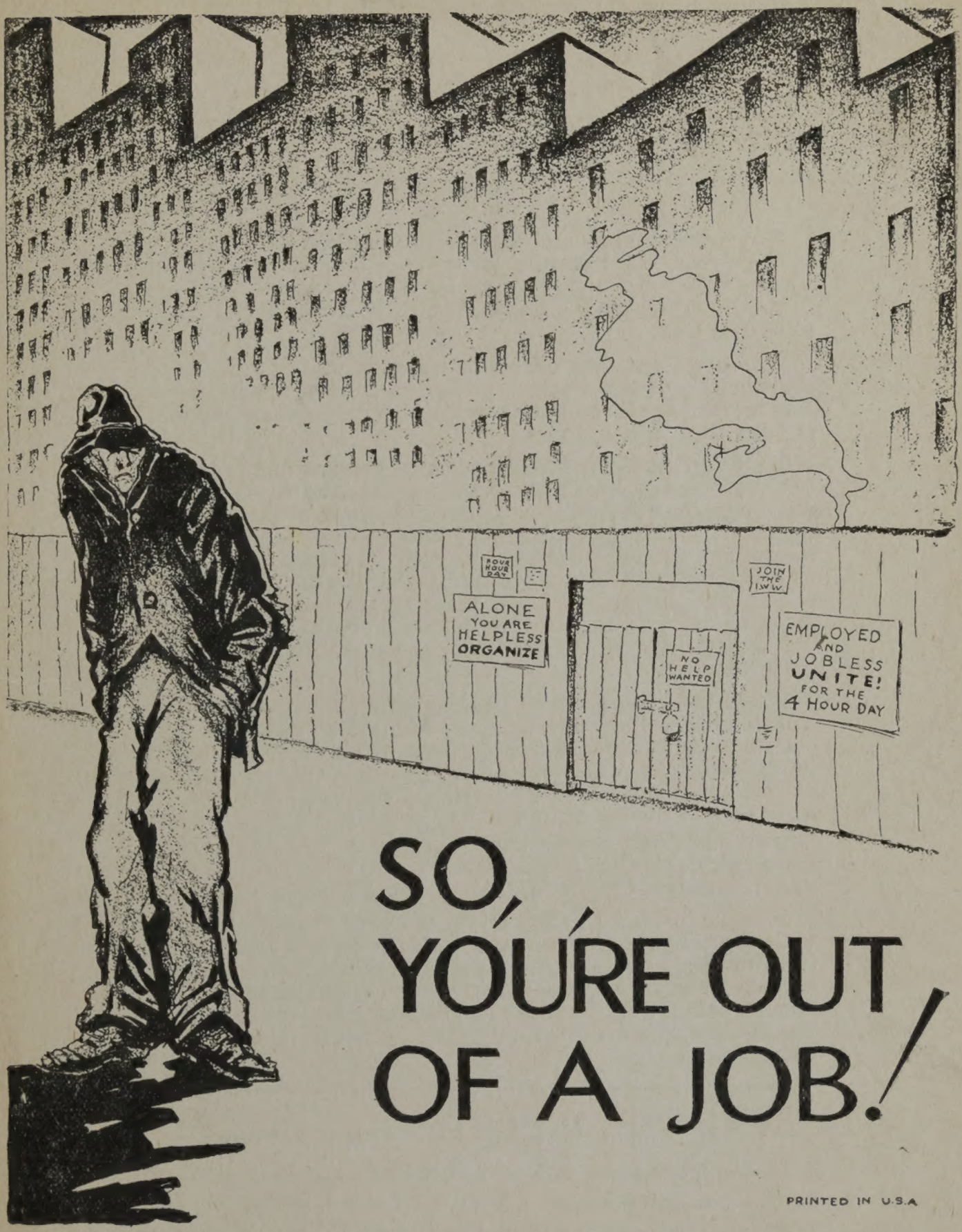


SO, YOU'RE OUT OF A JOB!

PRINTED IN U.S.A

Wake up!

16,000,000 workers are unemployed because they did nothing about it.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

READ THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

A Labor Newspaper Advocating Clean-cut Revolutionary Industrial Unionism. $2 a year, $1 for 6 months, 50c for 16-week trial subscription. Canada and Foreign, $2.50 a year. Address, Industrial Worker, 555 W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.

(This pamphlet published April, 1933)

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

So You're Out of a Job!

While you were working, in years past, you took everything for granted. You called it "your job", and tried to kid yourself into believing that you could hang on to it—or a better one—as long as you lived. You made plans and dreamed dreams. Perhaps you even started paying off on a little home of your own. Things began to look pretty rosy and you didn't want anybody to tell you that the boss wasn't a fine fellow and that this wasn't the finest country in the world.

Now all that is a thing of the past. There are no more paydays. You lost not only your job but the hope of a job. And perhaps the real estate or tax vultures swooped down on the little home and you had to break up the family and go to live with relatives or friends. When you were up in the bucks the newspapers and politicians used to slap you on the back and call you a "rugged individualist". Not knowing any better you would swell out your chest and consider it a compliment. That was when you were coming home regularly with a pay envelope. Now they call you a beggar and a bum. And they make you like it.

Just at present you are like a man struggling in a nightmare. Where previously you were paying your way and getting by, you are now face to face with privation and humiliation of all sorts. The depression is no respecter of persons. This time it is YOU, and not the other fellow, who is getting it in the neck. You are no longer a "rugged individualist"; you are one of the gang—one of the big army of fifteen or sixteen million other willing and capable workers who are being deprived of the opportunity to make a living.

Heretofore you have trusted to brass-check editors theorists and political wichdoctors to do your thinking for you. And just look what happened! You, and millions like you are out of work and up against it and the crowd you trusted have been able to do nothing but give you one bum steer after another.

Being out of a job is the most horrible and inescapable reality in the world. Upon your ability to THINK and ACT for yourself, in keeping with your CLASS INTERESTS, depends whether or not you sink or swim. In either case no one can do anything for you but yourself.

Why Jobs are Scarce

Lots of times, judging from what you read in the papers, you would think that unemployment on a large scale was unknown before the crash of 1929. This might lead you to believe that as soon as the depression is over there will be no more workers without jobs. But look at the facts! During the most 'prosperous' years before the crash there were plenty of unemployed. Prior to 1910 the standing army of jobless numbered about one million. By 1928 it had increased to about three and one half million. Since that time it has increased continually until it is now admitted that one worker out of every three in the country is out of a job. The way things are going it won't be long until only one out of two will be employed. Even twelve million men is a huge number of men to be thrown out on the streets without any means of making a living. The worst of it is that only about half of these could find work even if we suddenly returned to a condition of 'prosperity.' The rest, according to best scientific opinion, will have been permanently displaced by improved machinery. So you can see what your chances are to hold a steady job again as long as you live.

And what do they offer you in place of a job? First of all charity from relief stations, emergency relief work under coolie conditions and soup lines. This they are glad to do because they are afraid of what twelve or fourteen million desperate men could do the country if they were infuriated beyond endurance by hunger. But relief stations, soup lines, etc., cannot go on forever. Sooner or later the taxpayer's money will run out. Then what? As you can readily see charity is not a permanent cure for the problem of unemployment. And the same thing

applies to the 'share the work' plan. Sharing each others work without any increase in pay simply forces the already underpaid man with a job to kick in with half his earnings to support the other fellow. It displaces one starving man with two who are half starved. It spreads, rather than cures, the contagion of poverty.

Even more foolish than this is the so-called 'back to the land' movement. To force, or try to force, the industrially trained population of the most highly industrialized nation in the world to go back to the 'sticks' and scab on the already starving farmers is a poor remedy indeed. It is like trying to turn back the pages of history from the twentieth century to the eighteenth. Such things just cannot be done and there is no good reason why they should be done. The advocacy of the 'buy American' plan and the return to the primitive method of barter are two additional examples of the helplessness of the employing class in the face of a situation which they can neither understand nor control. Unemployment insurance is an empty slogan.

Dividends vs. Wages

Each and every one of these fake remedies are efforts of the vested interests in the United States to evade financial and moral responsibility for the continuation of an outgrown social system, based upon the exploitation of labor, of which the employers are the sole beneficiaries. A glance at the follwing figures will show who has paid for and who has profited from the terrible conditions of the last few years:

(Figures are for the third quarters of the years indicated)

1926 . . . Dividends, $282,000,000. Interest paid on borrowed capital, $769,000,000. Wages, $2,700,000,000. Dividends plus interest, $1,051,000,000.

1928 . . . Dividends, $597,000,000. Interest, $911,000,000. Wages, $2,590,000,000. Dividends plus interest, $1,508.000,000.

1930 . . . Dividends, $1,041,000,000. Interest, $1,066,000,000. Wages, $1,306,000,000. Dividends plus interest, $2,080,000,000.

1932 . . . Dividends, $524,000,000. Interest, $1,118,000,000. Wages, $903,000,000. Dividends plus interest, $1,642,000,000.

If you want to find out why you are out of a job you must look to the modern labor displacing machine for an answer. A little study will prove that you are unempoyed because the new machinery, requiring only a few men to tend it, can turn out more goods in the same number of hours than the old style machine which required many men. It can turn them out faster, better and for much less cost. The findings of technocracy prove this fact beyond any question of doubt. A few of their figures will give you an idea of just what you are up against in this respect:

Machines Displace Workers

One man in today's automobile factory can produce as much as twelve men could produce in 1904.

One modern glass blowing machine, in a twenty-four-hour day sucks and blows more than a quarter of a million bottles.

An electric steam shovel picks up eighteen cubic yards every time its jaws bite into the ground, while a man with pick and shovel would do well to move but two cubic yards of dirt in a ten-hour day.

Magnetic cranes, belt conveyors, electric hoists and other forms of modern power equipment are capable of handling tons in less time than a man can handle pounds.

One man with a tractor-drill can sow an acre of ground in fifteen minutes. while it takes four and a quarter hours to seed the same area by hand.

A modern automatic baking machine can turn out as many loaves of bread in an hour as one hundred bakers using the old style French oven.

Only a couple of years ago 500 cigarettes a minute was high speed for a tobacco factory machine. Today they are capable of turning out as many as 2600 a minute.

One plant can turn out 10,000 auto chassis frames a day with only 208 men at work.

Comparisons of this sort are endless. Every worker can recall similar displacements which have taken place in his own industry.

Machinery—Friend or Foe of Man?

And this brings us to the most important part of the subject—the purpose for which this machinery should be used. There are two viewpoints. On the one side are those who claim that the socially necessary mines, mills, factories should be used to benefit the millions who depend upon them for life, and there are those who claim that these things should remain, as they are now, the property of a few men who use them simply for purposes of self-enrichment.

As far as we are concerned, as workingmen, there can be but one choice. As things stand now we do not have to be reminded of what has happened as a result of private ownership. We have been locked out of the industries by the millions. Only the employing class and their determination to make **price** instead of **use** the purpose of the production of goods, is to blame for what is happening. The owner of the machine, and not the machine itself, is the cause of our present world-wide misery. This parasite class stands between twelve or fourteen million workingpeople and their bread. If it were not for them the machine would be as great a blessing to the human race as it is now a curse. The working class therefore has no other course but to demand the abolition of private ownership.

The Revolutionary Four-Hour Day

On the subject of what is to be done to end the depression there is a remarkable agreement between class conscious workers and the real (not pseudo) scientists. In the fall of 1932 the Technocratic group in New York City, representing perhaps the most outstanding engineering genius of North America, came out with a proposal to end the depression which was as startling as it was simple,—THE FOUR-HOUR DAY, FOUR-DAY WEEK! So alarmed was the American ruling class at this obvious and self-evident remedy for unemployment that they immediately caused the expulsion of the Technocrats from Columbia University. Also they turned loose upon this fine body of

scientists a broadside of adverse publicity and ridicule from the Kept Press which was eagerly joined by the self-styled economists and philosophers of Socialist and Communist parties. This united attack on the Four-Hour Day by the employing class and their dogma-drugged allies among the "radical" politicians revealed clearly the cupidity and treachery of Labors enemies in both camps. It showed the exploiters and betrayers of the working class in their true colors and in a manner which will not soon be forgotten nor forgiven.

With the I. W. W. however the story was different. Two weeks before the Technocrats released their now famous declaration in favor of the four-hour day the I. W. W. in convention assembled had officially altered its Six-Hour Day program in favor of one advocating the FOUR-HOUR DAY, FOUR-DAY WEEK WITH NO WAGE CUTS as a means of putting the vast army of unemployed to work. This was a mere coincidence but it proves the scientific soundness of the I. W. W. position as compared with that of the so-called "revolutionary" politicians, whose high-sounding election campaign slogans made no mention at all of this practical and commensense method of ending the depression.

Unemployment, as it confronts the worker today, does not spring from local, seasonal or accidental causes; it is technological. This means that industrial evolution has reached a stage where machinery has been and is being installed to make human labor increasingly unnecessary. If one machine and one man, for instance, can do the work of ten men it stands to reason that nine men have been permanently displaced from industry. It stands to reason also that the logical solution of the problem is to SHORTEN THE HOURS OF LABOR to whatever extent is necessary to PUT ALL THE DISPLACED WORKERS BACK ON THE JOB,—and to put them back with NO DECREASE IN EARNING POWER. The I. W. W. claims that the FOUR-HOUR DAY, FOUR-DAY WEEK, WITH NO PAY CUTS is the ONLY procedure which can ever be expected to do away with the curse of

MACHINE-MADE unemployment. Furthermore the I. W. W. claims that this four-hour day program will not only abolish unemployment but that it will also abolish the CAUSE of unemployment which is the capitalist system itself.

Why Unemployment?

Try to look at it this way for a moment: Why should millions of willing and capable workers go hungry, cold shelterless and jobless in a land equipped with the finest factories and most perfect machinery which modern science and human ingenuity can devise? No one as yet has given any good reason why a situation like this should exist. It is absurd to try to explain such a thing away. It is an unanswerable FACT, and one which no amount of political "Faith Cure", "Cheer-up" taffy or philosophical horse-medicine can alter. Machinery brought on this depression and the problem is bound up inextricably with that of the machine. Ask yourself why it is that millions of us can be LOCKED OUT of the industries by a handful of employers who "own" the machinery. If you once get this idea into your head you will realize that our ONE PROBLEM is to get BACK INTO THE INDUSTRIES whether the so-called "owners" or their politicians, economists and other dupes and hirelings like it or not. Did it ever strike you that the employing class turned you out into the streets as if you were dogs for the simple reason that, like a bunch of racketeers, they use the machinery of production UPON WHICH WE ALL DEPEND for the purpose of enriching themselves instead of supplying human needs? Well, that is exactly what happened.

How Can Unemployed Workers Help?

If you have followed the foregoing carefully you may, at this point, pause and say, "Very well, I realize that, if anything is to be done for the workers they must do it themselves instead of trusting to politicians and fakirs, but where do I, as a member of the unemployed, fit into the picture?"

And that brings us to the most important point of all: As long as we workers are going to solve

our own problems without the direction or advice of the ambitious, would-be Stalins or MacDonalds of the American labor movement it means that we, AS WORKERS, will have to function through our own UNIONS instead of through POLITICAL PARTIES (both during the revolutionary period and afterward.) And so the whole question of what you are to do is summed up in the idea of the REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNION. Individually you are helpless to protest, fight or do anything worth while. Only through ORGANIZATION can you hope either to better your condition today or achieve emancipation from wage slavery tomorrow.

The mines, mills and factories are still where they were. The technicians, superintendents and workers are available to step in and resume operations. The money of the country has not disappeared into thin air. There is as much of it as there ever was—enough to fill everybody's pay envelope. Technocracy has shown that, under a sane industrial system we can earn the equivalent of $20,000 a year by working only FOUR HOURS a day! The only thing that keeps the unemployed on the streets is the fact that the workers now employed ARE WORKING TOO LONG HOURS. These workers should be won over to a GENERAL STRIKE for a shorter work day with full pay. The workers displaced from industry—the unemployed —should join in this strike and give it their full support. They should not only not scab on the employed BUT THEY SHOULD MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANYONE ELSE TO SCAB.

By establishing powerful and determined picket lines of this sort and CO-OPERATING instead of COMPETING with their fellow worker in the industries with the idea of establishing a UNIVERSAL FOUR-HOUR DAY, the unemployed are striking at the ROOT of unemployment. But, as you can see, you cannot do this alone. It will take the organized, combined efforts of the army of production, backed up by AGITATION and EDUCATION. That is why you should join the I. W. W.

and endeavor to make it the MOST POWERFUL LABOR UNION IN THE WORLD.

If you and your fellow workers want jobs go back to the places where the jobs are—TO THE INDUSTRIES. Go back organized, disciplined and determined to WIN AT ALL COSTS. Go back in irresistable numbers and DEMAND that the hours of labor be shortened to the extent that there is room for all workers in production.

No force on earth can withstand the SOLIDARITY OF LABOR!

Why Picket the Industries?

The I. W. W. was the first labor organization in America to realize the need for industrial tactics to meet the economic situation arising from the slump in industry. Early in the depression the General Secretary of the I. W. W. submitted the question of picketing the industries to the General Convention of the union. From that time to this few maters of strategy in the modern class struggle have been so widely discussed. It is a mistake however to infer that the I. W. W. plan is to have small groups of jobless workers walk up and down in front of the factories where they used to work. This would indeed be a foolish and ineffectual method of registering disapproval of such conditions.

The I. W. W. conceives of and advocates picketing the industries on a vast, nation-wide scale. Sixteen or seventeen millions of jobless men with their women and children could get anything they wanted by merely demanding it in unison. If they once started out to get the four-hour day they would succeed because pressure about the factory gates would make anything other than the four-hour day impossible. The I. W. W. believes that sooner or later this MUST be done if the human race is not to perish of starvation.

"But why go to the industries?" you may ask, "Why not go to the relief stations, the City Hall or the State or National Capitols to try to get what we want?"

Now, that is the very point. It all depends on what you WANT. If soup or a meager basket of

charity will satisfy you, then perhaps the relief station is, after all, the proper place. That is where such things are to be found—as long as they last. After having taken your jobs away from you the least the ruling class can do is to keep you from starving. At all events it is better to get relief than to go hungry. And you are as much entitled to relief as any one. But you are foolish not to ask for something more permanently beneficial than a few days rations.

"Where there is justice charity is unnecessary; where justice is denied, charity is an insult". And, in this case, anything less than a JOB is less than JUSTICE.

And so, if you insist on demonstrating in this manner, keep in mind that your chief purpose is not to demand a crust of bread but rather the ABOLITION of the SYSTEM which forces able-bodied men, willing workers to fill the role of BEGGARS.

Even demonstrating for bread is a lot better than doing nothing at all about it. The danger of such demonstrations is that workers are apt to expect too much from them and, after they are tamped up once or twice or dispersed with violence, they will become hopelessly discouraged and be unwilling to continue the fight. Then too, relief stations may some day go dry. What then? Surely, if the City Halls went broke and the relief stations ran short you could not expect very much from either of them, could you?

And that is why the I. W. W. says you should always keep yourselves prepared to "demonstrate" in irresistable numbers around the factory gates.

Permanent Employment—Not Charity

Let's look at the facts of the case for a moment. The thing that has happened to you is that you are out of work. The thing you want most of all is a job. Well, they are not putting out jobs for the likes of you at the City Hall or the relief station. The only place jobs can ever be found for people of our class is IN THE INDUSTRIES. Therefore, sooner or later, you will either have to go to the

industries DEMANDING that they make room for you by means of the FOUR-HOUR DAY—or you will remain on the streets.

The reason the I. W. W. seeks to direct your activities and the full current of your discontent in the direction of the industries is because it is obviously impossible for you and your loved ones to continue living on charity all the rest of your lives. Besides, in a country as richly endowed with machinery and resources as this country is, there is no good reason why you should. As a human being you are entitled to all the good things of life which machinery, resources and your labor are capable of producing. Any class of people that stands between you and your bread are USURPERS and PUBLIC ENEMIES. And you must deal with them accordingly.

"But I can't eat machinery or drink steam or electricity!" you may exclaim. And of course you are right. Such things can hardly be reckoned among articles of diet. Trying to use them in this manner would be like trying to live on the promises of politicians.

But don't forget this: While you cannot eat, drink or wear the mechanical equipment of the mine, mill or factory, you can hardly expect to get anything to eat, drink or wear without them. The machinery of modern production represents everything you MUST HAVE and CANNOT GET ALONG WITHOUT if you wish to continue living. These machines represent freedom from hunger, cold and insecurity. They represent for you, and the millions of unemployed like you, that which you want and need more than anything else in the world right now—a JOB!

Go Where Jobs Are

So, when you are through fooling around with relief stations and City Halls you will of necessity go back to the place where the jobs are—TO THE INDUSTRIES. And you will go back determined to see the thing through.

"But how can I get a job at the mill or factory when no men are needed?" you may enquire. This

is a question very easily answered. You and your fellow workers who have been kicked out of the industries by the industrial overlords of this country, will get back at the point of production by MAKING jobs for yourselves. You will, as a body, picket the factory gates for a workday short enough to re-absorb into industry every worker now unemployed! Anything less than this is less than justice.

Employed and Jobless, Unite!

Scientists who have gone deeply into the subject of unemployment have recently demonstrated that you, and millions like you, will never be given an opportunity to work in industry again as long as you live. Their figures have not yet been disproved. New inventions and new mechanical processes have increased the output so tremendously that, unless hours are shortened, your labor power will be PERMANENTLY DISPLACED. And this condition confronts the entire working class. Unless the workday is drastically cut there can be nothing else in store for the producing class save increasing misery and humiliation.

"But what if the workers now employed continue to be willing to work twelve, ten, eight or even six hours a day for the bosses—what if they refuse to take a stand for the four-hour day?" you may ask again. The answer is that very many workers now employed would be more than willing to take a stand for the four-hour day IF THEY THOUGHT THEY HAD A CHANCE TO WIN OUT. They would rather work four hours a day than twelve, ten, eight or even six. But most of them so disposed are afraid to do anything about it, particularly in hard times, for fear the hungry hordes of jobless would scab on them. And so the first thing to do is to convince them that the unemployed are ORGANIZED and DISCIPLINED to CO-OPERATE and not COMPETE with them. This is the thing to work for, and is the kind of propaganda campaign the unemployed should carry on. What else is more worth striving for?

The thing most employed workers are afraid of is YOU. They are afraid that because you are

hungry, you would be willing to take their jobs away from them by offering to work even longer hours and for even less pay. If you were to do this you would be the worst possible kind of scab. And in the long run you would spoil it for yourself and everybody else. And so the I. W. W. is seeking to organize the unemployed on the basis of SOLIDARITY with the employed workers—to enthuse them with a common purpose and give their struggle a common objective. The I. W. W. insists not only that you don't scab, but that you will make it impossible for anyone else to scab—even the ones on the job who are willing to work like mules to gain the favor of the bosses. This is the only way you can convince the fellow on the job that you mean business and are on the square.

The I. W. W. has started a nation-wide—a world-wide campaign for the four-hour day, four-day week with no wage cuts. This means the SIX-TEEN-HOUR WEEK. If a man has to work eight hours a day, his week's work is done in two days. Then the other fellow gets a chance. Figure it out for yourself. And there is to be no wage cut at all. There is no reason for wage cuts. The bankers in Wall Street, who own the industries, are better prepared in gold and reserves than ever before to pay Labor its just reward. These bankers have used the depression as an excuse to shake down the whole American people. They have foreclosed on everybody and now own the whole country. They'll pay, all right, if you are capable of developing enough organized economic power to MAKE them pay. Otherwise they will deal out more wage-cuts and longer hours for everybody!

So the thing to do is to tackle this problem in a BIG way. Join the I. W. W. and help AGITATE, EDUCATE and ORGANIZE for a GENERAL STRIKE for the FOUR-HOUR DAY. It should be clear to you by this time that there is not one problem for the employed and another for the unemployed. There is one joint problem which can only be solved by the joint efforts of both. It means that YOUR interests are bound up with the interests of the man on the job and that it is up to you

to convince him of your honesty and loyalty. It means that the millions now forced to work long hours for starvation pay and the other millions forced to starve on an insulting charity "dole" join hands in a common cause to abolish human exploitation and the devilish system which is built upon it.

Science and Labor—The New Epoch

The Technocrats have proved that, under sane management, every willing and capable worker can earn the equivalent of $20,000 a year working four hours a day or less. That's how rich in productive machinery and resourses the country is! This means that it is up to you and your jobless fellow workers to show your fellow workers on the job that you are willing to help them get theirs in order that you —all of you—can get yours.

Don't kid yourself that things are going to get better and that in a short time you will regain the full dinner pail and again enjoy the status of a well-fed slave. The depression is here to stay. The world is in the midst of the greatest crisis in history —the greatest revolution in history. The capitalist system is cracking up before our very eyes. The business man, banker and politician have made an awful mess of things and so, as a ruling class, they are about to be discarded as impediments to human progress. The social system of the New Era will most probably be industrial rather than political in character. The highly developed and very intricate nature of our modern mechanistic civilization demands the administration of experts instead of the continued mismanagement of politically minded incompetents. Either it will be possible for Science and Labor to step in and bring order out of chaos or the world will sink into the New Dark Ages.

Everything depends on these marvelous new machines. When you go back into the factories you must go back not only with the idea of using that machinery to save yourself and your class from starvation, but also with the firm determination to take over the whole works and to operate the industries under scientific management, in the interests of the human race instead of for the enrichment of a class of idle, arrogant and overfed parasites.

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MOTORS GAIN IN MARINE USE

(Correspondence of the Associated Press)

LONDON, Jan. 23. — Thirty-five per cent of all the marine tonnage now under construction in the world, according to Lloyd's statistics, is to be filled with internal combustion engines, as against steam.

POSLAM WORKS MAGIC FOR UGLY SKIN TROUBLES

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THE STORY OF THE SEA

CHAPTER I

FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN TIMES

LONG before the days of written history, man had launched forward into the unknown seas. Under the restlessness engendered by his environment he had formed his rough coracle on the shores of Albion, or pushed through the bays of warmer climes his crude craft of tree branches bound together with supple strings from tropical climbers. These humble craft were the forerunners of the great liners and the black, squat battle cruisers of our own day. Slowly, ever so slowly, man added to his conquests and gained in confidence and in horizon through the long vista of the years.

In the palm-decked Andamans and the straits of the Eastern Seas he built and outrigged his canoe to sail with its matting-sail before a steady blow. Primitive and barbarian peoples who lived near the sea or on the shores of great inland lakes all seem to have possessed some knowledge of primitive boat-building. The Indians who had settled upon the banks of the Amazon and its tributaries could have only reached their settlements through the use of the canoe. The African lakes and rivers show many and varied fashions in ancient ship-building. The Maori race—most heroic, moral and courteous of barbarians—had wandered across the Pacific Ocean in their huge war-canoes from Hawaii to Tonga and from thence to Ao-tea-roa—their beloved "Land of the Long White Cloud"—now known as New Zealand. The race that spread itself from the Great North Land to the straits of Magellan may have paddled its way from the Asiatic mainland to the Behring Straits. The need of food and the art of fishing, we believe, had much to do with the early contests with Mother Ocean. Man himself can trace his ancestry back to the protoplasm on the edge of the primeval sea, just in the same way as he can trace the art of boat-building from the barbarian hollowing the tree-trunk with a stone adze, to the modern yards at Clyde-bank, Belfast and Hog Island.

By the placid, sun-kissed waters of the Mediterranean the merchant princes of Phoenicia erected their yards. Driven by the breeze and propelled by sturdy oarsmen, their galleys visited the rising ports of Sicily, Carthage, Rome and Iberia. These

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FROM ANCIENT TO MODERN TIMES

LONG before the days of written history, man had launched forward into the unknown seas. Under the restlessness engendered by his environment he had formed his rough coracle on the shores of Albion, or pushed through the bays of warmer climes his crude craft of tree branches bound together with supple strings from tropical climbers. These humble craft were the forerunners of the great liners and the black, squat battle cruisers of our own day. Slowly, ever so slowly, man added to his conquests and gained in confidence and in horizon through the long vista of the years.

In the palm-decked Andamans and the straits of the Eastern Seas he built and outrigged his canoe to sail with its matting-sail before a steady blow. Primitive and barbarian peoples who lived near the sea or on the shores of great inland lakes all seem to have possessed some knowledge of primitive boat-building. The Indians who had settled upon the banks of the Amazon and its tributaries could have only reached their settlements through the use of the canoe. The African lakes and rivers show many and varied fashions in ancient ship-building. The Maori race—most heroic, moral and courteous of barbarians—had wandered across the Pacific Ocean in their huge war-canoes from Hawaii to Tonga and from thence to Ao-tea-roa—their beloved "Land of the Long White Cloud"—now known as New Zealand. The race that spread itself from the Great North Land to the straits of Magellan may have paddled its way from the Asiatic mainland to the Behring Straits. The need of food and the art of fishing, we believe, had much to do with the early contests with Mother Ocean. Man himself can trace his ancestry back to the protoplasm on the edge of the primeval sea, just in the same way as he can trace the art of boat-building from the barbarian hollowing the tree-trunk with a stone adze, to the modern yards at Clyde-bank, Belfast and Hog Island.

By the placid, sun-kissed waters of the Mediterranean the merchant princes of Phoenicia erected their yards. Driven by the breeze and propelled by sturdy oarsmen, their galleys visited the rising ports of Sicily, Carthage, Rome and Iberia. These

of Latin Europe. The galleons of Spain sailed the seas, and their golden cargoes attracted the pirates of Devonshire—now duly canonized in the Calendar of British Commercialism, and duly justified by its hand-maiden, the Church of England—to engage in their filibustering exploits. War was declared, and Philip of Spain sent his armada, after due propitiation of the Lord God, to rout out the buccaneers and establish the legality of the right of Spain to rule the waves. God, however, was upon the side of the "meek," and the Spanish fleet was attacked by fire near the French coast, and the remaining ships destroyed by a storm on the Irish coast. Great was the joy of the English at this victory, and the Lord God improved muchly in their opinion. The Almighty's good graces are said to have been due to His approval of the virgin life of the good queen of England and His corresponding disapproval of the lax moral habits of Phillip. This matter can well be left to a class of people whom the world honors by the name of historians, and who have ever been more concerned about a dead monarch than a living worker.

The Spaniards spread through Mexico, Peru and Chile. The Portuguese established themselves in the Brazils. Vasco de Gama rounded the Cape of Storms, and Magellan drove his ship between the land mass of South America and the grim island of Tierra del Fuego—"Land of Fire"—which today is divided between the republics of Chile and Argentine, and where some of the bravest hearts in the working class movement are eating out their lives in the rigor of Ushuaia, the Siberia of the Antarctic Seas. Tasman and Van Diemen left their names to immortality by the discoveries of the huge land masses in the Southern Ocean now known as Australia and New Zealand. The lust for power, for gold, for fame, was in the heart of every explorer, every seaman, every merchant. Mother Church needed a wide earthly kingdom, and souls for grace. The sturdy aggressiveness of the people of the sea dragged from earth's reluctant breast her many secrets. The world was found to be round; the "four corners of the earth" of the New Testament were discovered to be non-existent; and the invention of the compass made men as secure in the wilderness of waters as in their homes ashore. The blazing sun at noon and the silent stars at night were sign-posts to the mariner as clear as the Peak of Teide to the homebound windjammer.

Navigation was no longer a grope or a gamble, for charts were made and soundings taken. They were crude at first, but no cruder than the ships and no rougher than the men who sailed them. The Cinque ports of England and the Hanseatic seaside towns of Germany become *entrepots*. Cadiz, Genoa and Venice were the centers of vast commercial ramifications, and crowds of masts, and mariners of many tongues and varied costumes frequented the quaysides. The world was becoming smaller although ships were changing very little in their construction. The restless rovers of Western Europe, with profit in their hearts and bibles in their pockets, brought the races of Africa and the East beneath their iron sway. The mild-eyed Buddhist was taught the necessity

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were cumbersome and clumsy, and on occasion they retarded rather than helped the ship when she was taking advantage of a good wind. The propeller was invented, which speedily scrapped the paddles. Stronger and more efficient engines were built into the newer ships. In looking over old files of illustrated papers dating back to the forties, the reader can get some idea of the wonderful advances made. In those days the structures were incongruous and weird in appearance. A shaky-looking funnel can usually be found hidden, almost, in a mass of rigging. Capitalism was driving romance from the seas. The doldrums ceased to embarrass the homebound ships, the legend of the "Flying Dutchman" became only a story-book memory. The rousing chanties, "Bound for the Rio Grande" and "Off to Valparaiso" went out with the departure of the era of "wooden ships and iron men."

Someone conceived the idea that ships could be built of iron. The idea was laughed at as being a challenge to the laws of nature. But it came to be, and ship-building no longer was a woodworker's job. Then it was that the building of ships took a great leap forward, and the Tyne, the Wear and the Clyde—great coal and iron centers—became the homes of ship-making. Little by little the elaborate rigging disappeared from steam-driven ships, until there remains today—like the holeless buttons on your coat-sleeve—two lonely relics of masts, which carry the lamps and support the derricks in the working of cargo.

The Suez Canal opened a near way to the East, and vast ships traveled down the hottest waterway in the world, crossing that wonderful road, that we are told, was traversed by Moses, the Jewish agitator, and his fellow Israelites. Great ports, with greasy streets, strange smells and ragged workers, arose to meet the tremendous development in marine transport. The Western Ocean became a highway, and the Canaries and Fernando Noronha the post houses in a long water-road to the River Plate, where the dreaded "pampero howls and makes old seamen whiten and wish for the open sea." Huge leviathans were there with red throbbing hearts tended by sweating men from Scotland Road and rice-fed Lascers from Calcutta; grimy, rusty, weather-beaten tramp steamers with ten nationalities aboard, with rotten food and big insurance; a rime of salt on the funnel from the heavy seas, and a Plimsoll line that cries to High Heaven.

Ships, ships, ships, everywhere! Down the Clyde and the Tyne, over at Hog Island and Nagasaki, the never-ending clanging of a million riveters. Unsightly frames swarming with human ants growing into ugly solidity! Luxurious liners with palatial state-rooms for professional idlers and titled bums; tramps for the Home-Calcutta-Westcoast-Home trade; tugs for the ports; vicious torpedo craft and battle-cruisers. Here and there in the ports, a Norwegian full rigged ship or a Puget Sound timber schooner: the remaining relics of the day before Steam, Oil, Diesel Engines and International Canals!

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CHAPTER II

THE EXPANSION OF THE SHIPPING INDUSTRY COMMUNISM TO SLAVERY

THE shipping industry as I pointed out earlier in this work commenced in very early times. Progress and improvement were very slow. Over long periods they were almost imperceptible, like the forward motion of a barque in the doldrums, with a very tiny current beneath her. The earliest crews were free savages, possibly bound on fishing and hunting expeditions. Canoes were tribal property, for while the men spent long months and sometimes years in the fashioning and hollowing of their craft they were fed by other members of the tribe. The Maoris in their long and dangerous voyage across the Pacific to the "Land of the Long White Cloud" were tribal communists. The paddles were used by free men. The legendary places where these huge canoes landed on the North Island are sacred in Maori mythology. The Norsemen who swept the seas of Northern Europe had no slaves to tend sail, or to man the sweeps of their sturdy galleys. It remained for the slave empires of the Mediterranean to chain their prisoner slaves to their war vessels.

Slavery arose and tribal communes of the barbarians were overthrown. Private ownership of property was in its earliest stages. The merchants of Tyre owned their ships, but their olive-skinned seamen had a vast amount of liberty. In the slave empires, even as in the empires of today, the ships of war belonged to the State, and the ships of commerce to private individuals.

SHIPS OF WOOD

During the long centuries that passed, many changes took place in the structure of the ships, but practically none in the mode of propulsion. The ship that sank with St. Paul aboard, on the coast of Malta, the ship that sank on the "Rock of Norman's Woe," the "Pinto" of Columbus, the "Great Harry," the Chinese junk of the sixteenth century, the ships of Magellan, Van Diemen and Tasman, Van Tromp's flagship with the broom at the masthead, the Arab slave-dhow, the convict ships of London, the vanquished ships at St. Vincent and the victor ships at Trafalgar were all dependent upon sails and the breeze for their speed, and they were all built of wood.

THE ADVENT OF CAPITALISM

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WOOD AND STEAM

There was always something faulty in the combination of wooden ships and steam engines. Wooden ships cannot conveniently nor safely be built too large, for timber is unsatifactory for large ships. This has been proved only recently, when the United States shipyards constructed a large fleet of wooden steamers and auxiliary motor schooners, during the period of the war. They have turned out so unsatisfactory that one can hardly visit a port from Kristiania down to Puntas Arenas without seeing one or more of these "white elephants" undergoing repairs. Four were burned to the water's edge in the River Plate in 1919, and in Buenos Aires there were two large wooden steamers and four schooners lying there for such a long time that their owners might as well have pulled down the Stars and Stripes and put up the Argentine ensign, for any use they were likely to be to anyone except ship-breakers.

In the small wooden ship of the old days we find that the engines occupied far more space than their use warranted, leaving very little room for cargo. Therefore, during the combination of engines and wooden ships, such were only used for the fast passenger services, the general run of cargo was still carried by ships which entirely depended upon the breeze.

THE TEST OF A NEW PROCESS

To be successful, every new invention or process must do one of two things. It must either produce the same amount of wealth with a smaller amount of labor, or else produce a greater amount of wealth with the same amount of labor as is required by the thing it supersedes. If it does not fulfill one, or both of these requirements it will be speedily dropped. The shipping magnates, like their comrades and fellow shirkers in other industries, are not in business for either relaxation, health, or for the noble cause of charity, despite all that their subsidized sky-pilots and missioners may say to the contrary. They are in the business for dividends and profits. Their interest in both the men who build ships and the men who risk their lives running ships is merely the same kind of interest that an Australian dingo displays in the sheep that he is worrying.

Therefore, when the discovery was made that ships could be built of iron and steel, the builders of ships did not delay in erecting new yards in the midst of the coal and iron bearing districts. The old conservative ship-builders would have nothing to do with it, swore that it was lunacy, and croakingly predicted disaster. Naturally, they went out of business, or turned it over to their go-ahead sons. The celebrated play by Arnold Bennett, "Milestones," is written around the change in the materials for the construction of ships. Every marine worker should see it. Hide-bound conservatism collapses when confronted with the driving forces of economic advancement. The application of iron to ship-building was one of the great changes that took the world of trade out of the conquering textile manu-

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was phenomenal. In the same way as a gigantic avalanche springs from a tiny snowball set in motion by the frolics of the wind, so have developed and grown the shipping interests of today, until they have forced their workers beneath a callous and mechanical dictatorship and enslaved them, from the captain on the bridge down to the Chinese "spud barber" in the galley. Capitalism is ever thus. In a short space of time it penetrates into all the corners of the earth, and, when markets and raw materials can no longer be found, it will totter through its own contradictions and leave the intelligent workers in control of the industries. In the midst of this march, the iron man of the days of wooden ships had worked hard and long and went down with his ship to Davy Jones' locker. His children, if he had any, followed in their father's footsteps and coined wealth and gold for the cubs of their father's boss. Jack the Sailor would, according to anaemic missioners, get his reward in Heaven, and twang a harp or handle a concertina on the edge of a cloud in the sweet bye-and-bye.

THE COMING OF WAR

When the World War came about in 1914 no one suspected that the shipping kings and the shipbuilders had anything to do with it, nor that the challenge of German marine transportation had anything to do with the subsequent patriotic enthusiasm of the British shipowner. And yet when we see their balance sheets we know that they must have desired the war, for they made huge profits out of it. German shipping was driven from the seas, for that was of much greater interest to our patriotic shipowners than the plight of the Belgians or the "sacrosanct rights of small nationalities." The shipowners were as much concerned about small peoples as they were about the coolie fireman or the Swedish deckhand when he was shanghaied aboard their hungry tramp steamers. Some 14,287 marine workers on British ships were killed and drowned during the war owing to submarine action. Right through the country today their dependants are starving, but that raises no sympathetic throb in the flinty hearts of the men who owned those ships, and did so well out of the disasters that befell their men. The men who manned the German submarines were in a great part members of the crews of merchant ships, in many cases they had been members of the same unions and shipmates with the men whom they were engaged in destroying. Anyway, these unfortunate men were only regarded as the riff-raff of the seas, the victims of shanghaiers, although they were the source of the luxurious houses, good food, fine silks and refined pleasures of the magnate and his lady fair. The war increased the shipowners' grip on things tenfold. The British, American, Scandinavian and Japanese companies coined enormous profits. The Germans by losing the war also lost the greater part of their shipping. The much-vaunted action of the Brazilian government in declaring war upon the Central Powers was caused by the

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The colossal stupidity of building millions of tons of new shipping in a world already with 30 per cent of its tonnage idle is a striking illustration of the lunacy of the capitalist system of production. But, after all, it shrinks into nothingness when we remember that 20,000,000 of the youth and manhood of the earth have been sacrificed in the past eight years—for what?

THE COMING OF OIL

But as Iron and Steel had caused a revolution in marine transport in the middle of the 19th century, so now there were other potent forces operating that exerted great influence upon the world of shipping. The turbine engine had accelerated the speed of ships to an astounding extent. It became possible for a liner to cross the Atlantic in less than a week. Oil fuel was introduced that dismissed thousands of firemen, coal passers and others from their former occupations. Less coal was required and more oil. That strengthened the position of the oil companies. It displaced miners and coal workers on the docks. It gave ships more cargo space, for oil-bunkers can be placed along the bilges and other parts of the ship that are of little use for cargo-carrying. In the place of the dirty, coal-blackened stokehole with its piles of ashes and its struggling, sweating, grimy men we see a man here and a man there, clad in clean dungarees, regulating the flow of the oil into the furnaces. When a ship arrives in a bunker port, the oil pipelines are laid aboard, and in a couple of hours she is ready for sea again. It must be quite evident to every intelligent marine worker that the companies that pin their faith to oil will prevail and triumph over companies that persist in sticking to coal. Science always prevails, and anything that displaces human labor is scientific, although the ignorant worker may not think so. As I have already said, a lesser amount of human labor produces a greater result and more profits for the shipowner. The intensification of profit-making gives the magnates more wealth to re-invest, until we see today that the interests of the shipping magnates in the four great carrying countries are dove-tailed and interlocked with ship construction, mining, insurance, stevedoring companies, oil, tea, real estate and innumerable other concerns. Later I will deal with the method of organization of the magnates, and with the power that naturally springs from the character of their concerns.

The world may be said to be in their hands. Whatever little they have missed they desire to acquire later. They own the governments with their platitudes, the gutter press with its sordid divorce and criminal details and its piffly mediocrity and inanity. The parrot-like parsons, priests and popes of Mumbo-Jumbo are their servile lackeys, and university professors and a myriad of mentally-prostituted writers act as their apologists. And last, but not least, the white-spatted labor leaders with big

surance companies were found which were foolish enough to undertake the risks.

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But as Iron and Steel had caused a revolution in marine transport in the middle of the 19th century, so now there were other potent forces operating that exerted great influence upon the world of shipping. The turbine engine had accelerated the speed of ships to an astounding extent. It became possible for a liner to cross the Atlantic in less than a week. Oil fuel was introduced that dismissed thousands of firemen, coal passers and others from their former occupations. Less coal was required and more oil. That strengthened the position of the oil companies. It displaced miners and coal workers on the docks. It gave ships more cargo space, for oil-bunkers can be placed along the bilges and other parts of the ship that are of little use for cargo-carrying. In the place of the dirty, coal-blackened stokehole with its piles of ashes and its struggling, sweating, grimy men we see a man here and a man there, clad in clean dungarees, regulating the flow of the oil into the furnaces. When a ship arrives in a bunker port, the oil pipelines are laid aboard, and in a couple of hours she is ready for sea again. It must be quite evident to every intelligent marine worker that the companies that pin their faith to oil will prevail and triumph over companies that persist in sticking to coal. Science always prevails, and anything that displaces human labor is scientific, although the ignorant worker may not think so. As I have already said, a lesser amount of human labor produces a greater result and more profits for the shipowner. The intensification of profit-making gives the magnates more wealth to re-invest, until we see today that the interests of the shipping magnates in the four great carrying countries are dove-tailed and interlocked with ship construction, mining, insurance, stevedoring companies, oil, tea, real estate and innumerable other concerns. Later I will deal with the method of organization of the magnates, and with the power that naturally springs from the character of their concerns.

The world may be said to be in their hands. Whatever little they have missed they desire to acquire later. They own the governments with their platitudes, the gutter press with its sordid divorce and criminal details and its piffly mediocrity and inanity. The parrot-like parsons, priests and popes of Mumbo-Jumbo are their servile lackeys, and university professors and a myriad of mentally-prostituted writers act as their apologists. And last, but not least, the white-spatted labor leaders with big

the canal was built. As it increases the number of trips that a ship makes, it brings more profit to the ship owner, while on the other hand it brings more unemployment to the marine worker. There will be keener competition for jobs in London, in Hull, in Stockholm and Malmo, and the companies will take full advantage of their position and continue to reduce wages, even more in the future, as well as to attempt to re-introduce some of the old vile conditions that prevailed on ships in the days prior to the war.

PANAMA

The opening of the Panama Canal on August 15th, 1914 was another great event in the shipping world, which also had its effects upon the men who man ships. It shortened the sea distance between San Francisco and New York by over 7,000 miles. Instead of the long trip around Cape Horn or through the Straits of Magellan it is now possible to transport cargo by water through the locks in Central America. Panama reduced the distance between New York and Valparaiso from 8,640 to 4,637 miles. The voyage from Seattle, Washington to Rio de Janeiro is reduced from 8,339 to 7,678 miles. San Francisco to Liverpool shows a reduction from 13,503 miles to 8,038 and so on. Panama has cut off three days steaming time on the boat route between Wellington, New Zealand and Great Britain. It has obviated the dangers of traveling in the low latitudes of the Horn, and cancelled the long and stormy journeys around Good Hope to Tasmania and Wellington. Panama has brought the nitrate ports of Chili within an easy distance of the ports of the Atlantic, and, in a lesser degree, it has shortened the distance between the ports of the Northern Pacific and the Atlantic Coast of South America. This enormous engineering enterprise costs millions of dollars and many lives—working class lives.

During the fiscal year ending June, 1921 we find that 2,892 ships with a combined tonnage of 11,415,876 tons passed through the canal carrying 11,599,214 tons of cargo, upon which tolls were paid amounting to $11,276,889.61. In addition we find that 426 U. S. Government ships passed through carrying cargos upon which no tolls were paid. Of the 2,892 ships we find that there were 1,212 American, 970 British, 140 Norwegian, 136 Japanese, 63 Chilean, 60 Danish and 60 Peruvian. Of the British ships traveling through the canal we find that the busiest route is between Great Britain and Australia and New Zealand; then between Europe and the west coast of South America; between the U. S. A. and Australia and New Zealand; between the U. S. A. and the Far East, and finally between Europe and the West Coast of North America.

Panama has strengthened enormously the position of the United States industrially and politically. It has changed and altered ocean routes, always reducing ship miles and increasing the number of voyages of ships in commission. Panama has transferred the carriage of coast to coast freight from the American railroads to the Shipping Board and its subsidiaries,

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was not only calculated to revolutionize the propulsion of ships, but land transport also. It could be used to haul trains, both on rail and on the open road. It could be applied to farm tractors, and, in fact, to any and every form of wheeled transport. It could be manufactured very cheaply, was very simple in construction, and would burn any kind of crude oil. In fact, upon a fully outfitted motor, the by-products which could be derived from the burning of the oil would more than repay the original cost of the oil. Therefore, the motor could be run at a profit.

The oil runs directly to the motor, where a forced draught explodes it. This explosion is the motive power that will transform industrial processes everywhere. No boilers are necessary, and the engine rooms of ships that use the new motor are very compact and small. It gives them much more cargo space than a similar sized ship which also burns oil, but possesses the ordinary steam-making boilers. The contrast between the Diesel-motor ship and the coal-burning ship is much greater. A motor ship usually has a very small smoke stack, and the smuts, dirt and grime that are the second mate's and the bosun's despair are missing.

This type of ship has not yet made a general appearance in the British and American merchant service. The rights for the invention for marine purposes were placed in Danish hands by Doctor Diesel. Just before the war, this great industrial genius was found to have disappeared from a ship while crossing the North Sea. Whether he committed suicide or was murdered by the agents of the disappointed engineering and shipbuilding companies will never be known. The big yards in Copenhagen commenced to turn out a large number of the modern ships, particularly for the Eastern Asiatic Company. The ship "Siam" inaugurated the service of this type of motorship to Australia in the latter part of 1915. Large numbers of these ships are now sailing out of the Scandinavian countries. The Johnson Line of Stockholm possesses 27 large cargo carriers, speedy, clean and beautiful, engaged for the most part in the South American trade. Both the Norwegians and the Danes have a steadily increasing number of them. Early in 1919, the Swedish motor-ship "Bullaren," fitted with Diesel-Bullinger engines, arrived in Buenos Aires from Gothenburg. The trip took her less than 20 days. She had electric winches, which worked the cargo noiselessly and speedily.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

The Diesel motor is now being utilized in the engine-rooms of new British warships. The era is speedily coming, wh n steam is no longer going to serve as the motive power for sh.ips. They will be electrified through the new process. However, the increased earning capacity of Scandinavian ships has not increased proportionately the wages of the men who work aboard. More cargo is carried in a shorter time, and with fewer men. All that these advances mean to our fellow workers is more unemployment and starvation.

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CHAPTER III

THE SHIPOWNERS' ORGANIZATIONS

IN my rough sketch of the rise of the marine transport industry I have pointed out the advantages that the different generations of shipowners have gained from technical discoveries. The "swallowing process" of capitalism has concentrated the power of control into ever fewer and fewer hands. The enormous profits gained during the war period have been re-invested in all corners of Mother Earth. Independent concerns in far distant places have passed one by one into the control of gigantic combinations.

In order to show some of the ramifications of these great world organizations, I am going to use portions of a vast amount of carefully collected material made public by Fellow Worker W. T. Walton Newbold, M. A. Fellow Worker Newbold has rendered splendid service to the working class movement of the world by his compilations. He suggests Industrial Unionism as the alternative to the present Industrial Autocracy. In the course of this booklet we will point out methods of bringing about a form of organization on the sea which will rid the workers forever of both their slavery and their masters.

In a very striking pamphlet that ought to be read by all sea-faring men, Newbold presents facts compiled from various authoritative sources, showing the complicated and far-reaching connections of the marine transportation interests. In "Solidarity Among the Ship-Owners" (Reformer's Bookstall, Limited, 126 Bothwell Street, Glasgow. Price 2d.), he takes as examples, the enormous holdings of several great British magnates.

INTRODUCES A REPRESENTATIVE BOSS

Sir J. Reeves Ellerman is the king-pin in the Ellerman Lines. His papa was in the timber trade and made a fortune out of it. After the manner of capitalists, he handed it down to his son. His son set to work to own more than timber. He succeeded. Sir J. Reeves Ellerman—they have dropped an "n" since leaving the land of their own origin—is now a big shareholder in the "Times" and the "Daily Mail", in addition to other large newspapers of varying political creeds. He is also connected with the Lion Brewery and the Deisel Engine Works at Whiteinch, Scotland. Under the control of the Ellerman Lines come the Papayanni Line, which trades to the ports of the Near East, as well as the Harrison Line and the Hall

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Lord Inchcape is the head of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Thru this great concern, which touches every port of importance from London to Yokohama and Auckland, N. Z., he has a controlling influence over the famous British India Steam Navigation Co. Ltd., which, with the P. & O., has recently absorbed the Hain Steamship Company and the Nourse Line. Associated with the P. & O. is the Blue Anchor Line, Ltd., the Australasian United Steam Navigation Co., Ltd, and other shipping concerns with interests in the South Pacific. Inchcape has his finger in the pie of the Eastern Telegraph Co. Ltd. and was appointed by the democratic British Government to be chairman of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which has the honor of supplying oil (for cash on the spot) to the British Navy, and any other navy that can pay an "honest" price. The establishment of a British naval base in the Persian Gulf, and the recent fiasco around Constantinople and Chanak, are not unconnected with the economic interests of Lord Inchcape and his fellow-shareholders. Millions of human beings are pawns in a grimy game, as Turks, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks and Arabs are played one against the other in the never ending task of securing the profits and safeguarding the properties of Inchcape and Company. Quite a nice little military force was utilized to invade Persia, in order to protect the pipe-lines from the Persians who seem to have some notion that the oil belongs to themselves. Mr. Newbold tells us that this little business is a big weight on the entire chest of the East. Lord Inchcape is only an ordinary man, sleeps in one bed at a time, eats much the same number of meals as a deck-hand—when the latter can get 'em—and is allowed only one wife by law; yet he appropriates the joint product of the labor of tens of thousands of workers in all the corners of the earth.

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CYCLONIC SHIP-BUILDING

"To beat the German submarines, the Emergency Fleet Corporation embarked upon a colossal ship-building effort. It made the American International Corporation its agent, and this body founded the American International Ship-Building Corporation to look after its ship-building business. A 'world's record' yard was laid out at Hog Island on the Delaware, to construct fifty ships simultaneously and to build into them 7,500 tons of steel a day. (This means that a 4,000 ton ship could be built in 28 days, which indeed happened.—Author.) The Bethlehem Steel Corporation had been making enormous profits and had, just outside of Penn's City of Philadelphia, a cynical monument to Christian brotherhood, busy on $250,000,000 of munition orders in the biggest ordnance factory on earth. Charles M. Schwab, its president, having under his control the Union Iron Works at San Francisco, the Fore River Yard in New England and other establishments, set out to help the Government transform the United States into 'one huge factory for the production of ships.' He, first of all, bought up several big steel works, put down immense new rolling mills for ship-plates, and proceeded to lay out new Beth-

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The Union Steam Ship Company, Ltd., of New Zealand, is another huge overseas combination directed from London. It was one of the links in the famous "All Red" route, connecting both Vancouver and San Francisco with Australasia. When, in 1913, the workers of these companies struck throughout New Zealand, the N. Z. Government, headed by the cow-punching Massey, filled the jails, cells and corridors with striking seamen and laborers from the wharves. The U. S. S. Co. has a stranglehold on the workers of New Zealand; the commands come from London.

In the Royal Belge Lloyd we see a vast concern owned by British and Belgian magnates. Some of their ships fly the British flag, and the others the Belgian ensign. Some sail from London and the remainder from Antwerp. In overseas ports one can often see American-owned ships flying the Italian, Chinese, Cuban, or Roumanian flags. The flag that flies on a ship today is no indication of either the nationality of her owners or her crew. These latter can only be classified as the "skinners" and the "skinned."

TOWARDS THE ONE BIG UNION OF THE BOSSES

In spite of internal squabbles, the tendency of all the great shipping interests is towards consolidation, or what Justus Ebert, in one of his books, calls integralization. In their efforts to bring this end about, the shipping magnates may hurl Great Britain and Japan into another war, but this time with the United States. Such an event would not prevent ultimate consolidation; more likely it would hasten it. War always strengthens the tentacles of financial and economic interests. Even war cannot really divide the closely interwoven connections of the International Marine Corporation of the United States and the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom.

PASTE THIS IN YOUR HAT, FELLOW WORKER!

Let this fact burn itself into the brains of the marine workers of the world: IF THE TWO COUNTRIES DO GO TO WAR, DON'T FORGET THAT THE INCHCAPES AND THE ELLERMANS AND THE PIRRIES WOULD SOONER MARRY THEIR DAUGHTERS TO THE SONS OF THE MORGANS AND THE SCHWABS AND THE SPRECKELS THAN THEY WOULD TO THE CAPTAINS OR THE ENGINEERS OR THE QUARTERMASTERS ABOARD THEIR OWN SHIPS. They would sooner give their daughters away to the depraved scions of the ruling class of an enemy country than to clean, intelligent workers in their own country. Class is of more importance to them than nationality. That was why Hughes, the Australian renegade labor politician sent the captain of the German raider "Emden," back to his country as an honored guest, while his crew had

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AS TO THE FUTURE

When I consider the mighty world-organization of Capital, I feel how totally inadequate my capabilities are to describe it, as it deserves to be described. I see the world of labor with its wrangling intellectuals, who wrap up a simple fact in a mass of verbiage and fine words, and then squabble over the wrapping; the "surface scratchers," who clamor for red navies while there are yellow marine unions in existence; the Socialist academicians, whose revolutionary studies have taught them to be so careful as to make their attitude verge upon cowardice; the "dyed-in-the-woolers" whose lifelong object it is to smell out "fakirs;" the humbugging political parties, who wish to take upon themselves the arduous task of disciplining vast organic sections of the workers; and, lastly, the "amalgamators" who believe that by dumping one trade union slum property on another they are creating an industrial mansion. I also see the petty squabbles of aspiring politicians, the lack of real industrial knowledge and requirements, the parish-pump stunts of municipal milkers; I hear the mouthing of platitudes and see their utter uselessness.

The world movement of Labor has to come from the bottom up, from the intelligent and militant rank and file. It has to learn to perfect its power by using it. The philosophy of Industrial Unionism, as advocated by the Industrial Workers of the World, teaches the workers how to organize INDUSTRIALLY; it teaches them how to become powerful enough to abolish capitalism and efficient enough to carry on production for the benefit of all mankind. There is no national political party that can fully express the requirements of the shipping kings of modern times. While the government's authority does not extend beyond its three-mile limit, the authority of industrial despotism extends to and between all the ports of every country. We see that the United States Government cannot search ships outside of the three-mile limit without causing serious misunderstandings with other political governments, yet the economic power of the owning class grips the marine worker, be he skipper or messboy, just as securely in mid-Atlantic as it does when he is tied up at Hoboken or at Antwerp. Not even within its own frontier could a proletarian party fight such a huge organization. The Worker's Mastery of the Sea can only come through revolutionary industrial unionism, organizing ALL the workers of the sea into ONE fighting force.

And above all, it is a work for the marine workers themselves, and least of all for politicians. But as politicians have had little to gain from the voteless pariah of the sea, they have worried little about him. We, of the Old Guard of the Sea, look forward with confidence to the time when the shipping magnates will be working on the ships they used to own, and the politicians will be employed in the sanitary department, for which their peculiar character of obtaining a present day living admirably fits them.

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On long voyages epidemics of yellow fever and scurvy were common, and the British government in the greatness of its solicitude for the men who built up their merchant marine, prescribed occasional doses of lime juice to counteract the effects of too much salthorse. To this day British ships are known as "lime juicers." There have been many mutinies on board ships, usually due to some injustice perpetrated upon the men. Captains had power of life and death in their hands, and they used it liberally. For standing on his feet like a man, many a good man and true has finished his last voyage with a rope around his neck. Others seized their ships, put up the "Jolly Roger" at the peak, and, armed to the teeth, engaged in the business of piracy.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT FOOD

The food issued in many cases was, and is, indescribable muck. The pork was rotten or diseased, the biscuits mouldy and weevily, and the peas as replete with rottenness as a politician. I remember a Danish barque in Buenos Aires having such a stench from her brine tubs that I asked the captain if he had a cargo of dead Chinamen aboard. He was annoyed, and afterwards, when, at the request of the crew, we were discussing this junk with him, he hit the salon table a bang and roared, "I'm going to be captain of my own ship!" I replied, "If you leave that stuff on board a little longer, it will not only drive the crew ashore, but you too. So, if you are going to continue to be skipper, you had better get a gas mask." I do not know what the skipper did with the stinking muck, but I do know that he didn't take it to sea with the ship. If he had, he would have had to bend his own sails and take the wheel as well.

SPIRITUAL FOOD CHEAPER THAN MATERIAL

The food issued today on English ships is disgraceful, and infinitely worse than the food issued on Norwegian and Danish ships. The best ships for food, on the average, are American and Australian ships. The "blue-nose" ships that sail out of Nova Scotia are notoriously skimpy. The English scale was compiled by a collection of pot-paunched British politicians, and they laid it down as a minimum. The poverty-stricken British ship-owners saw to it that the minimum was also the maximum. However, with their typical kindness, they compensated the seamen for the lack of food by a liberal supply of spiritual consolation, through the agency of the Sailor's Homes and Missions to Seamen in different ports of the world. These missions usually have a weekly concert to which YOU, the sea-faring men, are cordially invited. Everything is quite democratic: the "officers" sit in front, the men with jobs in the middle, and in the rear come the boys who, for the time being, have not the honor of keeping a boss living in luxury. After playing the "Land of Soap and Glory" as an overture,

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panions, four white and four colored. The coffee was only half sweetened and the milk in it was sour. The bread was hard, dry and unpalatable."

In most of these institutions over-seas, the men are rooted out of bed early in the morning and the bed rooms locked until night time. The boarder must be in early, or be locked out for the night. They are conducted like jails, and are about as popular among the seamen. I have met large numbers of marine workers who would sooner spend their night in box-cars, railway wagons, or on a park seat than in these dumps, supplied by the God-fearing ship ship-owners for their jobless and homeless slaves. Even the message of the Lord Jesus Christ fails to gild the pill. The food is shoddy and scanty, the cooking execrable and the atmosphere depressing.

THE GLORIOUS LIBERTY OF THE SEAMAN

Personal liberty among marine workers is almost non-existent. Scandinavian ships are the best in that regard towards their crews, and will usually pay off their men anywhere, altho not always. The Scandinavian consuls do not generally place obstacles in the way. American seamen were supposed to wallow in freedom and luxuriate in liberty since the passing of the Seamen's Act by Congress. This measure, which was pioneered by Senator La Follette and Andrew Furuseth of the I. S. U, was proclaimed by its champions as the factor which was to make the soil of the United States into "holy ground" for the seamen. But this act, for which the members of the I. S. U. poured out money like water, is as dead as the dodo. It means nothing, protects no one, and even the men who spent years of lobbying to achieve it, cannot defend its absolute lack of realizing anything. The world is still holy ground for the exploiter and the shipowner and stony ground for the wage earner. It is only POWER that gets real results, and POWER it is, that maintains them. The seaman is still a chattel, and all the bills in all the parliaments will not affect his position until he has POWER on his side.

THE SEAMAN AND THE CONSUL

The British seamen, and the seamen on British ships, God help 'em, are even worse off. Under the exigencies of hunger they are compelled to sign articles sometimes running into years. They cannot leave a ship until their articles expire, without forfeiting their wages, and risking a long term of imprisonment. The British shipping interests have seen to it that colonial and foreign authorities will seize deserters and jail them. The ordinary liberty that the average shore worker enjoys of leaving his job when he likes and getting paid up to the last cent does not apply to the seaman. For the least infringement of innumerable petty-fogging rules he can be penalized by the captain. His word counts for nothing before a court, or a consul. The marine worker sailing in the most powerful merchant navy in the world cannot claim the inviolability of his wages, like the

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CHAPTER V.

THE SHANGHAIERS

ONE can hardly deal with the question of the marine transport industry without touching upon the old-fashioned business of "shanghai-ing." We are glad to say that it is now disappearing. Some years ago it was very prevalent in ports of the United States, England and South America, reaching its highest mark in the ports of the last-named continent. It really had its origin in runaway seamen who hid themselves away from the authorities while waiting to get another ship. The desire for freedom on the part of the seamen of the period originated this vile and iniquitous system. In return for the services of the man who was accommodating him, and using his offices to supply him with another ship, the man signed an "advance note," which gave this individual the right to collect one or two months' wages belonging to the man after the ship had cleared the port. From these beginnings grew up that business of shanghai-ing, in which the shanghaier was involved with the captains. Sometimes also officials of the various missions got their "whack" out of the proceedings. Even the sanctified "soldiers' 'of the Salvation Army have had their fingers in the pie. From efforts to protect and enlist the runaway seamen was developed a monstrous system of blackmail, through which these harpies stripped the seamen of their money before they had earned it.

TOMMY MOORE'S WAY

Shanghai-ing reached its high mark in Buenos Aires, which is the largest port south of the Line, and the biggest sailing-ship port in the world. More men are shipped on foreign-going ships in that port than in all the other ports in South America combined. Owing to the fine climate and the amusements, which are unexcelled by any other city in the world, it is also a favorite port for paying off men. Let us suppose that a sailing ship arrives in the roads of the River Plate. The men will probably be taking in sails when Tommy Moore's motor launch comes alongside. Tommy has a body-guard of half a dozen big toughs with him. He climbs the rope-ladder, shakes hands with the waiting captain, and then the two clear down below into the captain's cabin, where Tommy's bottle of whiskey is opened up. After a conversation with the skipper, Tommy comes out on deck and roars out to the men in the rigging who are just finishing stowing sails, "Come on, you fellows, you're all going to pay off." The crew meekly swing down to the deck, and within

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Up to September, 1919, "Big Fred" Williams was the chief shanghaier in Rosario de Santa Fe. When we started a union and crippled his business, he wanted to join the union, boasting that he had been a member for thirty years of Havelock Wilson's burial society. He is a Swede and stands about 6 ft. 1 in. His complexion is ruddy and not from the sun either. He was somewhat ruddier when three Finn sailors—whom he had once shanghaied—met him in Buenos Aires one night after the union started.

Until May, 1919, "Big Pete" Frederiksen was the big gun in Buenos Aires, after the departure of "Big Fred's" brother-in-law. Denmark has the misfortune to own him a citizen. After we had broken up his business, he and his colleagues attempted to start a scab union solely for "Scandinavians." The secretary resigned his job after he received a slight concussion one dark night from a mysterious captain who interviewed him near the transport bridge in the Boca.

The shipping for British ships was usually handled by an individual named Nelson, a Russian. This fellow was in good standing at the British vice-consulate in Calle San Juan. He was around the consulate far too much for its reputation. It is also true that the vice-consul preferred to ship men from him rather than from the Sailors' Home, altho he is a most disreputable character. While the war was on, the German officials in Buenos Aires were very anxious to repatriate their countrymen for military service. They gave this job over to a Dane named Bangtsen, who used to get the men berths in Scandinavian ships, from whence they arrived ultimately in Germany. But Senor Bangtsen was a clever man, in fact, he had the makings of a diplomat in him. He paid a visit to the British authorities and sold the information that the men in question were on such and such a ship. The result was that the ship was held up in the open sea, and the Germans were taken off and interned. Bangtsen used to shanghai the men on the American schooners. After the union started, he ran into a big fist more than once.

"Stockholm Charley" was another well-known "identity", who had a reputation for swiping men about half his size and half killing them. O. L. Kruse was once a waiter but found that shanghai-ing was more lucrative. It is said that he used to make 25,000 pesos a month from fees, etc. He also owned a big bar near the "Green Corner," but the sailors smashed it up for him one Saturday evening in December, 1919.

SOME STORIES OF THE BUSINESS

Writing of shanghai-ing, reminds me of Tommy Moore once shipping a dead man. When he was thrown aboard a ship in the roads with the rest of drunken sailors, the captain looked at him and said, "He looks pretty bad." "That's all right," replied Tommy, "He's only drunk. He'll be all right tomorrow morning." But when they tried to get him out, he wasn't all right, so they had to get a piece of old sail-cloth, and place him to rest in the waters of the River Plate.

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FROM ALL THE CORNERS OF THE SEVEN SEAS THEY ARE COMING TOGETHER IN ONE ARMY. THE BLACK NIGHT OF DISORGANIZATION AND IGNORANCE IS CLEARING FOR EVER FROM THE FACE OF THE OCEAN. THE BRIGHT SUN OF THE MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS' UNION, INTERNATIONAL AND UNIVERSAL, IS RISING IN THE EAST. THE SEA IS ROSEATE WITH THE COMING DAY, AND ON THE FOC'S'LE HEAD THERE ARE MANY WATCHERS WAITING TO GREET THE DAY OF EMANCIPATION.

MEN OF THE SEA! LET US ENCIRCLE THE OCEAN ROUTES AND THE DOCKS WITH **ONE UNION, ONE CARD** AND **ONE OBJECTIVE.** LONG LIVE THE DEMOCRACY OF THE STOKEHOLE, THE ENGINE ROOM, AND THE GALLEY!

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rise does not compensate him for the rise in the cost of living. He has to pay three or four times as much for his clothes as formerly, and the quality is abominable. Very little change for the better is to be found in the treatment accorded him, in his wages, and accommodations, when compared with the improvements that have taken place for the officers and the salon passengers. There are many ships afloat where the crew have to eat in the same quarters that they sleep in, and quite a large percentage where there are no baths for the firemen, when they come from their tiring work below.

OUR WAGES AND BOSSES' PROFITS

When we gauge the so-called advance in wages, we must do so in the comparative sense. To do so, we must ask ourselves the following question: "Do the marine workers get a larger or a smaller portion of the productivity of their labor than they did thirty years ago?" Everyone knows that they get far less than they did formerly. We know that the marine workers manned the ships during the dangerous period of the war, and were as well off at the close of it as they were at the beginning, while the ship-owners reaped tremendous profits, scandalous dividends. As long as shipping is operated under private ownership, the conditions of our life will become worse, while those of our masters will become better. Hence, if we are out for anything at all, we must organize to end our slavery by the One Big Union.

The power of our masters has grown tenfold. Our existing trade unions, have made no such advance, altho the number of their members has increased. In plain words, the existing national unions and the so-called international unions are like so many wooden warships at the mercy of one giant battle cruiser straight from the fitting yards. Our unions are obsolete, their structure is defective, and while their guns make a big noise, they are actually more dangerous to their own crews than they are to the enemy. They have no speed, and have as much direction as a derelict. Their national anthem is "Work, boys, work, and be contented." That is also the national anthem of a lunatic asylum. Their flag is the yellow flag of ignorance and cowardice. The working class movement can never march ahead on the international battle-field as long as these forms of disorganization exist. Just as the bow and arrow are useless against the machine gun, so also is national lap-dog trade unionism useless against the Capitalist World Octopus of Ocean Transport.

GREAT BRITAIN'S FUNERAL SOCIETIES

In Great Britain we find three unions of seamen and firemen. The National Seamen's and Firemen's Union is the coffin-purchasing society led by Mr. J. Havelock Wilson, M. P., C. B. E., etc. This outfit is fast becoming water-logged, and the old man at the wheel takes his watch in a bath-chair. During the past

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The power of our masters has grown tenfold. Our existing trade unions, have made no such advance, altho the number of their members has increased. In plain words, the existing national unions and the so-called international unions are like so many wooden warships at the mercy of one giant battle cruiser straight from the fitting yards. Our unions are obsolete, their structure is defective, and while their guns make a big noise, they are actually more dangerous to their own crews than they are to the enemy. They have no speed, and have as much direction as a derelict. Their national anthem is "Work, boys, work, and be contented." That is also the national anthem of a lunatic asylum. Their flag is the yellow flag of ignorance and cowardice. The working class movement can never march ahead on the international battle-field as long as these forms of disorganization exist. Just as the bow and arrow are useless against the machine gun, so also is national lap-dog trade unionism useless against the Capitalist World Octopus of Ocean Transport.

GREAT BRITAIN'S FUNERAL SOCIETIES

In Great Britain we find three unions of seamen and firemen. The National Seamen's and Firemen's Union is the coffin-purchasing society led by Mr. J. Havelock Wilson, M. P., C. B. E., etc. This outfit is fast becoming water-logged, and the old man at the wheel takes his watch in a bath-chair. During the past

ago efforts were made to fill the places of striking Belgian sailors by members of Wilson's Union. The Coffin Society, in short, is in the hands of the Chamber of Shipping. Havelock Wilson received the Order of the British Empire on the recommendation of the British Government while the war was on. Some of the other members of the union received the same honor. Every working man knows quite well that these baubles are not given out for helping the men who toil; but for bull-dozing and side-tracking them. Wilson allowed the eight-hour day for seamen to be defeated by one-eighth of a vote. His seamen and firemen were receiving fifteen pounds a month while in the Untied States the seamen and firemen were receiving wages equal to about twenty-four pounds a month.

Wilson, in addition to being a paid official of his union, was until the recent election, a Member of Parliament in the House of Commons. That brought him in the nice little sum of four hundred pounds a year. There are now possibly about a million unemployed in the country, but that does not trouble in the least "the ancient mariner," who is not fit to look after one job properly, never mind two. There are large numbers of unemployed marine workers who could hold down either of the jobs as badly as he does. His organization is well-hated throughout Europe, for his Coffin Society holds the Belgians, the Dutch, the Danes and the Spaniards from doing anything for themselves. The organ of the German Seamen's Union, "Seemansbund," says that Wilson's union is "merely a minor appendage of the British Ship-Owners."

There is one thing that ought to be engraved in letters of gold on his monument when in the fullness of time he becomes entitled to one, and that is the fact that he accomplished more for British Seamen than even Lord Nelson did. Nelson managed to get his men bread on two days a week; Wilson, however, contrived to get HIS men bread on three days a week, the remainder of the days being, of course, "biscuit" days. Possibly when the world's seamen use the last coffin for this funeral society, British seamen will be able to have bread seven days a week as a right, and not as a privilege.

We have great pleasure in reprinting the following account of the "Annual Dinner of the British Seamen's and Firemen's Union," in 1920 and we ask the members of this and other unions to read it carefully and ask themselves what they pay their union dues for. The excerpt is from London "Solidarity," the Organ of the Shop Stewards' movement.

LIONS AND JACKALS AT A FEAST

"The National Seamen's and Firemen's Union held their Annual General Meeting at the Memorial Hall, London, during the first week in October, 1920.

"The 'Annual General Meeting Dinner' took place at the Holborn Restaurant on October 5th, at which prominent ship-owners were present, and also representatives of the

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OTHER BRITISH MARINE WORKERS

In Great Britain there are separate organizations for officers, engineers, wireless operators, and all those engaged in the steward's department. Thus on a British ship we can easily find the members of five or six unions, and possibly in addition a few men who are members of no union whatever. Each man owes allegiance to a different union, which gives him feeble protection in home ports, and none at all in over-seas ports. This is the principle of craft unionism, the gospel of despair. The workers are divided into sections, so that they may be attacked one at a time by the powerful shipping interests. One section goes on strike, just like the wireless operators did in 1920, while the other union men go on working, easing perhaps, their trade union consciences by paying a sixpenny levy to support their poor brothers, who—sob!—are on strike.

The basis of marine unionism in Great Britain is rotten to the core, and neither fine-sounding names, nor aggressive talk can alter that fact. It amounts to suicide on the installment plan. The dock workers have been divided, by every possible means, on the docks of the British ports by men of the type of Wilson. There have been Catholic unions and Protestant unions and the members have split one another's heads to try and settle the proper way to get to Heaven. The dock workers are cursed with officials who only regard their jobs as stepping stones to get to Westminster, and their members as financing and voting machines to land them there. Their main joy is to hang around the tradesmen's entrance at Buckingham Palace and exhibit their taste in spats as a criterion of the way to bring about better working class conditions. Altho most of the unions are within the Transport Worker's Federation, it does not prevent them from acting as they have done in the past. The axe has to go to the root; the spirit and structure of craft unionism must be destroyed. And we must remember that even an Industrial Union of British Marine Workers cannot obtain its objective if it confines itself solely to the ports of the United Kingdom. Capitalism is scientific in its structure and international in its scope; the Unionism of the Workers of the Sea must also be scientific in its structure and international in its scope.

IRELAND

In this "poor disthressful counthry" our fellow workers of the Transport Workers Union command our attention and admiration. Their courage and heroism stand in marked contrast to the cowardly supineness of the British organization. Neither terrorism nor outrages deter them. The great majority are for scientific world unionism, and within their island they

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next batch. The muttons, which are very human in their instincts, will always follow their leader. They emulate their two-legged cousins by going into a long sleep after they have been beguiled and soothed by the blasts of their political misleaders.) The Union was fined 400,000 crowns, but, if the members would consent to work industriously and continuously, the government was willing not to collect the fine. While the strike was on, the ships were worked by scabs from the rural districts, and these gentry ran the ships to overseas ports where union men belonging to the Yellow Transport Workers' Federation, handled the cargo. When I was in Kristiania, in April, 1921, the strike had just been declared. The Danish motorship "Afrika" came into port. Her anchors were no sooner down than the seamen and oilers went on strike. They were taken off the ship and sent back to Denmark, probably to jail. The "Afrika" had cargo on board for Lisbon, and the officers and engineers worked her, THE LARGEST MOTORSHIP IN THE WORLD, AND TOOK HER DOWN TO LISBON WITHOUT AN ABLE SEAMAN OR A MOTORMAN ABOARD HER. So you see, fellow worker, what motor-ships are going to mean to you in the years that are going to come. They will not need you, that's all.

Long distance scabbery is one of the worst evils of our present state of disorganization. In July, 1919, the Finn barque "Lawhill" left La Plata, Argentina, with a scab crew. This was reported by the Marine Transport Workers to the Danish union. When the "Lawhill" arrived in Aarhus, Denmark, she was tied up and her scab crew were chased ashore and afterwards heavily fined for their treachery. Isolated actions such as this case, show what a punch a World Organization could develop, as it would make it impossible for scabbery to exist in the marine industry.

During the last shipping slump, hundreds of ships were tied up and thousands of certificated men were as badly off as the men who sail before the mast. To date there has been no sign of life in either the Transport Workers' Federation or the Seafarers' Federations. Strike after strike, and fight after fight have taken place, and the self-appointed bureaucrats have not tried to help the workers to maintain their front.

THE EASTERN BALTIC

On the Eastern shore of the Baltic, the Finnish Seamen's and Firemen's Union have their centre at Helsingfors. According to Fellow Worker Ahonen, the secretary, the Finns are in sympathy with the creation of a fighting international. I have found Finns in overseas unions to be a fine militant type, very determined and intelligent. Owing to the predominance of the White Terror, the wages and conditions are villainously low. The wages are equivalent to about 3 pounds English per month. In Reval efforts are now being made to line up the workers, but matters are too unsettled in Riga and other ports to form any idea of the future.

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FRANCE

In France the organizations are weak and the wages low. A French officer does not receive as much wages as an American seaman. There is, apart from the official element, quite a good spirit growing up, as was exhibited when the captain of a French ship had the steward arrested, in Hull. The whole crew struck and were taken under escort, back to France for trial. They were sentenced, but speedy action and a strike procured their release. A large section of the men were colored, and from the French possessions. No action was taken in Hull to protect their French fellow workers, although they are both in the Yellow International. The French marine workers are the only ones who have put up a serious fight for the eight-hour day and its maintenance. In June, 1922, the Seafarers' Federation, consisting of Havelock Wilson's funeral society, the Swedes, the I. S. U. and the French union had a session in Paris. The French demanded solidarity to enforce the eight-hour day on ships. Wilson declined to help, and the French decided to fight alone, and have since pulled off a 23 hour strike in protest. The Swedes, the English and the dying I. S. U. alone are the remaining sections of that Federation which formerly was such a power in world shipping. All these unions are on the point of breaking up, which will pave the way for the true One Big Union of the Workers of the Sea.

THE PENINSULA

Portugal is in a state of chaos and at the mercy of several unscrupulous political groups, who are always getting in and being thrown out in their turn. The unions are making headway, but the cabecillas—professional chiefs—are still a hindrance.

Spain is under the iron heel and the quarters of the fighting organizations are "clausurada por el gobierno"—closed by the government. La Sociedad Naval de Marineros y Fogoneros of Barcelona exists in secret in the foc's'les, but the leaders are lying in the fortress of Montjuich. The Spaniards are fine fighters for the cause and right through the main Spanish ports there are hosts of deportees whose propaganda for the One Big Union is making strides. In the Canary Islands the wages are very low for both marine workers and dockers, being less than half the wages paid in Bilbao and Cadiz on the mainland.

ITALY

The Italian coast-line is under the control of the "Lavoratori del Mare"—the Toilers of the Sea—with headquarters in Genoa.

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OCEANIA

The Australian Union has undergone a vast change in the past few years. The reactionary officials have been thrown out of their jobs. Wages are lower than on American ships, but conditions are better. One is now spared the odious sight of a seaman carrying his bedding about with him, and the company, in addition, must supply eating and other utensils. The food is good, and there are opportunities to pay off at almost any port that a man desires. In June, 1920, the seamen and wharf-laborers in Sydney, N. S. W., gave the labor Government thirty days in which to release the famous I. W. W. Twelve, otherwise they would declare a general strike. Their action forced the release of ten of the men, including Peter Larkin, Tom Glynn, Donald Grant and others, after they had been in jail for nearly four years on trumped-up evidence. The Australian Seamen's and Firemen's Union recently issued a call to the marine workers to establish an international understanding, and such will be welcomed everywhere thru the Island Continent. "The Australian Federated Seamen's Journal" is one of the best marine papers published, and every marine worker touching Australian ports should get copies of it and leave M. T. W. literature with the dock workers and at the union hall. Thomas Walsh, president of the Union, is one of the men responsible for the wonderful change in the calibre and character of the Australian Seamen's organization. His fearless direction, which has been the means of him being imprisoned twice, has been largely instrumental in securing increased wages and improved conditions while the rest of the seamen in other countries are being driven from pillar to post.

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SOUTH AMERICA

There are three great maritime countries in South America, viz., Argentine, Brazil and Chile. In Argentine the Port Workers' Federation has been one of the most advanced and progressive organizations of its kind. The leaders are fervent industrialists and internationalists, they know what they want and how to get it. They have always proved themselves willing to aid in a struggle, the most outstanding of which was the boycott in April and May, 1921 of the Munson liner "Martha Washington" which was tied up for a period of forty days, arising out of the mistreatment of members of the crew. From 1919 when the Marine Transport Workers' Union was first established for the foreign-going seamen in Buenos Aires, the dock workers systematically gave solidarity to their comrades from over-seas at any time upon demand. The Federacion Obrera Maritima—the local union of seamen, firemen, officers and engineers—has had many serious fights with the employers engaged in the trade on the rivers Parana and La Plata. During the past few months this union has rid itself of elements which were reactionary, and it is now an organization with a future, controlling, as it does, the tugs and trading fleet of the largest port south of the Line. With the M. T. W. spreading its program far and wide, it is but natural that all the marine workers in the Argentine will unite within the same organization as their fellows from overseas.. Scarcely three years ago in Buenos Aires a Union was built almost in a night that doubled wages, abolished shanghaiing, reduced hours and established a measure of ship and port control that will serve as an example for years to come.

CHILE

In Chile the marine workers are organized in the "Gente del Mar"—the People of the Sea—and the dockers and launchworkers (nearly all cargo is worked from the ships to lighters on the West Coast) belong to the UNION OF LANCEROS Y LOS ESTIBADORES DE LOS PUERTOS CHILENOS. These are sections of the Chilean I. W. W., which has a membership of 28,000 and is the bane of not only the Chilean but also of the "gringo" capitalist. In the last two years, the organization has spread to Arica in the North and down to Puerto Montt, Corrall, Coronel and Talcahuano in the South.

BRAZIL

The port workers in Brazil possess many radicals in their ranks and during 1919 and 1920 many of their members were deported for agitational work in Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Santos. The conditions on Brazilian ships are scandalous and wages are very low. In many cases the ships are manned with navy men who are paid at navy rates. Since the war, Brazil has obtained quite a large merchant fleet, mainly at the expense of Germany. Callao in Peru and Montevideo in the Eastern Republic of Uruguay are also important ports that have to be reckoned with in the business of organization.

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CHAPTER VII

THE WAY TO POWER

THE rank and file of the ships and docks must create something new and modern if they are to fight the boss with any degree of success. This new form of organization will not come from the trade union Jonahs, many of whom have never seen a ship and can't speak any language except the one they picked up when they were children. Most of these poor fossils are in their second childhood, for, while their legs are alive, their heads are dead. I have seen the secretary of the Auckland branch of the New Zealand Seamen's Union come down to the union office in a pony chaise. He was about sixty inches around the waist and his legs could not stand the strain. The assistant secretary would come out and report how things were going on, after which John would whip up the tired pony, which waddled away with his mountainous load of trade union officialism. That was his day's work.

The craft unions are worse than useless. When they meet the owners they act like a dying duck in a thunder storm. They keep their watery eyes fixed on the ground and have as many legs as a caterpillar. The idea of DOING anything never occurs to them, and any man who takes trouble up to the union office is an unwelcome visitor. When the unemployed army gets large these unions cry for unemployed doles and chase their colored members off ships in order to make room for their white members. If a man with red blood tries to stir things up, the officials will conspire with the companies to boycott him. They have a way of trying to silence the opposition with the assistance of retired pugilists and toughs. Some of the dockers' unions are run on the same system and the officials are more noted for their physique in a few cases than for their brains.

Only recently in Hoboken the officials of the I. L. A. when they saw the militant members of the I. W. W., employed on the docks had succeeded in convincing their fellow workers of the necessity of discarding the obsolete ideas of a dry rotten craft union, employed a gang of notorious gunmen and attempted to frighten the I. W. W. from the docks. The gunmen, however, had not been informed of the character of men they were hired to scare and when they started things they found that they had reckoned without their hosts. When the battle was over, the gunmen left precipitately for their dens in New York and the I. W. W. was left in victorious control of the situation. Solidarity always wins!

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No union official is worth more than the average wage in the industry that he is organizing. The union members who allow their officials 10 pounds a week while they themselves are only getting 4 pounds are damned fools. If the official wants a raise then let him get busy getting his members a raise, when he will benefit accordingly. No politician should be allowed to hold a union job.

OUR CLASS AND OUR BOSS

In 1919, when there was a strike of firemen on the East Coast of the U. S., the ship-owners sent blacklegs on board. As soon as they arrived, the engineers—members of their own craft union—did the manly thing and struck, also. That settled it. Solidarity gets the goods. The secret of success is to stick together, like mud to a blanket. You belong to ONE CLASS and you are always right when you have your fist under the nose of the human sharks who skin you. The cook's labor is just as necessary as the skipper's, the firemen's energy as the engineer's technique. The boss doesn't employ you bcause he loves you, for, as a matter of fact, the real boss never sees you and doesn't want to see you, either. There is PROFIT in your carcass and he wants to coin it into a bank balance. Day by day he coins your energy into golden dividends, and, as soon as he has stripped your hide of the last ounce of your nervous and physical power, then he fires you to bum your food along the water-front for the rest of your days.

Fellow Workers, GET THE CLASS IDEA; OUR CLASS AGAINST THEIR CLASS. **Let us consider our children before their children, our women-folk before their women-folk, ourselves before both them and their lily-handed avarice.** AND IF THEY WANT A LOAF OF BREAD, LET THEM EARN IT.

COFFIN UNIONISM

You know, fellow worker, that if you pay off in Genoa from an overseas ship you do not, so far, get protection from the local unions. The same was true in Buenos Aires and Rosario before the Marine Transport Workers were established there. There is no union there for you and so you are shanghaied or shipped for any old wages at all. Now, fellow workers, we have to put an end to this for once and all. You know that there are several great international shipping centres in the world that are similar to Genoa. There are Antwerp, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Barcelona, Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Glasgow, Liverpool, Cardiff, Melbourne, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle, Valparaiso, Callao and Rio de Janeiro. They are in precisely the same condition to the men working on overseas ships as Buenos Aires was before May, 1919.

Now you know, you British seamen, that even if Havelock Wilson's Union does such a lot for you in the ports of the United Kingdom, he does nothing for you in Helsingfors, Barcelona or Shanghai. Neither does the Seafarers' Union nor the Hull Union.

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hard on the theoretical internationalists, we would point out that there can never be an effective, usable World Power of the Workers until this project is launched and perfected. The closet philosophers may disagree with it and the academicians who never coiled a rope, nor took a turn at the wheel, may see other ways to do it; they may offer opposition, if it merits so much of their attention, but they will not seriously deter it. It is enough to say that intelligent men who follow the sea feel that this method of industrial net-work is the starting point for the FEDERATED WORKERS' REPUBLICS OF THE PLANET EARTH.

From practical experience it will be found necessary to have paid delegates to visit the ships in port and to interview all ranks aboard. Men who are staunch industrialists and can speak two or more languages are the most desirable. They must be trained for the work, for they have to impart the ideas of industrial control. Scandinavians, Germans and Hollanders in deep-water traffic generally speak more or less English. In Buenos Aires we found that Scandinavians made the best delegates. For the Latin ships, you have to find men who can speak two or more languages, such as French, Italian, Greek and Spanish.

SHORE DELEGATES

It will be the duty of the shore delegates to visit each ship in his area daily, to note how many men have left the ship and to see that they register at the union office on paying off for further employment. The delegate must see that every ship has a crew fully signed on, at least three days before the ship is ready for sea, otherwise the dockers must be acquainted and the ship tied up. All employment must go by rotation, and be engaged only at the union office. In Buenos Aires we had three sections, viz., deck, engine-room and steward's. Officers and engineers were also shipped thru a union, when vacancies occurred in the port.

No seamen were allowed to visit ships to look for their own jobs, nor were they allowed to stay at, or visit non-union boarding-houses, or bars. Captains were not allowed to be fastidious about the men that they wanted for we took the standpoint that every man had a stomach, whether he was small or whether he was otherwise. If a man proved that he was a sailor then that was all there was to it.

The shore delegates were responsible for the distribution of literature that was printed for the different grades in various languages. Special leaflets were issued to captains, officers and the men in the foc's'le. Whenever, in Buenos Aires, we had a serious fight, an explanatory manifesto was issued in Spanish for the dock-owners. When the M. T. W. tied up the Dutch ships in February, 1920, at the request of the Dutch secretariat, the matter was explained in a Spanish leaflet to the dockers and in a Dutch leaflet to the Dutch crews. Thus two national groups of workers fought together, altho they did not speak a word of one another's language.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE DOCK WORKERS

WHEN I left Buenos Aires, in February, 1920, the Federacion Portuaria had perfected a scheme to enforce two shifts a day on the docks, and to abolish night work. The men on the first shift would begin work at 6 A. M. and, with a half-hour for breakfast, would work till 12 noon. They then would quit for the day. The second shift would be from 12 noon till 6 P. M., with another half-hour for "smoke-oh." No more work would be done until th· folowing day, when the men would go on the alternative shifts. The work for one day's pay would therefore amount to five and one-half hours. The men were to be engaged at the Union "stand" by rotation. It was considered better for everyone to have some work than for the "royals" to do it all and keep other men out of jobs.

There were at that time many unemployed in Buenos Aires, and, as it does no good to ask for unemployment doles in that country, the marine workers had to solve their own difficulties. They put an end to the career of the work-hog who used to work the day shift on one ship and would then scoot away to another dock to work the night shift on a different ship. They set themselves the task of seeing that every man had a job. In Buenos Aires no docker is now allowed to hang around the boss's coat-tails or to buy him a drink. It it were proven that a docker had committed the above crime, he would very likely be kicked off the wharves. A man can do such a thing only once.

LABOR-SAVING MACHINERY

In Buenos Aires, as in London and other parts of the world, the shipping and stevedoring companies have been introducing labor-saving devices. Wheat is now loaded in Rosario by elevators and unloaded in Liverpool by suction pipes. Electric cranes and winches reduce the number of days now spent in port by ships and fewer dockers are necessary to work them. The slings get larger and the contractors attempt to get six men to do the work of eight. The handling of vast quantities of coal has almost eliminated the coal-workers, so perfect has machinery become. In 1920 one of the Luckenbach boats loaded over 12,000 tons of coal in less than eight hours at an East Coast loading slip. A few electricians and a few trimmers and the job was through. The introduction of oil as fuel is displacing thousands of workers formerly engaged in bunkering ships. The oil-lines are laid on the ship and in a couple of hours her bunker

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the power of our masters and of the present disorganized condition of the marine transport workers. We see the dockers in New York divided into a dozen warring factions. We see them in the British Isles led by men who are living on their past reputations. We see organizations without power and officials who have no knowledge of how power can be attained. Day by day our future becomes blacker; and, adding insult to injury, our union officials humbly request from our masters but a few crumbs from the enormous hoard that we have created and placed at their feet.

It is the duty of industrial unionists to explain to the marine transport workers how they can obtain power. The national and sectional unions are almost useless, for even within their zones they act independently, fighting among themselves like the proverbial Kilkenny cats. The dockers of Buenos Aires, on the other hand, are making an effort to solve their own difficulties. They are holding themselves responsible for their own unemployed. They are attempting to counter the boss's labor-saving appliances with shorter hours and no night work. And yet, unlike the "superior" Anglo-Saxon, fifty per cent of these dockers cannot read.

Under the present forms of sectional organization, we can hope to do very little; the only road to power is the creation of one organization for all the workers on the ships and wharves. We have to be so organized that all the men handling, loading, transporting and unloading cargo goods, regardless of their nationality, must be in one union. One union on all ships and in all ports. This will put an end to long distance scabbery, and create an organization which, as it grows, will throw down the gauntlet to the shipping octopus and drive it from the seas. This organization will be the link connectng the industries of different countries; it will be the cornerstone of the International Labor Movement.

Fellow workers of the docks, you are the homeguards of the Marine Industry. The men on the ships are your fellow workers. Together you are a mighty force, an unbreakable power. Separated you are so many straws in the wind. Get the class idea, fight for it, live for it and, if need be, die for it.

There is no slavery except ignorance. The other class is powerful only because we are ignorant. Let us spread the gospel of class interest, develop our spirit of self-reliance, and remember that we shall be enslaved only until we gain the power to break our chains. There is only one working class. Let there be only One Big Union!

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South Georgia"—for this was inscribed across their passports by the Resident Magistrate in order to prevent the men getting work again—were working for a company registered in Argentine, on an agreement printed in Norwegian on a British island. This excellent contrivance on the part of the companies deprived the men of getting legal redress in any of the capitalist courts.

COLONIAL OFFICE GEOGRAPHY

When the matter was brought before the British House of Commons by Neil MacLean, M. P., the Colonial Office informed him that it was unaware that there was such a place in the British Empire as South Georgia. The office holders do not seem to be as interested in whale oil as in the oil that flows from the wells in Persia and Baku. The smart young men in the Colonial Office may easily mislay some part of the Empire if they do not wake up. A few years in the foc's'le of a ship would teach them more about the Empire than they are likely to learn from the school books, whence they evidently derive their vast knowledge.

UNIONISM FOR THE FISHERMEN

Most of the men who follow these dangerous occupations belong in the marine transport industry. Therefore we have to make provision for them—both to protect them and to organize the places where they work. It will facilitate their return to the industry. They will be an accession of strength to the Marine International; owing to the scattered and isolated nature of their work, it cannot be adequately covered by any existing national organization.

South Georgia and the Falkland group can be organized from Buenos Aires, the islands of Inaccessible and Tristan D'Acunha from Cape Town or Durban, and the Northern Pacific from Seattle or Nome. The roaming whaling ships should be organized in their home ports. Care should be exercised that all contracts, if there are to be any, shall be written in plain language, and that food, clothing and accommodation shall be of the best. The "payment by results" system should be done away with, as it causes recklessness and loss of life, especially when fighting whales.

If the companies do not agree to these things, then the World Organization must blockade the islands and refuse to move the oil or guano therefrom. Reliable men should be chosen as delegates, and plenty of literature in various languages should be devoted to educating the fishermen in these desolate, out-of-the-way corners of the earth.

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visions of the Seamen's Bill, the fear of losing their ship berths keeps the mouths of many men closed. Such is the Bill upon which American seamen and firemen have spent thousands of dollars, and wasted their union's efforts in cultivating a little attention from the politicians in Washington. The twenty-four hour day is back again, and evidently back to stay. The growth of the M. T. W. must be utilized to enforce an international wage scale so that employers will not be able to use the German seamen to reduce the wages and conditions of British, American and other marine workers. An international form will have to be established, under which all ships arriving from countries which are affected by either a low currency rate, or lack of effective organization, would be boycotted until they conformed to the LAW of the organized workers of the sea. It would mean more pounds, marks, francs, lire and pesetas for the workers, and less for the folks who get rich, fat and prosperous from the labor of the sea toilers.

COUNTERACTING THE EFFECT OF CHEAP ASIATIC LABOR

The creation of an International Wage Scale would compel the ship-owners to pay full wages to Chinese, Lascars and other Asiatics who work under rates. We cannot ignore these men. They have to be unionized. Wailing against their presence on ships has never done anything and never will. We can settle that vexing question by organizing them and getting them to fight for the same wages and conditions as we demand. We lift them up or they pull us down. One Union is the answer for them and us.

It will be interesting to see whether the Inchcapes and the Pirries employ these men because they love them, or because they work cheaper than the whites.

Hence you will see, Fellow Workers, the necessity for **an international wage scale based on the highest wages paid out of any port.** There is no reason why seamen and allied workers should be penalized on account of the changes in the currency. Any national "funeral" society that does not stand for this is better "buried." This question is merely a reform, but it is a thing that will be welcomed, and it will go far towards proving to men the utility of an international.

REDUCE AND STANDARDIZE HOURS OF LABOR

Three years ago the League of Nations called a meeting of ship owners and union officials in Genoa. They were supposed to be very much concerned about the marine workers, but when the question of hours for the seamen came up, it was contrived that the proposal for the forty-eight hour week be defeated by one-eight of a vote. The British ship-owners wailed that it would mean bankruptcy for them, and a compromise was fixed at sixty-six hours a week,—which is more real work than most of these delegates have performed in a lifetime.

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Hence you will see, Fellow Workers, the necessity for **an international wage scale based on the highest wages paid out of any port.** There is no reason why seamen and allied workers should be penalized on account of the changes in the currency. Any national "funeral" society that does not stand for this is better "buried." This question is merely a reform, but it is a thing that will be welcomed, and it will go far towards proving to men the utility of an international.

REDUCE AND STANDARDIZE HOURS OF LABOR

Three years ago the League of Nations called a meeting of ship owners and union officials in Genoa. They were supposed to be very much concerned about the marine workers, but when the question of hours for the seamen came up, it was contrived that the proposal for the forty-eight hour week be defeated by one-eight of a vote. The British ship-owners wailed that it would mean bankruptcy for them, and a compromise was fixed at sixty-six hours a week,—which is more real work than most of these delegates have performed in a lifetime.

insist that only third class passengers clear a ship before the crew when she is in a dangerous position. Let the parasites save their own hides. The Committees will have the power to stop the officers from racing in foggy or iceberg frequented seas, and to reduce the speed to one that is considered safe. Put an end to enormities such as the "Titanic" disaster, where the parasitical herds were saved and the firemen and seamen went down to their last grave leaving their desolate wives and hungry children to mourn the loss of their breadwinners. **Our class, first, last and always!**

A genuine Marine Industrial Union will give us a true appreciation of ourselves and a contempt for the idlers with their white hands and the best salons and best good food. We do not want seamen's missions, nor pipes at Christmas, nor tracts at Easter. We want POWER, for that is the basis of everything in the future.

AS TO FOOD

The food schedules must be drawn up again. Food must be inspected before the ship sails, and must be of the best. No margarine should be carried. There should be a refrigerator aboard every ship. Ice or oatmeal water must always be available for the firemen. Ample fresh fruit and vegetables shall be procured at each port, and the ship should not be moved until these conditions have been carried out. As for the minimum food scale provided by politicians, we will fit a few ships especialy for that type of people and send them to sea on their own schedule, in order to educate them.

AS TO THE FUTURE

When you read this, fellow worker, don't gasp, but get into the fight to bring it about. The things that I have mentioned, after all, are merely minor reforms, and will not make any serious holes in the banking accounts of our masters. But they are a basis of common agreement, things that we all desire, and things that we can bind the workers of the sea together in. They will help us to understand one another and encourage us towards the glorious day when the workers of the sea will be the dominant force on the ocean routes. All things are possible to an intelligent, organized, working class.

Let us be in such a position that we will be able to go into any port in the world carrying the same card as the docker. Let us stick together, in fine or dirty weather, for this fight is the fight of everyone of us, whatever our flag, our ship, or our job.

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itself to overthrow capitalism. "It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism." "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old." On the side of the working class are all the vital social forces. Treachery, faulty organization, political opportunism, and side issues may delay the coming of the triumph of the workers, but they cannot prevent it.

The working class is destined to master the world. It is the destiny that can only come from clear and decisive knowledge. It must find its origin in the growth of the ideas of control and possession of the ships and wharves on which men work. The disintegrating forces of capitalism must give way to the aggressive, masterful masses of the workers.

AS TO CLASSES

On certain days at Buckingham Palace, or the White House, you will see the representatives of the ruling classes of the different countries meet, despite their varying religions, colors and languages, on terms of equality and comradeship. They do not war, nor wrangle, nor squabble about their respective differences. They leave that to the working class; wherein they foster it as much as possible, for in sectionalism and nationalism among the workers lies their own safety.

And yet, in February, 1920, I sailed out of the port of Buenos Aires on the Norwegian steamer "Vela," which had eleven nationalities aboard. All the crew, with the exception of the officers and engineers, were members of the M. T. W. in Buenos Aires. We stuck together and agreed among ourselves. Our united efforts gave us strength, for we were as unbreakable in our solidarity as our class enemies who meet in courts and castles. The Chinese in the galley, the Chileans, Spaniards, Italians, Swedes and Finns in the stoke-hole and the Norwegians, English, Germans, Esthonians and Russians on deck, agreed like brothers. When we had a strike in Buenos Aires—against the captain for attempting to take a crew from a notorious shanghaier—it was the Argentine dockers and carters who aided us, and together we compelled the captain to submit to the law of the organized workers, enacted in the Union Hall.

Such is the method upon which the units of the Marine Industrial Union must depend for their triumph. It will establish a fraternity and a brotherhood in every ship and every port, and create an impregnable buttress against exploitation. In its extension and practice it will give the marine workers the power to determine their own lives, the course of the ships on which they sail and the cargo that they shall carry.

This will leave the hell-found instruments of war on the railway sidings, or to be forged into implements of peace; the grey monsters that blight the bosom of the ocean will cease their vile work, and the Workers of the World, united through the far-reaching arms of the new Marine Workers Union shall extend the rule of the proletariat to the uttermost places in the world.

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FORWARD! THE ADVANCE GUARD

Let us unite, fellow workers! Let us establish the New School of Unionism—Industrial Unionism, World Unionism. Let us remember that we have to rely upon ourselves, and build for ourselves. We have not merely to conquer the ships in which we work, but we have to run them as social floating machines engaged in supplying the economic wants of society.

Instead of waiting for coups d'etat, or for the bottom to fall out of capitalism, it is our duty to work for the day, and to realize what the German Red Navy at Kiel realized, that there can be no success, unless there is a powerful, well-equipped organization in the field of industry. We learn by experience, and there is no field so fruitful in results, so encouraging to the enthusiast as the creation of the foundations of an Industrial Commonwealth. Therefore it is our duty and should be our joy to encourage action, to dissipate ignorance, and, by working within the field of our experience and with the things and the men with whom we have contact, to make steady progress towards our objective. The compilation of knowledge dealing with our particular industry is imperative, for the time is coming when our future will depend upon what we know—upon the organization that we possess, its virility and its nobility.

On our side are vital social forces, and the advantage of numbers. We need but the Will to Power. The time is nearing when the merchant navies will pass into the control of the workers aboard them. A common flag will fly at the masthead; it will be the insignia of the Universal and International Organization, on a red banner. For whatever may be the tint of our skins, in our veins surges the red blood of our class, and we do not envy the titled and blue-blooded plutocrats their special variety.

Hail the sunrise of the Industrial Workers on the ocean routes, ye men of the sea! Hail the dawn of our class solidarity! It will strike the shackles from our limbs, and make us free as the laughing wind which whitens the wave-tips on the Pacific.

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And yet in spite of this, a lamentable confusion of thought prevails among the workers concerning this subject, when everything ought to be as clear as daylight.

With such an organization of marine workers as I have mentioned, we would be in position to DO things. Our men know what has to be done. They know that foodstuffs are vitally necessary, and they know further, where to get them. They are in touch with the men who load goods in Buenos Aires, Melbourne or Odessa, for the long chain of organization of the transport industry runs into every corner of the earth. The technical branch of the organization knows that coal is needed in Argentine, and steel rails in Chile. It knows the number of surplus bushels of wheat in Odessa, and how many yards of cotton are needed in Java. It knows how many ships there are, and where they are distributed and whither they are bound. In this case it is the knowledge of facts that will count; upon that will depend the success of the working class, or a lapse into disorganized confusion. There is far more talent for running ships than there are ships. When such a crew takes a ship to sea they will not call a meeting to determine where she is going. If she is loaded with gunnies and booked for Coquimbo, then to Coquimbo she goes. The creation of Ship's Committees does not mean that they will settle the question of which is north and which is south by a majority vote. The navigator will give the wheelsman his course as before. (When the recent invention which brought the "Munegro" from the West Indies to New York without a quartermaster becomes more used, then the wheelsman will not be necessary, and the steering will be as good or better). The engineer will run his engines as before and he will take his orders from the bridge, and not the pantry. Every worker will strive to be a navigator or an engineer, or both. He will strive to educate himself to bear responsibility, and to work for the good of his fellows. In fact, I know ten men who could, owing to their knowledge of ports and marine transport, assume control of the world's marine transport tomorrow; but to look at them one would not believe that they had ever worn anything else but a dungaree suit. The M. T. W. will not merely insist upon its members studying navigation, marine engineering, and handling, working and assembling of cargo, but it will encourage the study of oceanography and tides, of the vast importance of radio and its many uses in communication and navigation, a knowledge of harbor and coastal lights, of pilotage and charting, meteorology, etc. It will strive to create among class conscious workers in the marine industry the creative and executive instincts, thereby fitting themselves in the carrying-on and distribution, coastwise, and deep-water, of the products of the Proletarian Republics of the earth. It will seek to organize classes and schools to disseminate such knowledge and encourage its members who possess such knowledge to impart it to their fellow workers. It will concern itself with FACTS that are based upon engineering knowledge, taking cognizance of

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REGIONAL COUNCIL

This shall be equivalent to the National Union of Marine Workers, but, for the sake of economy and efficiency of organization, its jurisdiction shall not be determined by national frontiers. It shall be, as far as possible, in the center of an area, and shall conform more to language needs than national requirements. For instance, Copenhagen could be utilized as headquarters for the whole of Scandinavia and Finland; Liverpool for the United Kingdom; Buenos Aires for the River Plate; Genoa for the Levant; Melbourne for Australia, and so on.

It shall be the duty of the Regional Council to provide sound, educational literature to the marine workers within its jurisdiction. It will print the necessary dues books made to a universal design, in the prevailing language of the district. It will, also, undertake the tabulating of the general information on shipping, cargoes, etc. One of its duties will be to have such information at its command as will enable it to take control of the shipping industry at any moment. This information will be compiled from governmental records and be crystallized thru the use of the Gantt Chart, the study of which will be an essential part of an intelligent marine worker's education. The Gantt Chart was utilized during the war to simplify and make accessible and convenient all the facts which were necessary during the phenomenal development of the Shipping Board, and problems of import and export of millions of tons of material for war and peace purposes, the transportation of soldiers and munitions, and all the other large tasks. The two things that enabled the United States to enter the war, and to carry it on to the success which it attained, were the adoption of the Gantt Chart and the construction of the Panama Canal. Without the latter the United States could not have entered the war, and without the former she could not have realized her program.

It will keep a complete roll of membership, and shall render at stated intervals reports on finances and other information to the International Headquarters. In addition to being an Information Bureau, it will possess administrative powers to act in matters of controversy within its own jurisdiction, providing that the conflict is of a local nature. It will exercise a watchful eye over the whole scope of its responsibilities, and will use all its efforts to create and perpetuate solidarity in the industrial field. It shall be maintained by a per capita tax from the membership, and shall act as the connecting link between its own region and the International Headquarters, and from thence to the regional organizations in other parts of the world.

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The reactionaries may, of course, doubt it, but what has been said is true, nevertheless. Fine houses, good cigars, well-clothed friends may have convinced them that human stupidity is likely to last an eternity. When I state that the men of the sea are tired of things as they are, I state facts, for I have been in possibly the best position of any man to judge of the present day attitude of the men who go to sea. For twelve months I was secretary of the deep seamen's organization in Buenos Aires, the largest port south of the equator. Our membership was the most cosmopolitan in the world; members from every conceivable marine organization passed through our office. I am told that we have had the most intelligent and best union meetings in that port, by men of great experience. A better body of men I have never met, but I do not believe that they would be exceptional under the correct form of organization. I believe that almost any other port could produce such intelligent and militant types, if the organization were based upon the principles of Industrial Unionism, and a correct attitude taken in regard to organizing the workers for fight, and not for the benefit of the ship-owners.

Many and many's the time a fellow would come in to join and would demand to know first, "Is this an International Union?" That's what the men want. A little initiative here and there, a little of the right kind of propaganda, and the results soon become visible. The results give you a determined and energetic membership—men whom you are proud to know, and men who are proud to be in the organization. Furthermore,

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Suppressed Evidence in The Centralia Case

Why Didn't Judge Wilson Admit All the Testimony Offered by the I. W. W. Defense?

PUBLISHED BY THE
GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Was Judge John M. Wilson qualified to try the Centralia case?

Did he try the case fairly?

Seven members of the I. W. W. are serving from 25 to 40 years in a Washington state prison for alleged murder at Centralia in 1919. Another who was adjudged insane is also in Walla Walla. Ten industrialists and their attorney were tried for the killing of Lieut. Warren Grimm, which the prosecution charged was the result of a conspiracy to fire upon a parade of ex-service men on Armstice Day.

But the jury had heard only a part of the evidence offered. The main issue was which side had attacked first, the paraders or the industrialists. Judge Wilson permitted the prosecution to introduce all evidence tending to support its theory that the defendants had conspired to attack the parade. But he refused to let the defense introduce any evidence of what was common knowledge in Centralia, notably these facts:

That 100 business men there met on October 20, 1919, and laid plans to drive the I. W. W. out of town.

That the county prosecutor and police chief informed the meeting that the I. W. W. had not violated any law and could not lawfully be banished.

That F. B. Hubbard, lumber magnate, then said: "This is a damned outrage. If I were chief I'd have the Wobblies out of here within 24 hours."

That William Scales, local American Legion commander, presiding, said he did not favor raiding the I. W. W. hall, but was certain no American jury would convict anybody who might raid it.

That there had been an attack on a hall previously occupied by the I. W. W., by a section

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

of a Memorial Day parade led by F. B. Hubbard.

That Blind Tom Lassiter, an I. W. W. newsboy, was kidnapped and exiled from town after a mob had burned all his possessions.

That the I. W. W. had been warned that their hall would be raided on Armistice Day, had asked for police protection, and were denied it.

That the I. W. W. then issued handbills appealing to the public for a square deal, these bills being carried to every house in town.

Because of high tension and bitter prejudice against the I. W. W., the defense obtained a change of venue from Lewis county to Montesano, seat of Grays Harbor County. But the lumber interests carried their anti-I. W. W. propaganda all over Grays Harbor County, and the defense demanded a second change of venue. On January 3, 1920, Judge Wilson admitted that a fair trial could not be had in Montesano, and promised to grant the requested change. But presently he reversed his attitude and decreed that Montesano must be the scene of trial.

And on December 7, Judge Wilson had delivered a eulogy of the four slain paraders at an Elks memorial service in the very hall where the business men had laid their plans to drive the I. W. W. from town.

Fifty or more American Legion members were brought to Montesano and assigned to sit in court with their eyes fixed on the jury. They received $4 a day and expenses.

Troops were sent to Montesano by Governor Hart at the prosecution's request during the trial, without knowledge of the judge or the sheriff, though there had been no disorder.

Bert Faulkner, defendant, was released by the court at the conclusion of the state's case. Attorney Elmer Smith and Mike Sheehan were acquitted by

the jury; but they declare that if the others were convicted they also ought to have been convicted; or if they were innocent, the seven in prison were equally innocent.

Five jurors have signed sworn statements expressing their belief now that none of the defendants were guilty; three of them admit that they were terrorized into returning a conviction.

You can help to free the eight defendants who have been buried alive. Write today for full details, and we will tell you how you can co-operate.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
1001 West Madison Street, :: :: Chicago, Ill.

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TESTIMONY

OF

William D. Haywood

BEFORE THE

Industrial Relations Commission

Published by the
I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU,
1001 W. Madison Street,
Chicago, Ill.

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TESTIMONY

OF

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

BEFORE THE

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COMMISSION

PRICE 15 CENTS

Published by the
I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU
1001 W. Madison Street,
Chicago, Ill.

Chairman Walsh: Will you please state your full name?

Mr. Haywood: William D. Haywood.

Chairman Walsh: Where do you reside, Mr. Haywood?

Mr. Haywood: Denver is my home.

Chairman Walsh: Denver, Colo.?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Chairman Walsh: Where were you born?

Mr. Haywood: Salt Lake City, Utah.

Chairman Walsh: And what is your Age?

Mr. Haywood: Born in 1869—February.

Chairman Walsh: At what age did you begin work?

Mr. Haywood: Nine years old.

Chairman Walsh: And in what industry, or what occupation?

Mr. Haywood: In the mining industry.

Chairman Walsh: Whereabouts?

Mr. Haywood: Utah—Ophir Canyon.

Chairman Walsh: Would you be kind enough, Mr. Haywood, just to sketch your history as a worker and a miner, up to the time you became a member of the association of the Western Federation of Miners?

Mr. Haywood: Well, after the first short period, we moved from there back to Salt Lake City, where I worked at different kinds of work until I went to the State of Nevada, when I was 15 years old.

Chairman Walsh: Well, now, in a general way, what sort of work did you work at, between the ages of 9 and 15?

Mr. Haywood: Why, I worked at driving delivery wagons, as a messenger boy, in a hotel as elevator boy and bell boy. It was when I was in the latter part of it, the fifteenth year, that I went to Nevada, and went to work in the mines permanently.

Chairman Walsh: At the age of 15?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Chairman Walsh: Will you kindly pitch your voice a little louder; the reporters seem to have difficulty in hearing you, and there are a number of spectators who would like to hear you. So you will speak a little louder.

Mr. Haywood: I went to work for the Ohio Mining Company in Willow Creek, Nevada, and worked there until I was 19; and then drifted around into the different mining camps of Utah, Colorado, Idaho, and back to Nevada again.

Chairman Walsh: Are you familiar with the formation of the Western Federation of Miners?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; being a miner, of course I kept acquainted with what the miners were doing and remember when that federation of miners was organized, and have since become acquainted with all of the circumstances that brought about the federation of miners.

Chairman Walsh: Will you please describe the conditions that led to the formation of the Western Federation of Miners?

Mr. Haywood: It was organized as the result of a strike that occurred in the Coeur d'Alene.

Chairman Walsh: What form of organization did they have prior to that time, if any?

Mr. Haywood: Local unions, and mostly branches or assemblies of the Knights of Labor.

The miners of the Coeur d'Alene had gone on strike against a reduction of wages, and the mine owners called in armed thugs, armed men from outside territory. There was a pitched battle between these guards and the miners, and in the course of the fight there was a mill blown up. This was charged to the miners, and the mine owners called on the governor for the militia. The militia was sent in there and martial law was declared, and nearly 1,000 men were arrested and placed in what they called the "bull pen." That was a hurriedly erected two-story structure built out of rough lumber, and these men were crowded in there with scarcely room to lie down—so many—with cracks in the floor above permitting the excrement from the men to drop on those below. The result of that incarcera-

tion, there were many of them who sickened and died from the diseases that they caught there. At one period of this strike an injunction was issued and 14 of the leaders were arrested and sent to Ada County; 2 of them, I think, were sent to Detroit to serve terms.

It was while these men were in Boise that they conceived the idea of federating all of the miners of the West into one general organization. After they were released, being in jail for six or seven months, they called a convention, that was held in Butte, in May, 1893, and it was there the Western Federation of Miners was started.

Chairman Walsh: Had you been connected in any official capacity with any organization that preceded the Western Federation of Miners?

Mr. Haywood: No there was no organization where I was working at that time.

Chairman Walsh: Had you belonged to any labor organization up to that time?

Mr. Haywood: No.

Chairman Walsh: Proceed, Mr. Haywood.

Mr. Haywood: Following the organization, as it was started at Butte, came the first strike; that was in Cripple Creek in 1894. They went on strike to establish a wage of $3.00 a day and maximum hours of eight.

Chairman Walsh: What was the wage at that time, Mr. Haywood?

Mr. Haywood: Three dollars, but there was an effort on the part of the mine owners to reduce it, as they had tried to do in the Coeur d'Alene. The strike was against a reduction of pay.

Chairman Walsh: The strike was against a reduction of pay?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; in the Coeur d'Alene, and it was practically so in Cripple Creek in 1894.

The mine owners had a sheriff in office. I do not think there is any use of mincing words. You know when the mine owners have the sheriff and you know when the miners have him. You know when the mine owners control the court and you know when the others control the court. Well, they had the sheriff

and he organized some 1,600 deputies. These deputies were proceeding against the miners who were picketed on the crest of Bull Hill. It was then perhaps the only time in the history of labor troubles in the country when the militia was used in the interests of the men. Governor Waite went to the Cripple Creek district in Denver and learned of conditions as they existed there with the result that he called out the militia. He put them in between the deputy sheriffs and the miners, and told the deputies to disperse or he would declare a state of insurrection.

The strike was settled by the Governor of the State being the arbiter of the men, and a banker of the name of David Moffatt, since deceased, as the arbiter of the mine owners. The $3.00 a day was granted and the eight-hour law was established. The eight-hour law had not passed the legislature of the State of Colorado at that time, and it only applied to those quartz camps where the union was strong enough to enforce it.

There was no further trouble in the Cripple Creek district for some ten years, and the next big strike was in Leadville, in 1896.

Again the miners went on strike there to prevent a reduction of wages from $3 to $2.50 a day, and as had become customary the mine owners asked for the soldiers. Gov. Waite had been defeated in the election previous, and there was a governor by the name of McIntosh. He sent the soldiers at once. There were hundreds of men arrested, bull pens established, old abandonded shaft houses used as prisons, and the men subjected to some cruelties. They lost the strike; the wages were reduced 50 cents a day. In 1899—

Chairman Walsh: (Interrupting) Were there any fatalities in that Leadville strike?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Chairman Walsh: And was there any loss of life?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; and there was some loss of life.

Chairman Walsh: Did imprisonment follow in any case?

Mr. Haywood: There was no permanent imprisonment and no trials; with the end of the strike the strife was over.

In 1899 they had a strike in Lake City, and the militia was used again. I heard some talk this morning of gunmen being employed by union men, but the mine owners always had gunmen in the strikes with the Western Federation of Miners in the West, in the militia, when they could not get any other men.

In 1899 there was a strike in Lake City, and the same year the second great strike in the Coeur d'Alene. In that strike wages had been established at $3.50 a day in nearly all of the mining camps, with, I think the exception of Bunker Hill; and the mine owners had generally said to the miners that if the wages at Bunker Hill were not increased it would be necessary for them to reduce their wages to that standard. A strike against the Bunker Hill was declared and became general throughout the district. The soldiers were called for; again a mill had been blown up and they charged the miners with the destruction of this mill, and it probably was the miners who destroyed it. The soldiers came, this time Federal troops. They were the black soldiers, the same who were afterwards dismissed from the Army down in Brownsville, Texas. And the treatment afforded to white men and white women by those black soldiers! I do not mention the fact that they were black because I like white soldiers any better, because I put them all on the same level, but they were colored soldiers in this instance.

Another bull pen was established. This time it was an old rambling one-story building, fenced in with barbed wire, where between 1,000 and 1,100 men were held for many months, between six and seven months, and a good many of the men died.

Chairman Walsh: Were they held on specific charges of crime?

Mr. Haywood: They were arrested without warrant and without charge.

Chairman Walsh: Were the courts not open or operating in the territory?

Mr. Haywood: The courts were open and operating, but a semi-state of martial law prevailed.

I recall one instance of a man who died in prison. His name was Mike Devine, he was a Catholic in religion. He had been sick for a long while, and was sick during the strike. Coming out of the hospital he was met on the street by one of the negro soldiers and pushed off of the sidewalk, and when Mike resented this treatment he was arrested and thrown into prison and he had a relapse, and he felt that he was going to die and he asked for a priest, and one Lieut. Lyons, who was there under Gen. Merriam, said to Devine, "You can make your confession in hell." And Mike died without the benefit of a confession.

The result of that strike was that wages were maintained at the same standard as had existed before the strike.

In the Western Federation of Miners there is little difference between the wage of the skilled and the unskilled. A man who handles a shovel gets a minimum wage of $3 a day, while a man who runs a machine drill gets $3.50 a day.

I have tried to mention the strikes that the organization has been mixed up in.

Commissioner O'Connell: Did you go up into the strike at Lead?

Mr. Haywood: There was a strike at Lead about this period—this was in 1899,—but that did not become serious, and the strike, or rather it is a lockout that is on there now, began at a later date.

In 1901 there was a strike in Telluride, Colo. There the company brought in scabs—strike breakers—and there was a fight between the union men and the scabs, and the union men came out best.

The strike was won without much court proceedings.

In 1902 and 1903 came the strike that is so well known as the Cripple Creek strike, and that strike was in the nature of a sympathetic strike. The men who were working in the mills in Colorado City, although entitled to the benefits of the 8-hour law which had been passed in Colorado at that time,

were working 12 hours a day 11 hours on the day shift and 13 hours on the night shift.

This condition prevails in the smelting plants of Colorado at the present time, and in some of the milling plants. They went out on strike in September, I think, 1902.

Chairman Walsh: Was the attention of the authorities called to the condition—that is, that the law was being violated with reference to the hours of labor?

Mr. Haywood: Oh, yes, indeed.

Chairman Walsh: Was the law inoperative, or why didn't they prosecute the officials?

Mr. Haywood: The smelter officials, or mine owners, do you mean?

Chairman Walsh: Yes.

Mr. Haywood: Did you ever hear of a mine owner or of a manufacturer being prosecuted for violation of a law? Well, they were not, anyway. The courts don't work that way.

In the following March the miners of Cripple Creek who were producing the ore that was reduced at Colorado City, went on strike.

Chairman Walsh: Was the law being observed as to them; were they working?

Mr. Haywood: They were the ones who first established the law.

Chairman Walsh: They established the law during the following strike?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Chairman Walsh: And they were having the benefits of the law?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; they never lost the effects of the first strike. They went on strike on the 17th of March, striking in sympathy and for the benefit of the men in Colorado City, and at that time strikes became very general through Colorado, there being some ten or fifteen camps, and included the smelters of Denver. The State was pretty well tied up, and most of the southern coal fields were on strike.

They were striking as they struck ten years before, for the enforcement of a state law. The laws at that time were inoperative at Cripple Creek. The

militia ran the district. They threw the officers out of office. Sheriff Robinson, I remember, had a rope thrown at his feet and was told to resign or they would hang him; and other officers were treated in the same way, and some 400 men were deported from their homes. Seventy-six of them were placed aboard trains and escorted by soldiers over into the State of Kansas, where they were dumped out on the prairie and told that they must never come back. Habeas corpus was denied. I recall Judge Seed's court, where he had three men brought in that were being held by the militia. While his court was in session it was surrounded by soldiers who had their gatling guns and rifles trained on the door. He ordered those three prisoners released, and the soldiers went after them and they were taken back to jail. That strike was not won. It was not altogether lost. There were some places where the 8-hour day way established and increases of wage were granted, but for the smelter men, as I said before, 12 hours pretty generally prevailed among the laborers.

Commissioner Lennon: What hours prevail in Utah?

Mr. Haywood: Eight hours.

Commissioner Lennon: In the smelters?

Mr. Haywood: Not in all the smelters; no. There are part of them who work eight hours, but there is an eight-hour law, nevertheless. That was the first one that was carried to the United States Supreme Court, and it was a similar law that was passed in the State of Colorado that was declared unconstitutional by the supreme court of that State. There is not much to be said about the courts in connection with that strike other than the writ of habeas corpus was denied; free speech was also denied; free assemblage also; bull pens were established; 1600 men were arrested in Victor and put into the Armory Hall; 1,600 men in one room, and this in the heat of June. There were also women arrested, and during the strike the Western Federation of Miners established stores for supplies for relief of the strikers and did business with people who were not strikers. These stores, which proved to be splendid establish-

ments, were broken into, looted, and safes broken open, scales and such things destroyed and carried off. They carried away fruit by the ton, and things that they could not carry away they destroyed; for instance, cutting open sacks of flour and sugar and dumping them on the floor and pouring kerosene oil over the quarters of beef, and such as that. This was done by members of the militia and of the Citizens' Alliance. Remember that you have a report here in Washington of that, written by Walter B. Palmer, that goes into the details of the labor disturbance in Colorado; also some Senate Documents, statements by the Western Federation and statements by the Mine Owners' Association.

It was during the period of those strikes that the Western Federation of Miners realized the necessity of labor getting together in one big union. We were on strike in Cripple Creek, the miners; the mill men were on strike in Colorado Springs. There were scabs in the mines and scabs in the mills, and there were union railroaders that were the connecting link between those two propositions. There seemed to be no hope for such a thing as that among any of the existing labor organizations, and in 1905 the officials of the Western Federation of Miners took part in a conference we called—the convention of the Industrial Workers of the World. That convention was held in Chicago in June, 1905, and the Western Federation of Miners, among other labor organizations, became a part of that movement.

And there has been a continuation of the same troubles that the Western Federation of Miners was involved in ever since that period. The federation itself, has since 1905 had several severe strikes. In Lead City a lockout, which practically disrupted the organization at that point. At Bingham Canyon, Utah, they were involved in a great strike, and you have all heard of it; the strike in the copper mines at Calumet, Michigan, where there were many casualties. The men were starved; the children of the miners were burned to death on Christmas Eve. There was no fire; they were trampled to death. A False cry of fire had been given, and in their attempt

to escape from the hall there were 95 women and children trampled to death. The Industrial Workers, when organized, became first involved in a strike of serious proportions at McKees Rocks, Pa. There was the first time that we went up against what were called the Cossacks, the black plague of that State. The Industrial Workers met them on a different basis to what other labor organizations had done, and told them, "For every man you kill of us, we will kill one of you," and with the death of one or two of the Cossacks their brutality became less.

I am trying to think of these incidents in sequence, as near as I can.

I think the next instance where the Industrial Workers had to contend with the law was perhaps the free speech fight in Spokane, where the members of the organization insisted on speaking on the streets in front of the employment agency offices. They were telling what the employment sharks—what they were doing; how they would employ men; that these men would go up to take jobs that they had picked for them; that they would be discharged and other gangs sent out. The authorities of the city took up the side of the employment sharks, and between 500 and 600 men and women, members of the organization, were thrown into prison. Several of them were killed. They were put in the hot box and then removed and put into a cold cell. Several died from pneumonia. They got no relief from the court, but, as the members of the organization persisted in carrying on the fight, finally the City of Spokane compromised by saying that they would let them all out of jail provided that the organization would not prosecute certain cases that had been made against the officers. I think that it was the following year that the free speech fight occurred in Fresno, California. There the authorities started to arrest men merely for speaking on the street corner, not causing a congestion of traffic. If I have it correctly, there was between 150 and 200 men thrown into prison there. They were crowded to more than the capacity of the prison. The hose of the fire department was turned on them. I am told that one night they were

compelled to stand up to their knees in water, but they won that fight; and perhaps the only one that they have lost at all was the free-speech fight in San Diego, of which at least one of your commission is more or less acquainted. I think it was Mr. Harris Weinstock that made a report on that—a partial report of that San Diego free-speech fight.

The law afforded men no protection there. They were speaking when arrested on what is called D Street—D Street is a cross street running into one of the principal thoroughfares. It was not a street that was traveled, but the authorities had got tired of hearing the discussion that was carried on at this street corner every night. The first speaker arrested was a single taxer and after him a Socialist. It was then that the Industrial Workers of the World became involved, and again I would say 135 men and some women, were badly abused and maltreated and thrown into the jails; they were beaten and whipped, and a man who was not a member of the organization had the letters "I. W. W." burned into his body, into his flesh, with a lighted cigar.

To recite all the atrocities that took place in San Diego and elsewhere would take up too much time of the commission.

I think this will bring us down to the time of the Lawrence strike, in which the Industrial Workers took charge. There, of course, as everywhere, I might say, that I have seen courts in action; they took the side of the capitalists. There were between 800 and 900 people arrested—men and women, girls and boys—there were some convictions, but a small proportion for the large number that were arrested. In Massachusetts they have a system of State Police, something similar to that of Pennsylvania, though they are not mounted. When the strike was called the State police came, and the park police, the municipal police from other cities, and then they brought in the militia. Several of the strikers were killed, none of the employers were, but they arrested two of the leaders of the strike for the death of Anna ———; she was one of the girls that was on strike. They had those men in jail for nine months and

would probably have convicted them if it had not been for the general strike on the part of the workers. After the strike had been settled and the demands had been gained, they added to their former demands that Ettor, Caruso, and Giovannitti be released from prison; they were finally acquitted. During the Lawrence strike there were strikes at Clinton and many other places in the textile industry.

At Clinton the police were again used by the mill owners, and they shot into a crowd of striking girls, wounding many of them seriously. In Little Falls the same treatment was accorded the strikers by the police, which is also true of the great strike at Paterson. Nearly everyone is acquainted with the details of that strike and its outcome.

Since the Paterson strike, there has been trouble in Wheatland, California, where members of the Industrial Workers of the World organized 2,500 hop pickers, asking for better conditions in the hop fields of the Durst Brothers ranches. As the outcome of that demand two young married men, Ford and Suhr were arrested and charged with the killing of the district attorney. They were convicted, and have been sentenced to prison for life terms.

This, I think, briefly outlines the main strikes of the organization that I have been affiliated with and, I think, clearly portrays a condition that this commission should understand, and that is that there is a class struggle in society, with workers on one side of that struggle and the capitalists on the other; that the workers have nothing but their labor power and the capitalists have the control of and the influence of all branches of government—legislative, executive, and judicial; that they have on their side of the question all of the forces of law; they can hire detectives, they can have the police force for the asking or the militia, or the Regular Army.

There are workers who have come to the conclusion that there is only one way to win this battle. We don't agree at all with the statement that you heard reiterated here day after day—that there is an indentity of interests between capital and labor. We say to you frankly that there can be no identity

of interests between labor, who produces all by their own labor power and their brains, and such men as John D. Rockefeller, Morgan, and their stockholders, who neither by brain or muscle or by any other effort contribute to the productivity of the industries that they own. We say that this struggle will go on in spite of anything that this commission can do or anything that you may recommend to Congress; that the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is an inevitable battle; that it is a fight for what the capitalistic class has control of—the means of life, the tools and machinery of production. These, we contend should be in the hands of and controlled by the working class alone, independent of anything that capitalists and their shareholders and stockholders may say to the contrary.

Personally, I don't think that this can be done by political action. First, for the very good reason that the wage earner or producing class are in the minority; second, that they are not educated in the game of politics; that their life is altogether industrial. That while they are the only valuable unit of society, still their efforts must be confined to the jobs where they work. A dream that I have in the morning and at night and during the day is that that there will be a new society sometime in which there will be no battle between capitalist and wage earner, but that every man will have free access to land and its resources. In that day there will be no political government, there will be no States, and Congress will not be composed of lawyers and preachers as it is now, but it will be composed of experts of the different branches of industry, who will come together for the purpose of discussing the welfare of all the people and discussing the means by which the machinery can be made the slave of the people instead of a part of the people being made the slave of machinery or the owners of machinery.

I believe that there will come a time when the workers will realize what the few of us are striving for—and that is industrial freedom.

Chairman Walsh: In how many of these places that you have spoken of—

Commissioner O'Connell: Just let me carry out this point if you please, Mr. Chairman. You say you don't believe it can be done by political action?

Mr. Haywood: No, sir.

Commissioner O'Connell: Have you in mind some other method by which it can?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir; I think it can be done by direct action. I mean by organization of the forces of labor. Take, for instance, the organization that you know, the United Mine Workers of America. They have about one-half of the miners of this country organized. At least a sufficient number to control them all. I think the United Mine Workers can say to the mine owners, "You must put these mines in order, in proper shape, or we won't work in them." They can compel the introduction of safety appliances, of ventilation systems, and save in that way thousands of lives every year. I don't think anybody will deny that they have that power to bring about that improvement. If they have the power to bring that about by direct action, they have the power to reduce their hours; they have the power to increase or at least to better the laboring conditions around the mines and have better houses. It seems to me there is no reason in the world why the miner should not enjoy, even in a mining camp, some of the advantages that the worker has in the city. And I think that free organization of miners, organized in one big union, having no contract with the boss, have no right to enter into a contract with the employer or any other combination of labor, to my mind. There can be each division of industry, each subdivision, be brought into a whole, and that will bring about the condition that I have described to you.

Commissioner O'Connell: You mean by that, that these economic organizations would create, or control questions of hours and things of that kind you spoke of, but as to the ownership, the right of ownership, what is the method that you have in mind

of your organization in connection with the method of taking over?

Mr. Haywood: Taking over through the organization. If you are strong enough to exact the things I speak of, you are strong enough to say, "Here, Mr. Stockholder, we won't work for you any longer. You have drawn dividends out of our hides long enough; we propose that you shall go to work now, and under the same opportunities that we have had."

Commissioner O'Connell: Well, you propose by your strength and numbers to declare ownership?

M. Haywood: Yes; exactly; through the organized efforts of the working class.

Chairman Walsh: Commissioner Weinstock has some questions he would like to ask you.

Commissioner Weinstock: May I ask you, Mr. Haywood, your present occupation?

Mr. Haywood: Secretary-Treasurer of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Commissioner Weinstock: The charge has been made that so-called labor agitators, as a rule, are either of foreign birth or foreign parentage. May I ask what was your parentage?

Mr. Haywood: My father was an American, and his father was an American, and his father was an American.

Commissioner Weinstock: So you date your American ancestry back several generations?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Weinstock: You made the statement a little while ago that the wage-earning producing class is in a minority?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Weinstock: May I ask what is the foundation for that statement?

Mr. Haywood: Well, government statistics.

Commissioner Weinstock: What do the government statistics show?

Mr. Haywood: Isaac Hourwich is the compiler of those statistics. Why, it shows very few states where they have even a slight majority.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, are you sufficiently familiar with the Federal statistics to tell us

about how many wage earners there are in the country?

Mr. Haywood: There are about 10,000,000 industrial wage earners.

Commissioner Weinstock: Including their dependents, assuming there are the usual number of 5 dependents to every worker, that would make about 50,000,000 of people?

Mr. Haywood: No; I don't think so. This includes the man and his wife and some of his children.

Commissioner Weinstock: No—in that 10,000,000?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Weinstock: Now, assuming or admitting that the wage-earning producnig class are in the minority, however, it would have to be admitted, I take it, that they at least have the balance of power, and whichever side they would throw their influence which would win?

Mr. Haywood: I think that is quite so.

Commissioner Weinstock: That is, they are relatively in the position that the Irish representatives in Parliament were in for many years; that is, they had the balance of the power, and while they had comparatively a small minority, yet whichever side they adhered to would win out.

Mr. Haywood: Politically.

Commissioner Weinstock: Yes; giving them of course great strength and great influence. And I take it the same might said of the wage-earning producing class in this country, that even though in the minority they at least have the balance of power. Are you at all familiar with the number of States where the initiative, referendunm, and recall prevail?

Mr. Haywood: No; I have no definite knowledge as to the number of States.

Commissioner Weinstock: I take it you know, of course, that numerous States have adopted the initiative, referendum, and recall in recent years, and that the tendency now is in most of the States to follow the pace set by the advanced States?

Mr. Haywood: I can not see any State, even Oregon, where any benefit has accrued to the wage-worker.

Commissioner Weinstock: You think not?

Mr. Haywood: No; I think not. For instance, the unemployment condition in Portland, Oregon, is perhaps worse than in any other city, and has been during this last winter.

Commissioner Weinstock: Will you tell us what the membership of the I. W. W. is at this time?

Mr. Haywood: I would judge it is about 15,000.

Commissioner Weinstock: As you know, of course, this commission is seeking remedies for the industrial unrest; that is the function we are presumed to perform.

Mr. Haywood: Yes; I know.

Commissioner Weinstock: And we are inviting suggestions and opinions from all whose opinions and knowledge would lead them to express opinions that ought to carry weight with them. I take it that if the commission were to ask you what in you opinion is the remedy for industrial unrest, Mr. Haywood, that in all probability you would answer and say, I. W. W.'ism?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; I think that I would.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, then that clearly brings I. W. W.'ism within the province of the discussion of this commission, does it not?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Weinstock: Because, if it is I. W. W.'ism, that is what we ought to recommend to Congress?

Mr. Haywood: No; Congress can not do anything with that.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, we could say that encouragement of the organization of I. W. W. would tend to minimize industrial unrest?

Mr. Haywood: I think that would militate against the I. W. W.'s if you did such a thing.

Commissioner Weinstock: If we recommended that?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Weinstock: Why should it militate against the I. W. W.'s?

Mr. Haywood: It seems to me a recommendation like that, coming from gentlemen, would militate against the organization and have a tendency to dilute it and dilute its revolutionary strength.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, at all events, if that should be our conclusion, if after an exhaustive investigation we should find ourselves in a frame of mind such as you are in, it would become our duty to announce it, no matter what the results?

Mr. Haywood: You will not find yourself in that frame of mind. But if you were—

Commissioner Lennon (interrupting): You would take Mr. Weinstock into membership then?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Weinstock: At all events, it becomes our province at this time, having invited you to give testimony here, and that carrying with it that your testimony is worth while, and you taking the ground that in your opinion I. W. W.'ism is the proper remedy for the removal of unrest, it becomes our province properly to discuss I. W. W.'ism and see what it really stands for.

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Weinstock: Now, I am going to read here some quotations from I. W. W. authenticated literature, Mr. Haywood.

Mr. Haywood: Who is the author?

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, I will give you the authors as I go along, and I will invite your comments on it when I have finished reading the quotations.

The I. W. W. literature placed in the hands of the commission teaches militant action whenever such action may be deemed necessary. In a pamphlet published by the I. W. W. bureau of New Castle, Pa., entitled, "The I. W. W.—Its History, Structure, and Methods," written by the I. W. W. national secretary-treasurer, Vincent St. John, the following statement appears:

"As a revolutionary organization the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the

results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us."

In a pamphlet published by the Spokane local I. W. W., Spokane, Washington, entitled, "Industrial Workers of the World, Songs to Fan the Flames of Discontent," there appears the following:

"To arms, to arms, ye brave!
The avenging sword unsheath!
March on, march on, all hearts resolved
On victory or death."

In a pamphlet written by Arnold Roller, apparently an I. W. W. leader, under the title "The Social General Strike," there appears the following statement:

"In this manner the crisis of overproduction is the best guaranty for the success of a social general strike, because the products on hand permit the satisfaction of all needs before the complete reorganization, namely, by a general 'help yourself' on the part of the workers."

In another pamphlet entitled, "Industrial Union Methods," by William E. Trautman, which appeared originally in the Industrial Workers' Bulletin, is found the following:

"The Industrial Unionists, however, hold that there can be no agreement with the employers of labor which the workers have to consider sacred and inviolable.

"Industrial unionists will therefore sign any pledge and renounce even their organization at times when they are not well prepared to give battle or when market conditions render it advisable to lay low; but they will do just the reverse of what they agreed to under duress when occasion arises to gain advantage to the worker."

Under the head of "Sabotage" the same writer says:

"Inferior goods are turned out by silent understanding of all workers in one shop or plant; time is taken up with getting tools repaired and repair work attended to. These and similar methods are known under the compound name, 'sabotage.' "

In a pamphlet entitled, "The General Strike," by William D. Haywood, in which is published a speech delivered by him in New York, March 16, 1911, the following appears:

"I hope to see the day when the man who goes out of the factory will be the one who will be called a scab; when the good union man will stay in the factory, whether the capitalists like it or not; when we lock the bosses out and run the factories to suit ourselves. That is our program. We will do it."

In a pamphlet published by C. H. Kerr & Co., Co-operative, Chicago, entitled, "How Capitalism has Hypnotized Society," by William Thurston Brown, an I. W. W. writer and lecturer, appears the following:

"Would it be wrong for the united working class of America to say today, tomorrow, any time: 'not a wheel shall move on any railroad, not a bit of machinery shall be run in any mill, factory, or smelter, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf, unless it is understood distinctly by the people of America that these tools of industry belong of right to the workers of the nation. And, meanwhile, since hungry men and women and children must be fed, and since your charity organizations have recognized the fact, and your churches have preached it, we shall take the food necessary for our sustenance until it is understood that this system of robbery is to stop forever."

In a leaflet issued by the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, New Castle, Pa., entitled "Appeal to Wage Workers, Men and Women," by E. S. Nelson, the following appears:

"In case of a capitalist injunction against strikers, violate it; disobey it; let the strikers and others go to jail, if necessary. That would cost so much that the injunction would be dispensed with. Final, universal strike, that is, to remain within the industrial institutions, lock the employers out for good as owners and parasites, and give them a chance to become toilers."

In a pamphlet entitled, "The Crack of Doom, or the Fall of Capitalism," by Laura Payne Emerson, a resident of San Diego, and a recognized representative and lecturer of the I. W. W., appears the following:

"Industrial unionism, the capitalist well knows, spells the abolition of the wage system. The I. W. W. recognize no craft autonomy and no contract system. All workers in all departments of any industry are organized in one union. No worker or set of workers in any craft or branch of an industry can make a contract with an employer which he must consider sacred while later his fellow workers in the same industry are on a strike, thus enabling him to scab on his fellows while he carries a union card and cusses scabs. When the workers who make these great industries possible get ready for action they will no longer beg for some master to give them enough to live on, but take what belongs to them."

That is fairly representative, Mr. Haywood, of the attitude and propaganda of the I. W. W.—these extracts from these I. W. W. pamphlets and articles I have read?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; in so far as you have quoted from the I. W. W. pamphlet. You have a number of pamphlets that were not compiled by members of the I. W. W. The first that you quoted is the National Song of France, the Marseillaise. What you read from the Brown pamphlet, advocating the taking of food, was said in this city by Abraham Lincoln during war time, when speculators and gamblers in food stuffs ran the prices of provisions up 600 or 700 or 800 per cent, and the people came to Abraham Lincoln and asked him what to do, and he said: "Take your pickaxes and crowbars and go to the granaries and warehouses and help yourselves," and I think that is good I. W. W. doctrine. I do not see much there I would take issue with.

Commissioner Weinstock: You think, generally speaking, that it represents the sentiment and attitude and the creed of the I. W. W.?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, then, summing up we find that I. W. W.'ism teaches the following:

(a) That the workers are to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least possible expenditure of time and energy.

(b) The question of right or wrong is not to be considered.

(c) The avenging sword is to be unsheathed, with all hearts resolved on victory or death.

(d) The workman is to help himself when the proper time comes.

(e) No agreement with an employer is to be considered by the worker as sacred or inviolable.

(f) The worker is to produce inferior goods and kill time in getting tools repaired and in attending to repair work; all by a silent understanding.

(g) The worker is to look forward to the day when he will confiscate the factories and drive out the owners.

(h) The worker is to get ready to cause national industrial paralysis with a view of confiscating all industries, meanwhile taking forcible possession of all things that he may need.

(i) Strikers are to disobey and to treat with contempt all judicial injunction.

If that is the creed of the I. W. W., do you think the American people will ever stand for it?

Mr. Haywood: There is one feature there that I do not like; I do not think you can present it as I. W. W.'ism; that is the manufacture of shoddy goods. That is the complaint we have against the capitalists at the present time. There are no goods that are perfect in capitalism. They cannot make enough profit out of them. You realize that as a merchant; in the manufacture of woolen goods they have learned how to use old clothes in the making of shoddy; in the manufacture of silk goods they have learned that silk is a peculiar fiber that will absorb four or five times its weight in tin, iron, and zinc, and I do not believe that goods should be adulterated in that way. I do not believe in the manufacture of such stuff, and palming it off on the consumer "as good as the best," or "as good as the purest." I do not believe in the poisoning of foods and the adulteration of drugs or any of the needs of the human family. I believe that there are plenty of all of the good things of life to reach all of the people.

Now there are many things I would like to explain to you, that is as to the tactics and the results. Do you know the results we are hoping for? We hope to see the day when no child will labor. We hope to see the day when all men able will work,

either with brain or with muscle; we want to see the day when women will take their place as industrial units; we want to see the day when every old man and every old woman will have the assurance of at least dying in peace. Now, you have not got anything like that today. You have not the assurance, rich man as you are, of not dying a pauper. I have an idea that we can have a better society than we have got; and I have another idea that we cannot have a much worse one than it is at present. So you see that the program of the I. W. W. is not such a bad thing after all, because while we do not ask any advise and are not requesting any help from any other than the working people at the present time, still we believe through the working class that we will find a way of making workers of all of them and that will include myself, too.

Commissioner Weinstock: I do not think that there is any room for issue, Mr. Haywood, between you and the rest of us on the question of the adulteration of foods.

Mr. Haywood: Well, you put in there that the I. W. W. wants to produce that kind of stuff.

Commissioner Weinstock: Where?

Mr. Haywood: In the conclusions you arrived at.

Commissioner Weinstock: I was not giving my own views, Mr. Haywood. Please remember that I was quoting from some industrial I. W. W. workers.

Mr. Haywood: From what you thought was.

Commissioner Weinstock: No; I will give you my authority all the way down the line.

Mr. Haywood: I told you that Brown——

Commissioner Weinstock (Interrupting): Is this what you take exception to: "The worker is to produce inferior goods and kill time in getting tools repaired, and in attending to repair work, all by a silent understanding;" that was this writer's explanation of what sabotage stood for?

Mr. Haywood: That was Roller's?

Commissioner Weinstock: Yes.

Mr. Haywood: Roller was not a member of the I. W. W.

Commissioner Weinstock: He was telling how sabotage should be employed?

Mr. Haywood: I have a better conception of sabotage.

Commissioner Weinstock: What is yours?

Mr. Haywood: That the worker should refuse to be a party with the boss in robbing the public.

Commissioner Weinstock: That is, that they should cease working?

Mr. Haywood: That they should cease putting adulteration in such things. It is the worker, is it not, that does it? The capitalist never goes into the shop and puts this adulteration into the food, and so forth.

Commissioner Weinstock: Let us eliminate the adulteration of food products and take the rest of the summary. Leave that out and let my question be, "Do you think the American people will stand for that kind of a doctrine?"

Mr. Haywood: Read me that over again.

Commissioner Weinstock (reading): "(a) That the workers are to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least possible expenditure of time and energy."

Mr. Haywood: Yes; I believe in the worker using any kind of tactics that will get the results. I do not care what those tactics are when the working class had arrived at that stage of efficiency and organization, I do not care whether it means revolution. That is exactly the very——

Commissioner Weinstock (interrupting): "(b) The question of right or wrong is not to be considered."

Mr. Haywood: What is right and wrong? What I think is right in my mind or what you think is right in your mind?

Commissioner Weinstock: "(c) The avenging sword is to be unsheathed, with all hearts resolved on victory or death."

Mr. Haywood: What that means is a general strike.

Commissioner Weinstock: "(d) The workman is to help himself when the proper time comes."

Mr. Haywood: When the proper time comes, when he needs it let him go and get it.

Commissioner Weinstock: (e) No agreement with an employer of labor is to be considered by the worker as sacred or inviolable."

Mr. Haywood. No agreement?

Commissioner Weinstock: Yes.

Mr. Haywood: He never wants to enter into an agreement. Let me explain something about an agreement. I heard you talk to Kobylak yesterday. What would a union man say if some member of that union entered into an agreement with the boss? He would say he was a bad man, wouldn't he? And that he ought to stand by the rest of the members of his union. Now, we say that union has only a little nucleus of industry; we say that a union has no right to enter into an agreement because the rest of the men employed in that industry ought to be considered. We say that no union has a right to enter into an agreement with the employers because they are members of the working class; and finally we say that the working class has no right to enter into an agreement because it is the inherent mission of the working class to overthrow capitalism and establish itself in its place.

You can let that about contract and agreement stand.

Commissioner Weinstock: "(f) The worker is to produce inferior goods and kill time"—we will cut that out, that which relates to the production of inferior goods and killing time; that is out of the subject.

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Weinstock: "(g) The worker is to look forward to the day when he will confiscate the factories and drive out the owners."

Mr. Haywood: I would drive them in instead of out.

Commissioner Weinstock: I think that was your own quotation.

Mr. Haywood: I would make an arrangement to take every owner on the inside and give him a job alongside of me.

Commissioner Weinstock: Have you changed your views any since you delivered this speech on March 16, 1911, in which, among other things, you said this:

"I hope to see the day when the man who goes out of the factory will be the one who will be called a scab, when the good union man will stay in the factory, whether the capitalists like it or not; when we lock the bosses out and run the factories to suit ourselves. That is our program. We will do it." Are your views the same today as when you said that?

Mr. Haywood: I hope we can do that tomorrow.

Commissioner Weinstock: The next is, "(h) The worker is to get ready to cause national industrial paralysis, with a view of confiscating all industries, meanwhile taking forcible possession of all things that he may need."

Mr. Haywood: I do not understand the necessity of causing industrial paralysis; that is, when the workers are sufficiently organized they have got control of the machinery; you never saw a capitalist with his hand on the throttle; you never saw him on the stormy end of a No. 2 shovel; you read of him on his way to Europe and going down with the Luisitania or the Titanic; they are not interested in work. It is the workers who have control now of all of the machinery if they would only make up their minds to hold that control and maintain it for themselves.

Commissioner Weinstock: I take it, then, that you take no issue as a member of the I. W. W. with that statement here?

Mr. Haywood: No; I will let that go.

Commissioner Weinstock: And the last is, "(i) Strikers are to disobey and treat with contempt all judicial injunction."

Mr. Haywood: Well, I have been plastered up with injunctions until I do not need a suit of clothes, and I have treated them with contempt.

Commissioner Weinstock: And you advocate that?

Mr. Haywood: I do not believe in that kind of law at all. I think that is a usurpation on the part of the

courts of a function that was never vested in the courts by the Constitution.

Commissioner Weinstock: Therefore you would have no hesitancy in advising your fellow I. W. W.'-ists to do as you have done.

Mr. Haywood: I do not like to advise too much, but I would do it myself.

Commissioner Weinstock: Let me repeat my question once more: Do you think that the American people would stand for this program suggested?

Mr. Haywood: I think the American working class will stand for it when they know it.

Commissioner Weinstock: You think they would?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; I think so.

Commissioner Weinstock: Then how somes it that after at least 10 years of agitation, and earnest, hard work on the part of yourself and fellow propagandists and organizers you can only show a membership of 15,000, against perhaps, 2,000,000 or more of the American Federation?

Mr. Haywood: Well, how many could the American Federation show when they were 10 years old?

Commissioner Weinstock: I do not know; my friends over there (indicating) can answer that better than I can.

Mr. Haywood: That is not the question. We have these 15,000 members in good standing. How many people believe as we believe?

Commissioner Weinstock: Fortunately very few.

Mr. Haywood: That is not true, but may be fortunate for you that you think so. But there are a vast number of people in all walks of life that believe that the present system of society must be changed, and that this is the means of changing it.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, does not this preachment that I have just summarized practically mean this: That it is the organized and deliberate purpose of the I. W. W. to teach and preach and burn into the hearts and minds of its followers that they are justified in lying; that they are justified in stealing and in tramping under foot their own agreements and in confiscating the property of others, in disobeying the mandates of the court, and in paralyzing

the industries of the Nation; and is it not a fact that if all men and women in the Nation would accept such teaching that it would make society impossible; that it would make a Nation of thieves and liars and scoundrels?

Mr. Haywood: That is the creed of the capitalist as it exists today, and as they practice it; they lie, they steal, they disobey the mandates of the court; there is nothing they do not do that you have ascribed to the I. W. W. there.

Commissioner Weinstock: Very well; admitting that they do these things, does that make it right?

Mr. Haywood: No; that does not make it right.

Commissioner Weinstock: Then would it make it any more right for the workers to do it?

Mr. Haywood: The workers do not do it.

Commissioner Weinstock: This preaches it, does it not?

Mr. Haywood: It does not. Does it say I should lie?

Commissioner Weinstock: If I was to come in and take possession of your property and throw you out, would I be robbing you?

Mr. Haywood: You have a mistaken idea that the property is yours. I would hold that the property does not belong to you; that what you as a capitalist have piled up as property is merely unpaid labor, surplus value; you have no vested right in that property.

Commissioner Weinstock: You mean, then, that the coat you have on your back does not belong to you, but belongs to all the people?

Mr. Haywood: All right; that is not what I mean. I mean that there might be private property. I don't want your watch, I don't want your toothbrush, but the things that are publicly used; no such word as "private" should be vested in any individual in any of those things. For instance, do you believe that John D. Rockefeller has any right, either God-given right or man-made right, or any other right to the coal mines of the State of Colorado?

Commissioner Weinstock: He has a perfect right to them under the laws of the country.

Mr. Haywood: Then the laws of the country are absolutely wrong, establishing private ownership to them in anyone.

Commissioner Weinstock: Very well; who are the lawmakers of the country.

Mr. Haywood: Well, you know who they are.

Commissioner Weinstock: I know this: I know that in the State wherein I live, with the initiative, referendum, and recall, the people are absolutely the lawmakers of the State.

Mr. Haywood: All right.

Commissioner Weinstock: And they can be so in every State of the Union.

Mr. Haywood: You know who the people are.

Commissioner Weinstock: You and I am and the rest of us?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; the rest of our kind; we are parasites. The real people who have to be considered are the workers, the productive workers, the ones who make society, who build the railroads, who till the soil, who run the mills. I have done no work for 10 or 15 years, and I am a parasite; I recognize that. That is what you are and that is what the rest of them are that do not labor. You would not object to a society where you and I did actual labor, would you?

Commissioner Weinstock: Are we to understand, then, Mr. Haywood, that your interpretation or definition of a worker is a man who works purely with his hands?

Mr. Haywood: I said brain and muscle.

Commissioner Weinstock: But don't you exercise your brain in your avocation?

Mr. Haywood: I try to but I am not a productive worker. I am doing a think that I ought not to be called on to do.

Commissioner Weinstock: But if you say that a man who exercises his brain as well as his muscle is a producer, then you are certainly a producer?

Mr. Haywood: Well, I produce some trouble and things like that, but I really have not produced anything now since I left the mine.

Commissioner Weinstock: Then, if I. W. W.'ism is the remedy for the industrial ills and you have succeeded in at least getting 15,000 people to think as you do, you have produced something from your point of view, have you not?

Mr. Haywood: I would not say that is all my effort.

Commissioner Weinstock: You have aided in it; you have done your full share in it?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; and in so far as I contributed in doing that much even the workers would say that I have done a pretty good job.

Commissioner Weinstock: Would you deny the claim, for example, of a teacher of being a producer?

Mr. Haywood: No; a teacher is a producer.

Commissioner Weinstock: In your line of work you are a teacher, as you teach those around you. You go out and teach the principles you represent, and you are therefore as much a producer as the teacher, and you have no right to call yourself a parasite.

Mr. Haywood: Well, I will accept your correction.

Commissioner Weinstock: Now, will you tell this commission, Mr. Haywood, as an authority on the subject, wherein, assuming that you and the Socialists and the American Federationists have the same objective in mind; that is, the betterment of the worker—will you point out to this commission as clearly and concisely as you can wherein your methods differ and are better than the method of the Socialists, and of the American Federationists?

Mr. Haywood: Well, I do not like to set myself up as a critic.

Commissioner Weinstock: We have a right to your opinion, I think. You were invited here for that purpose and have certainly given the matter a great deal of thought and study and ought to be able to point out clearly to us the comparative advantages and disadvantages.

Mr. Haywood: Without saying—without criticizing trade-unions, which I regard as having accomplished great good in their time, there are many

things in the workings of trade-unions where they recognize the right of the bosses. The Industrial Workers of the World do not recognize that the bosses have any rights at all. We have founded the organization on the basis of the class struggle, and on that basis it must work out its ultimate.

The trade-union says, "Well, the boss has some rights here, and we are going to enter into contract with him." How long is it going to take to solve this problem if you have continuity of contracts? That is the thing we say.

The trade-union is organized on the basis of the tools they work with. Now, the tools are changing, and it is driving trade-unions out of business. For instance the glass blowers — glass was made by workmen who blew through a tube. A glass maker, a glass blower himself contrived a machine whereby this blowing is done automatically, and the glass blower, he is wheeling sand to that machine now.

We believe that everybody that works around that machine ought to be organized just as before; we believe that everybody that works around the glass factory ought to be organized, organized with regard to the welfare of each other. That is the reason I pointed out to you that in the Western Federation of Miners there was small differentiation in the wage scale. It is not true with the glass blower; he was paid from eight to ten dollars per day, while the boy off-bearer got a few dollars a week. Now, with us there was no boy went into the mine younger than 16 years of age, and when he went into the mine he got a man's wages, because we thought he was old enough to do a man's work. It was not a matter of skill; he did not have to serve any apprenticeship; we just took the position when the boy was old enough for the boss to exploit he was old enough to draw full pay.

Mr. Haywood: After the Socialist Party—

Commissioner Weinstock: Let us make this point, Mr. Haywood, before we take up the Socialist Party: I gather then from your statement that the two fundamental points in which I. W. W.'s differ from American Federationists is that you are opposed to

contracts with employers on the one hand, and you believe in one great union instead of craft unions. Does that make the difference?

Mr. Haywood: That makes two differences.

Commissioner Weinstock: In other words, you believe that by the adoption of the methods adopted by the I. W. W. that the ends can be achieved better and more quickly than under the methods followed by the American Federationists?

Mr. Haywood: Can you conceive of anything that labor can not do if they were organized in one big union? If labor was organized and self-disciplined it could stop every wheel in the United States tonight —every one—and sweep off your capitalists and State legislatures and politicians into the sea. Labor is what runs this country, and if they were organized, scientifically organized—if they were class conscious, if they recognized that the workers' interests was every worker's interest, there is nothing but what they can do.

Commissioner Weinstock: Granting an organization so colossal in its character would have great power for good, would it not have great power for ill?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; it would have great power for ill—that is, it would be ill for the capitalists. Everyone of them would have to go to work.

Commissioner Weinstock: Would it not also have great power in doing this—in establishing a new slavery? If the wage earner claims that under the present system of things he is in slavery, would not the colossal power of your plan simply be slavery with new masters?

Mr. Haywood: Such a labor organization would be a fine sort of slavery. I would like to work for my union in a shop that I owned best.

Comissioner Weinstock: If you were the "big injun" chief?

Mr. Haywood: No; to go right back to the mine where I came from.

That is the place that I would like to go, right tomorrow, and receive for my labor, without any stockholder, without any Rockefeller taking off any

part of it, the social value of what my labor contributed to society.

Commissioner Weinstock: To that degree, then, I take it, the I. W. W.'s are Socialistic?

Mr. Haywood: All right.

Commissioner Weinstock: Let me see if I understand the distinction correctly between socialism and I. W. W.'ism.

As I understand it, I. W. W.'ism is socialism, with this difference——

Mr. Haywood (interrupting): With its working clothes on.

Commissioner Weinstock: As an I. W. W., are you a believer in free speech?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Weinstock: Are you a believer in free press?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Weinstock: Now, if your idea prevails and you went to bed tonight under the capitalistic system and woke up toworrow morning under your system, the machinery of production and distribution would belong to all the people?

Mr. Haywood: Under our system it would be under the management of the working class.

Commissioner Weinstock: There would be collective ownership?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Comissioner Weinstock: Of course, you are not anarchistic, you believe in organization, you believe in government?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, the anarchists believe in individualism, and carries it to the limit, without government?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Weinstock: And if you believe in government, then you would have to have a ruler—

Mr. Haywood: Would you?

Commissioner Weinstock: You would have to have superiors; otherwise, how could you have government?

Mr. Haywood: It has been run at times without bosses.

Commissioner Weinstock: Without any officials of any kind?

Mr. Haywood: Without any officials; it was the glass workers of Italy.

Commissioner Weinstock: Taking society as we find it, as you know it and I know it, if you have organization you have to have officers?

Chairman Walsh: Let us have the glass workers' illustration; I never heard of it.

Mr. Haywood: The glass workers of Italy went on strike, and while on strike they determined to run competitive factories, and they built factories of their own, owned by the members of the glass blowers' union. They went to work in those factories; each man knew his work—what there was to do. If you have any surplus and different interests to divide up, then there is some occasion for a boss; but if—suppose, now, that these men who are working in glass factories co-operate, as in this instance, and had some occasion for a boss, they would elect him wouldn't they?

Commissioner Weinstock: Yes, sir; they would elect him, that is guaranteed, and would put certain responsibilities on him to carry out certain rules and regulations or laws that they might adopt.

Mr. Haywood: I cannot conceive of much rules and regulations that would need to be applied with a man of common sense. There would be sanitary regulations around the mine. They would not shoot during shift; they would keep the places well ventilated and clean and well timbered. What other regulations do you want?

Commissioner Weinstock: If this group in this room organized, it can not reasonably be expected to carry out its object unless it elected representatives and officers to carry out its wishes.

Mr. Haywood: But you take a motly group like this; no one can carry out its wishes, because they change every time they turn around.

But you take the workers that work in one industry; their interests can be well carried out.

Commissioner Weinstock: Now, would you confine this great army of workers, organized in one body, would you confine their functions and their efforts to industrial matters pure and simple, or would you at the same time have them also deal with the political conditions, with the government of our municipalities, of our Commonwealths, or our Republic?

Mr. Haywood: There would be neither county or State or National lines.

Commissioner Weinstock: There would be no political sub-division?

Mr. Haywood: Only what existed in the community.

Commissioner Weinstock: That is incomprehensible to me, Mr. Haywood; you will have to explain it a little more definitely.

Mr. Haywood: What is the government of the country? The government of many cities have been changed to the commission form.

Commissioner Weinstock: Yes, sir.

Mr. Haywood: The commissioner has the fire department, the public safety, and public improvement. Those are the different divisions. Why not have that same thing under industrial——

Commissioner Weinstock: Have it nationally?

Mr. Haywood: You have no community that is national in scope.

Commissioner Weinstock: How, then, would you have it?

Mr. Haywood: Have this group or this community wherever the industry was located. Do you suppose under normal conditions that there would be communities like New York or Chicago with great skyscapers sticking up in the air?

Commissioner Weinstock: What would you say would be the size of the community?

Mr. Haywood: Some 50,000 or 60,000, where the people in that industry would dwell. There would be no lawyers or preachers or stockholders like built New York.

Commissioner Weinstock: What would you do with the City of New York?

Mr. Haywood: Tear it down, or leave it as a monument to the foolishness of the present day.

Commissioner Weinstock: How long do you think it will be, Mr. Haywood, knowing the conditions as you know them, before your ideals will be realized, before cities like New York and Chicago will be wiped out and replaced by urban communities?

Mr. Haywood: Well, Mr. Weinstock, if some one had asked me a year ago how long it would be before a world-wide war would take place I would not have answered them; but you see the people of many nations now pitted against each other, committing murder by the wholesale, and I would say that this can come just as quick as the war. I don't know when, but I know that there are people that are interested in bringing about a change of society; whether it will be the change that I have suggested here, or whether that is the right change—and I feel that it is—still I feel that it could come just as quick as other grave things have come.

Commissioner Weinstock: You think it will be an overnight affair?

Mr. Haywood: I think so; that is, as you mean overnight affairs, as war was an overnight affair.

Commissioner Weinstock: I have been asked to submit this question to you if you care to answer it: "What would you do with the lazy man and those that would decide which job each man should take, and what each particular man should do under your system?"

Mr. Haywood: I would give the lazy man the kind of work he would like to do. I don't believe any man is lazy.

Commissioner Weinstock: You don't know me, then.

Mr. Haywood: It is ingrown with you. You have not had a chance to do the thing you want to do; that is the reason you are lazy.

Commissioner Weinstock: I am thoroughly enjoying the work I am doing, Mr. Haywood. How would you decide on which job each man should

have and what each man should do? Who would be the judge; who would be the determining factor?

Mr. Haywood: I think that each man has a selection of his own, and would find his place in the group where the work was going on.

Commissioner Weinstock: You would permit a man to choose his own job regardless of his fitness?

Mr. Haywood: I think he would be the most fit in doing what he would like to do.

Commissioner Weinstock: I have known many merchants that thought they were great poets, and many poets that thought they were great lawyers, and many lawyers that thought they were great musicians, and they were not.

Mr. Haywood: Not in your judgment perhaps, but probably they were according to their own.

Chairman Walsh: Mr. Garretson has a question he wants to ask you before we adjourn.

Commissioner Garretson: Mr. Haywood, the thing I want to know is this: One of the commissioners has presented to you a certain summing up, which seems to me, instead of being a concept of your purpose is rather an indictment of your method. Now, I want to see if I have gathered correctly from what I have studied in regard to the I. W. W., accepting you as one of its principal spokesman and interpreters—whether or not I gather from that what you claim to be your purpose. I am going to read it in a concise form in my own language, and see whether it is fairly interpretative of not your method but your purpose. Is it your attitude that neither man or woman should have the right to possess, either by gift, inheritance, or accumulation, in amount of surplus value (I am using the ordinary phrase "surplus value") that it would make them independent, first, of labor in some form? That takes in the two forms you mentioned, mental or muscular, or extends to the duties and responsibilities that they owe to society or are accountable to that society for or that would enable them to influence other legislative processes, judicial processes, or social or executive processes that would apply their

form of influence. Is that fairly—I know it is rather long.

Mr. Haywood: I would say that neither man or woman should be possessd by inheritance, accumulation, or otherwise with anything that would give them that power.

Commissioner Garretson: Either of those powers?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Garretson: Just one further point—

Mr. Haywood (interrupting): For instance, I would say in foreign countries they have crowns and titles by divine right, but here they have everything without it. They have the sausage without the skin.

Commissioner Garretson: You hold by that every man has a divine right to that crown worn conjunctly with other men.

Mr. Haywood: That would suit me first-rate.

Commissioner Garretson: You accept that as the definition of divine right?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir; but that is as far as I will go with you.

Commissioner Garretson: Do you hold further that if your beliefs were made effective that the man that now stands in your estimation as a ruthless financier, or an exploiter of labor, by being deprived of the right to pile up surplus value or transmit it, having the incentive removed, that his energies would be directed to the common as well as the individual good?

Mr. Haywood: I think so. Now, the only standard of measurement that he has is gold and its accumulation. Under a different system of society he would work for approbation and the approval of his fellow man with all the happiness that would mate with a new society, and would be more of an incentive to him than all his gold.

Commissioner Garretson: Supposing, of course, that we could not grab the coin at the same time?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Garretson: I won't press it further than that.

Chairman Walsh: At this point we will stand adjourned until tomorrow. Will you please resume the stand at 10 o'clock? Some of the other commissioners have some questions they wish to ask you.

(Thereupon, at 4:30 P. M. Wednesday, May 11, 1915, an adjournment was taken until Thursday, May 12, 1915, at 10 o'clock.)

Washington, D. C., Thursday,
May 13, 1915, 10 P. M.

Present: Chairman Walsh; Commissioners Harriman, Garretson, Lennon, Weinstock, and O'Connell.

Chairman Walsh: Mr. Haywood, will you please resume the stand?

TESTIMONY OF MR. WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD
(Continued.)

Chairman Walsh: Mr. Weinstock said he had not quite finished with you last night, and maybe some of the other commissioners would like to ask you some questions.

Commissioner Weinstock: At the hour of adjournment, Mr. Haywood, we were discussing the status of society as it would be if your remedies for the wiping out of industrial strife prevailed. My point was to see whether the condition would be better or worse than now. You remember that I asked you whether or not you believed in free speech and whether you believed in free press, and you said you did. The question that suggests itself to my mind is as to whether, under the conditions which you picture, we could continue to have free press and free speech. To illustrate, let us imagine that we are organized industrially, as you would want it, in one great, big unit, and everything were in the hands of the workers, who are supreme. That, of course, would mean organization; organization would mean the selection of executive officers. That, in turn, would mean the placing upon these executive officers responsibilities. With responsibilities there necessarily must be power. Now, with these officers in the saddle and supreme, unless human nature changed

very materially, there would be room for criticism perhaps on the side of the dissatisfied minority. This great group owning all of the machinery, as it would, for production and distribution, would own the press. So that in the first place there would be no opportunity for the dissatisfied minority or the critics to give publicity to their criticism and to their dissatisfaction. If they dared to raise a public criticism of those in power, in all likelihood they would be subject to the same criticism that I found in Guatemala when I visited there a few years ago. The condition I found there would probably exist under your utopia. Guatemala, a few years ago, elected a president who has only dared to show his head out of his doors three times during that period. Seventeen attempts at assination have taken place, and yet, despite that fact, he rules his people with a rod of iron. Any man that dares to criticize the president or his policy can do one of two things—either get out of the country or lose his head.

Now with that concentrated power under your method, would it not after all mean that if there is such a thing as wage slavery today, as is maintained by those who think as you, then would it not result simply in a change of masters, and would the slavery not be of a far more severe character than the slavery, if there is slavery, under our existing system?

Mr. Haywood: In the first place, you presuppose a condition that perhaps will not take place at all. That is, you state that there would be officers with power. I can not conceive of that kind of society. In the industries each branch of industry would be operated by a group of workers who best know that branch, and among that group of workers if foremen or overseers were necessary they would be selected from among the workers. There would be no dominating power there, would there? I can conceive no need of a dominating, national, world-wide power that would have control of the press. The press is now under a dominating control, and under present-day conditions the militant minority has no method of expression. This commission alone has afforded the minority an expression which in a way

finds it way into the press. No other means has been established, excepting for small weekly newspapers, or something of that kind that are conducted by the minority. It seems to me that under a new society, and you will admit that human psychology will change if given an opportunity, the newspapers of the country would not be devoted to detailing murders and robberies and scandals and stock and bonds; they would be really for the information of the people, and under normal society it seems to me there would be no radical minority for expression. There may be minorities who were striving for change, for the introduction of new ideas or new ideals, but I think that they would certainly be given publicity, because society as a whole would be interested in its own advancement. I think that the conditions that you have described, instead of applying to the future society, very well represent the existing society. That is the condition that we have under capitalism today.

Commissioner Weinstock: Let me make sure, Mr. Haywood, that I certainly understand the objective of I. W. W.'ism. I have assumed,—I will admit that I have assumed in my presentation to you—that I. W. W.'ism was socialism with a plus; that is, that I. W. W.'ism in———

Mr. Haywood (interrupting): I would very much prefer that you would eliminate the reference to socialism in referring to I. W. W.'ism, because from the examples we have, for instance, in Germany, socialism has, or at least the Social Democratic Party, has been very much discredited in the minds of workers of other countries. They have gone in for war, and those of us who believe we are Socialists are opposed to war. So if you don't mind we will discuss industrialism on its own basis.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, in order that I at least may better understand the purpose, aims, and objects of industrialism, I must, in order to bring out the differences and compare it with the socialistic doctrine—you may not believe in the socialistic doctrine any more, and I do not; but my purpose is, so that we do not have a misunderstanding of the mean-

ing of words. Now, let me briefly state to you what I understand socialism stands for, and what I understand I. W. W.'ism stands for. The Socialists, as I understand it, is striving for the cooperative commonwealth, striving to bring about a situation whereby all the machinery of production and distribution shall be owned by all the people, where there shall be but one employer, and that employer shall be all the people, and everything shall be conducted substantially as the Army and Navy are conducted under our form of government. I understand that I. W. W.'ism believes in exactly the same objectives but differs in the methods——

Mr. Haywood, (interrupting): In the first place, I. W. W.'ism has no such thing as an army or navy, and certainly not as the Army and Navy are conducted at the present time.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, I did not say that the Socialists believe in a continuation of the Army and Navy——

Mr. Haywood, (interrupting): Some of them do.

Commissioner Weinstock: I said that they believed that everything would be managed as we now manage the Army and Navy. All the people manage the Army and Navy——

Mr. Haywood (interrupting): But you make a statement that is not true.

Commissioner Weinstock: The soldier and sailor has but one employer, and that employer is all the people. Now the only distinction that I have been able to discover between the aims and objects of those representing the I. W. W. doctrine, and those representing the so-called socialistic doctrines, is the methods of getting to the ends. The Socialists believe in getting it through education and political action, and you believe in doing it through direct action——

Mr. Haywood, (interrupting): And education.

Commissioner Weinstock, (continuing): And the general strike.

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Weinstock: Therefore, the ends are the same, but to be reached through different pathways?

Mr. Haywood: No; the ends are not the same. Now, Socialists, while they present an industrial democracy, they hope to follow the forms of existing governments, having industries controlled by the government, eventually, however, sloughing the State. They will tell you the State is of no further use; and when industries are controlled by the workers the State will no longer function.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, then, am I to understand this, Mr. Haywood? I want that made very clear to me, because if the objective is as I understand you have tried to indicate, then I have been laboring under a misapprehension. Am I to understand that it is not the objective of the I. W. W. to have the State-owned industries?

Mr. Haywood: It certainly is not.

Commissioner Weinstock: I see. Then there is a radical difference between the I. W. W.'s and the Socialists, Mr. Haywood?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Weinstock: The Socialist wants the State to own all the industries.

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Weinstock: And the I. W. W., then, as you now explain it, proposes to have those industries not owned by the State but by the workers——

Mr. Haywood, (interrupting): By the workers.

Commissioner Weinstock, (continuing): Independent of the State.

Mr. Haywood: Independent of the State. There will be no such thing as the State or States. The industries will take the place of what are now existing States. Can you see any necessity for the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut, and two capitols in the smallest State in the Union?

Commissioner Weinstock: Except that of home rule.

Mr. Haywood: Well, you have home rule anyhow, when you place it in the people who are interested, and that is in the industries.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, then, will you briefly outline to us, Mr. Haywood, how would you govern and direct the affairs under your proposed system of 100,000,000 of people, as we are in this country today?

Mr. Haywood: Well, how are the affairs of the hundred million people conducted at the present time? The workers have no interest, have no voice in anything except the shops. Many of the workers are children. They certainly have no interest and no voice in the franchise. They are employed in the shops, and of course my idea is that children who work should have a voice in the way they work—in the hours they work, in the wages that they should receive—that is, under the present conditions children should have that voice, children who labor. The same is true of women. The political state, the Government, says that women are not entitled to vote—that is, except in the 10 free States of the West; but they are industrial units; they are productive units; from millions of women. My idea is that they should have a voice in the control or disposition of their labor power, and the only place where they can express themselves is in their labor union halls, and there they express themselves to the fullest as citizens of industry, if you will, as to the purpose of their work and the conditions under which they will labor. Now, you recognize that in conjunction with women and children.

The black men of the South are on the same footing. They are all citizens of this country, but they have no voice in its government. Millions of black men are disfranchised, who if organized would have a voice in saying how they should work and how the conditions of labor should be regulated. But unorganized they are as helpless and in the same condition of slavery as they were before the war. This is not only true of women and children and black men, but it extends to the foreigner who comes to this country and is certainly a useful member of

society. Most of them at once go into industries, but for five years they are not citizens. They plod along at their work and have no voice in the control or use of their labor power. And as you have learned through this commission there are corporations who direct the manner in which these foreigners shall vote. Certainly you have heard something of that in connection with the Rockefeller interests in the Southern part of Colorado. You know that the elections there were never carried on straight, and these foreigners were directed as to how their ballot should be placed.

They are not the only ones who are disfranchised, but there is also the workingman who is born in this country, who is shifted about from place to place by industrial depressions; their homes are broken up and they are compelled to go from one city to another, and each State requires a certain period of residence before a man has the right to vote. Some States say he must be a resident 1 year, others say 2 years; he must live for a certain length of time in the county; he must live for 30 days or such a matter in the precinct before he has any voice in the conduct of government. Now, if a man was not a subject of a State or Nation, but a citizen of industry, moving from place to place, belonging to his union, wherever he went he would step in the union hall, show his card, register, and he at once has a voice in the conduct of the affairs pertaining to his welfare. That is the form of society I want to see, where the men who do the work, and who are the only people who are worth while—understand me, Mr. Weinstock, I think that the workingman, even doing the meanest kind of work, is a more important member of society than any judge on the Supreme Bench and other useless members of society. I am speaking for the working class, and I am a partisan to the workers.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, among your statements you said that under the present system labor has no representation. Did I get you correctly?

Mr. Haywood: I mentioned the different divisions of labor that have no voice at the ballot box.

Commissioner Weinstock: Take labor as a unit; take all the labor of the country as a unit, would you say it has no representation, no voice?

Mr. Haywood: There may be places where labor may be sufficiently strong to elect a Representative. I realize that in Congress at the present time there are a number of card men, but I do not believe those men were elected by labor, and certainly from their voice in Congress I do not believe they are representing labor.

Commissioner Weinstock: I suppose you, in common with the rest of us, appreciate the fact that whatever remedial legislation may have been enacted throughout the various States and in Congress, such as the child-labor laws, minimum wage for women and minors, the safety laws, the eight-hour and for women and children, and the Workmen's Compensation Act—as a rule, there may be exceptions here and there, but as a rule all of these remedial measures have been opposed by employers and have been advocated by the workers and their sympathizers. Now, if it is true that labor has not had a voice, except in isolated instances, as you point out, and then you doubt whether it is really labor's voice, how do you explain that in spite of the tremendous power of the employers throughout the nation these laws have been put on our statute books and are being enforced?

Mr. Haywood: I said I believe that labor had but few representatives, and that is true. I know there are men who are elected to the different State legislatures that have been assisted by labor's vote, and they have introduced this reform and remedial legislation. But can you show me a place where any of this reform legislation is in effect, even so far as child labor goes and the eight-hour law for women, unless there is an economic organization sufficiently strong to enforce it upon the employer?

Commissioner Weinstock: Yes; in the State of California.

Mr. Haywood: Is the eight-hour law for women observed in that State?

Commissioner Weinstock: Yes, sir; absolutely.

Mr. Haywood: I understand it is not.

Commissioner Weinstock: Then you are misinformed. I can state authoritatively, because I live in the State of California and am thoroughly familiar with the conditions there. There have been many, many actions brought against the violators of the law. They have been penalized, and there are some remote nooks and corners in some of the backwoods towns that cannot be reached.

Mr. Haywood: I understand that is so.

Commissioner Weinstock: But wherever it is possible for the labor department to reach it, it is reached, and the law is generally enforced.

Mr. Haywood: Do you believe that it is enforced by the law and the authorities under the law?

Commissioner Weinstock: Yes, sir.

Mr. Haywood: Or by the labor—the strong labor organizations of California?

Commissioner Weinstock: I suppose it is being backed by the labor organizations.

Mr. Haywood: California is the strongest union State in the Nation.

Commissioner Weinstock: If organized labor was not behind it, it might not be enforced as effectively as it is. Organized labor, naturally in sympathy with the law, leaves nothing undone to see that it is enforced.

Mr. Haywood: I appreciate that, and that is the reason it is enforced.

Commissioner Weinstock: Now, we are not a peculiar people. Humanity is no different in California than in any other part of the country, and whatever has been done there, and is being done there, can be duplicated all over the Union, and there is no reason why the same results cannot be obtained in Maine as in California.

Mr. Haywood: I heard a member of the child-labor commission report on the legislation in Maine. He said they had labor laws on their books in regard to the children employed in the fishing industry, packing sardines, and he said these laws were not lived up to, and it was only through the introduction of machinery that took the place of the children that

they were able to enforce the law; that is, that they employed children in spite of the law.

Commissioner Weinstock: Coming back, Mr. Haywood, to my initial question, we have a hundred million people in this Nation. Now, let us assume that under your system the industries would be organized as you would have them organized, and would be by the industrial workers; you still have not explained how the affairs of the Nation would be conducted. We would have foreign relations that would have to be dealt with; we would have to be prepared to protect ourselves against invasion, and we would have to conduct the affairs, the avenues of governmental service, our postal department, and our various other departments. How would you do that?

Mr. Haywood: Well, you seem to take into consideration that there is only this Nation in the world. Now, I cannot imagine if the workers of the world were organized as I have outlined to you, how there would be any invasion; they would all be interested in the same thing.

Commissioner Weinstock: You will admit this, that you can not expect the whole world overnight to adopt I. W. W. principles; it would have to be a gradual growth.

Mr. Haywood: It does not make any difference to me if it is not for a hundred years.

Commissioner Weinstock: What would you do meanwhile?

Mr. Haywood: The same thing we are doing now —plugging along and taking our part in this class struggle, fighting for better conditions, and hoping to get them tomorrow, but fighting for them, if we do not get them for a century. We are trying to educate such people as you, Mr. Weinstock.

Commissioner Weinstock: I admit that I need a heap of education.

Mr. Haywood: Maybe I do, too, but I can talk, and my working people understand the things we are striving for. It is hard to explain it to a person who has always been under a different environment. I realize that it is hard for you to explain this, but

you can talk to people who are in the shop, and they recognize that they ought to have a voice in the workings of that shop. Indeed there are many newspapers now who are saying that it is wrong for capital alone to direct industry; it is wrong to have the ideas of Mr. Rockefeller, who says that common labor is animate machinery. Common labor is a human being, collective human beings, and they ought to be considered in the same light as other human beings.

Commissioner Weinstock: Can you tell us, Mr. Haywood, especially for the information of the chairman and myself, as well as for the other commissioners, where Mr. Rockefeller said that common labor is animate machinery?

Mr. Haywood: I don't remember where I did see that, but somewhere.

Commissioner Weinstock: I was present for three days, or about three days, when Mr. Rockefeller was on the stand, and he was turned inside out, and almost every conceivable question that could be devised was put to him.

Mr. Haywood: When he comes here next week ask him if he didn't say that. I think you will find out that he did. I think that is his mind, and I think he has no other viewpoint.

Commissioner Weinstock: I will make a note of that.

Chairman Walsh: A request has just come up from the sergeant-at-arms that some of the persons in the rear of the hall are very anxious to hear what you have to say in answer to these questions, but are unable to do so and will you please pitch your voice a little higher?

Mr. Haywood: Pardon me.

Commissioner Weinstock: That is all the questions I have now.

Chairman Walsh: Commissioner Lennon has a few questions he wants to ask you.

Commissioner Lennon: Mr. Haywood. Mr. Weinstock asked you a question regarding the necessity of the exercise of power by officers as it might arise under your philosophy of administering the affairs

of industry. Is there a greater degree of social and industrial unrest over the exercise of power by officers under existing governments that has never been given to them by the people?

Mr. Haywood: I think that is one of the chief causes for industrial unrest, is the usurpation of power by people that now control industries, power that has never been given to them—power that they have taken.

Commissioner Lennon: In your recitation of events that took place under your observation, so far, as strikes, and so forth, were concerned, as an example of this exercise of power, without having been given to them by the people you mentioned the deportation of men from Cripple Creek. Were they deported by any court of proper jurisdiction after a trial as to whether they were guilty of any crime or not, or was it a usurpation of power of officials?

Mr. Haywood: They had never been arrested, never been charged with any crime. They were taken from their homes by the militia at the order of one Adjt. Gen. Bell. He issued an order to his understrappers, giving them a list of names, and instructed them to take these men on special trains, assigning the train outside of the State of Colorado, and to immediately report on their return to him.

Commissioner Lennon: In the case of the two Coeur d'Alene strikes or lockouts, the one that was in Utah, at that canyon, I forget the name?

Mr. Haywood: Bingham Canyon?

Commissioner Lennon: Bingham Canyon; did you see any of this undue exercise of power by officers who had no authority under the law to exercise such power?

Mr. Haywood: During the two strikes in the Coeur d'Alene, I then was a member of the excutive board of the Western Federation of Miners, and I went through the Coeur d'Alene district. I went from house to house at night, and, of course, could feel the spirit or lack of spirit, among the workers, who were afraid to move about. I met at that time men who were under indictment. I saw the bull pen; I know that there were thousands of men, or a thou-

sand men, at least, in this bull pen at that time, and I know that they were there without warrant and without charge; that they were never charged with any crime; that they were held for six or seven months, many of them.

Commissioner Lennon: In any case where this undue exercise of power did injury to these men, were they ever able to recover damages or satisfaction of any character for the injuries done to them?

Mr. Haywood: You remember yesterday I mentioned about the soldiers looting the stores of Cripple Creek. At that time we filed with the State Auditor of Colorado a claim, I couldn't say just how much, but something less than a hundred thousand dollars for damages that was done to the stores. A few years later the legislature by act granted $60,000 as a return for the damages done by the soldiers to the Western Federation of Miners.

Commissioner Lennon: Were those men who were individually deported, were they ever able to secure any indemnity for the wrongs that had been done them?

Mr. Haywood: The nearest that was done to anything on their behalf, I had each man that I could reach afterwards file claims against the State for individual sums, some of them claiming $5,000, some $7,500, and other amounts. They were filed with the auditor of state and they stand in the auditor's office now and could be granted by the legislature, but up to the present time they have received no redress.

Commissioner Lennon: Taking the men that were imprisoned in the bull pens at the different places you recited and were never tried, they simply turned them out when they got through holding them? Were they ever able to secure any redress?

Mr. Haywood: Never.

Commissioner Lennon: I want to ask you a question or two on another phase of what has come before the commission.

Several questions were asked you yesterday regarding the right of property. Is it not true that all recognized titles of property are man-made, and if

man had the right to create titles they have the right to repeal those titles and substitute some other system?

Mr. Haywood: I absolutely agree with you. I think that the first warranty deed was a fake; that it was a put-up job, the same as many other jobs were put up in this city, and have been; that titles that are existing are wrong and against the best interests of the people, and that the people should revoke the existing titles to private property that is publicly used.

Commissioner Lennon: Government was supposed to be instituted among men for service, for the protection of their rights. I can not quote it, but for the protection of the people's rights, I cannot quote literally from the Declaration of Independence, but I think the understanding of the people that founded this Government was that if the Government then founded ceased to serve the best interests of the people, that the people have the right to ovrthrow it by legislative methods if they can, by revolution if that becomes necessary. Is that your conception?

Mr. Haywood: That is about what the Declaration of Independence says, and about what the Constitution conveys. I do believe that.

Commissioner Harriman: Mr. Haywood. I understand from what you have said today, and from what you have said before, that you do not believe in war. Now, if you don't believe in war, why do you believe in violence in labor disputes? One is war between nations, and the other is war between——

Mr. Haywood, (interrupting): You say I believe in violence?

Commissioner Harriman: Yes, sir; one of your contemporariers, I think St. John, I asked him the direct question last spring, if the I. W. W. believed in violence, and he said yes.

Mr. Haywood: But you said I believe in violence?

Commissioner Harriman: I thought you did.

Mr. Haywood: Probably I do; but I don't want it to be taken for granted without giving me an opportunity to explain what violence means. I think

you will agree that there is nothing more violent that you can do to the capitalist than to drain his pocketbook. In that sort of violence I believe, and we are trying to make it impossible for the growth of more capitalists, and to make useful citizens out of the existing capitalists. I give you an illustration of what I think violence is:

In Sioux City, Iowa, last month the authorities of that town came to the hall of the union and told a man, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, that the chief wanted to see him. He said, knowing his rights as an American citizen, he said, "If the chief wants to see me, tell him where I am." He said, "No; you will have to go to the office." He said, "Have you a warrant?" "No." "Well, I will not go." The detective went downstairs and got a crowd of uniformed policemen and they came to the hall and took his man and all the other members that were in the hall and went to headquarters with them. The men were put in jail temporarily without a hearing. They were all thrown into jail, and the next morning refused a jury trial, refused a change of venue, and were sentenced to $100 fine or 30 days in jail. One of them remarked to the judge, "Why don't you make it a hundred?" And he said, "In your case, I will just double the sentence." Those men were put in jail, and word went out to the other locals throughout the country, and foot-loose members started for Sioux City. They came in groups of twos and threes, and tens and fifteens, and fifties and hundreds, until the Sioux City jails, both the city and the county were crowded to capacity. The authorities thinking to make use of the labor power of these men purchased from Sioux Falls, South Dakota, three carloads of granite, which they expected the members of the I. W. W. to break, making little ones out of big ones. This they refused to do. They went on hunger strike. Some 75 of those men were 86 hours without eating. The authorities found that they could not do anything with them, so they appointed a committee, or a commission, to go to see the men in jail, and asked them up on what terms things could be settled. The men said, "Unequivocal

release from prison, the re-establishment of the right of free speech," and one of the boys said, "New clothes for the ones the 'bulls' have destroyed," and upon those terms they were released. Those men were released from the prison in the face of the fact that they had been sentenced to jail by judges. That I regard as action more violent than the discharge of bombs in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, because they enforced the rights that this country gave to them; they compelled the authorities who are supposed to uphold those rights in seeing that they were granted. I believe in that kind of violence, and as I said yesterday when the workers are organized, it matters not to me what becomes necessary, if they are to get control of the means of life. The working class is the only class entitled to any consideration, and as Abraham Lincoln said, "To give to that class the full product of their toil is the righteous duty of any Government."

Commissioner Weinstock: Where do you draw the line, Mr. Haywood, between the worker and the non-worker?

Mr. Haywood: Oh, I think that it is easy to draw the line.

Commissioner Weinstock: Please tell us what your line is. Are you a worker?

Mr. Haywood: No. I told you yesterday that I thought you and I were parasites.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, you confine the term "worker," then, to the man who does manual labor?

Mr. Haywood: Oh, no; I said brain and muscle. Now, understand, Mr. Weinstock, we are not excluding from membership in the new society any man who has ability. We recognize the necessity of civil experts; we recognize the necessity for engineers and inventors and all useful citizens. What we cannot appreciate is why the great minds or the minds of great men have been used to make lawyers or preachers.

Commissioner Weinstock: Well, would you call an executive officer a useful citizen?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Weinstock: And despite the fact that he does not work with his hands?

Mr. Haywood: Why, I say we want brain workers, men who will sit down and map out plans. He runs industries now. Well, we don't propose to change the industries, excepting so far as to eliminate waste which ownership brings. Why should the railroaders of this country continue running the roads for the King of England? He is one of the largest owners in the Santa Fe. Why should the steel workers be running the steel plants for the potentates of foreign countries, who are largely holders of stock in that industry? That is the thing we are after. We want the people of this country to own the steel industry in this country. We do not think a Morgan is necessary to the running of that steel industry. We don't think a John D. Rockefeller, notwithstanding what Mr. Baer said about divine providence, is necessary. We think that the mines can run without providence and without Baer and without Rockefeller and be run a great deal better, and there be no such terrible trouble as has existed there if the men were running them in the interest of the people. There would be no Ludlow affair.

Chairman Walsh: Commissioner Garretson has a question he would like to ask you, please.

Commissioner Garretson: You stated yesterday in response to a question that it was not, from your own standpoint, desirable when this or that evil was palliated, because it did not work a benefit to the cause that you represented: that is, the propagation of that cause. In other words, the best harvest field that you find for organization is where injustice is the most prevalent. Is that correct?

Mr. Haywood: Well, that is usually the best place to carry on propaganda—is where injustice can be best seen, where it is felt.

Commissioner Garretson: Where it is the most apparent?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Garretson: And rub the hardest on the galled jade?

Mr. Haywood: That is true.

Commissioner Garretson: Is that one reason that the method that the I. W. W. follows is against a legislative program, because you believe it would defer the day of universal acceptance of your doctrine?

Mr. Haywood: Well, as I stated this morning, the majority of the workers have no legislative program; that is, they have no votes. They can not elect their representatives. You will readily admit that is true of children and true of most of the women and true of the black men and true of all the foreigners and certainly affects a part of the American citizens. Then what appeal is there? Where do they find any expression in legislative action?

Commissioner Garretson: The question would be whether an educative program directed along these lines would as effective as an educative program conducted on the other lines for the abolition of the legislative process. What I am curious about—possibly others of the commission are—is this: What will be the form—the medium, rather—of expression of these various bodies grouped on the industrial basis instead of grouped on what might be described now as the governmental basis? That is, the existence of States being abolished and the citizens of the country being grouped industrially. What is the medium of expression between those different groups as to their needs under your plan?

Mr. Haywood: Let me take the different phases that an individual represents in society.

Commissioner Garretson: Yes.

Mr. Haywood: We will take the home, for instance, in any industrial community. The father, mother, and children are the family of that home. When they leave that roof they go out to different branches of industry in that town. They then are no longer a family; they are a part of the group in the industry in which they are employed, and should of necessity be a voice in that group. They should have a choice as to the conditions under which that branch is conducted—conducted now for profit, conducted then for use—and we will naturally suppose that everyone will be interested in doing the work in the

best possible way with the best possible output. Leaving their industry, leaving their several groups, coming back to their homes, they will again become a family. But one family can not do the things essential for happiness, for their happiness, and for their comfort.

They would need to cooperate with other families of the community for the establishment of transportation, lighting systems, water-works——

Commissioner Garretson: You are talking now of local transportation?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; local.

Commissioner Garretson: Yes; go on.

Mr. Haywood, (continuing): Parks and amusements, education, schools. Why, I think that every child is entitled to the finest education that the Government could give—that is, that kind of a government—not the kind of education that we have now. That would be the relations of the individual to the industry and to the community. Now, as to national and international travel, let the railroaders belong to one organization, and you will agree that the railroaders can run the railroads better than coal miners can run them, or better than shareholders or stockholders can do it. Let them conduct the railroads and live in the community in the same basis as other industrial workers.

Commissioner Garretson: Well, now, you have placed the community life on exactly the old basis of the archaic condition of patriarchal control of the family, haven't you? You draw from your experience; I draw from mine. If the railroad is taken over as an industry in its present form—take a road that has been rather prominently in the eye for a few days, the Pennsylvania Railroad—suppose that to be taken over by the employees of the railroad and operated by them. After the expressions that you have given as to those in power, I am at a loss to understand how a community on the Pennsylvania Railroad at Pittsburg or Chicago is to arrive at a common understanding, first, of their necessities, and, second of the method by which those necessities will be met in the actual operation without

people in absolute control and direction and the power necessary to make their instructions mandatory for the train movement.

Mr. Haywood: You would be there to run the railroads.

Commissioner Garretson: Or under the sod.

Mr. Haywood: What?

Commissioner Garretson: Some other man will; some man will be there.

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir. It seems to me you can run them better—and we will take an arbitration board, for instance, the arbitration board sitting in Chicago. They have been looking out for the welfare of 65,000 individuals. Some of those people knew nothing about railroading, absolutely nothing. Well, they are not the people to look after the railroad interests. Take your own executive board; who can run the railroads any better than they?

Commissioner Garretson: Well, now, how can they make their instructions effective unless they are made responsible for it and given the concomitant power?

Mr. Haywood: Why, certainly, give them the power to run the railroads.

Commissioner Garretson: Well, then, you are a believer in a system of control and direction which is owned by the men themselves and backed up by the sentiment and action of the men themselves?

Mr. Haywood: Absolutely.

Commissioner Garretson: Yesterday possibly either I misunderstood or you phrased it unhappily in stating from your standpoint that there was no necessity for the exercise of executive power. Well, applied to transportation it would become an impossibility, because unless there was a head of that industrial group——

Mr. Haywood: Exactly, Well, in speaking of industries yesterday, when I made that remark it was in reference to political executive conditions.

Commissioner Garretson: Well, it was undoubtedly applicable to industry in general. Well, you know the transportation interest is one that can not be disposed of by intercommunication—that is, the

personal contact—because it is so widely separated. The man in Pittsburgh and the man in New York and the man in Boston have no means of operating except through an intercommunication through a controlling power. That controlling power has got to gather first, knowledge as to the necessity, and he has got to receive it in the community. For instance, there has got to be means of intercommunication through a medium regularly recognized to determine the needs of that community which have to be filled from the community that is distant. Is that not true?

Mr. Haywood: I recognize that.

Commissioner Garretson: That community has to have an estimate of what clothing it needs?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Garretson: It has first got to be indicated to the mills to create the material thereof?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Garretson: And known to the shop that turns that into clothing in its various forms. There has got to be a universal estimate of the food supply necessary, because without an intelligent production a market as it is known now ceases to exist for those things and ceases to be the dominative factor in determining production, because the profits of production, in the sense profit is now known, will cease to exist. Am I correct?

Mr. Haywood: You are correct.

Commissioner Garretson: And executive power must do it?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; and those executives you describe would be the representatives——

Commissioner Garretson: In other words, you would substitute the old folkmote of the Saxon village?

Mr. Haywood: No; place the power in the hands of industry.

Commissioner Garretson: Would you put it further and follow the Saxon precedent higher up, the witenagemote?

Mr. Haywood: I don't know anything about that.

Commissioner Garretson: Well, those are represented by our State legislatures and by our National Congress, as the case may be.

Mr. Haywood: All right; anything that will take the place of the existing legislature, or let the legislature run—anything that will place the industries in the hands of the people and the direction in the hands of the workers.

Commissioner Garretson: In other words, you are willing to accept as much of the existing machinery as appears to be necessary for the carrying out of your ideas and not hostile thereto?

Mr. Haywood: I would accept so much of it, certainly. We are not going to tear down that we can not find something better to put in its place.

Commissioner Garretson: Have you a belief on this subject? Reference was made yesterday to the futility of the initiative and the referendum. Do you believe that with experience in the use of the initiative and referendum and a consequent education that will come from it, that it will become a more effective thing than it has so far demonstrated itself to be in actual use?

Mr. Haywood: I think that industrial government will bring legislation—the groups in the industries and the initiative and referendum will not become a burdensome thing, but that these matters of detail can be discussed in these groups or communities.

Commissioner Garretson: You believe that with responsibility placed upon the individual unit of the community that his conception of his responsibilities will increase?

Mr. Haywood: Certainly.

Commissioner Garretson: One practical question in regard to the Colorado situation. At the time of the Colorado strike were the metalliferous and bituminous miners all in one association?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; they were.

Commissioner Garretson: Both?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner Garretson: At that time the Western Federation of Miners had in its membership both bituminous and metalliferous men?

Mr. Haywood: The Western Federation of Miners organized the coal miners of Colorado first.

Commissioner Garretson: Before it did the metalliferous men?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; but at the time of the 1903 strike they had become a part of the United Mine Workers.

Commissioner Garretson: Which strike?

Mr. Haywood: In 1903.

Commissioner Garretson: But the same agencies were arrayed against both crafts, both the metal and the coal?

Mr. Haywood: Oh, yes; they had the Mine Owners' Association.

Commissioner Garretson: That embraced all of the mine owners?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Garretson: Have you any definite knowledge or date as to when the miners separated into two separate associations, if they ever have separated?

Mr. Haywood: I do not think they ever have separated.

Commissioner Garretson: Did you hear the statement that was made by Maj. Broughton before this commission to the effect—and Maj. Broughton, you remember, was in charge of the militia in the field?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner Garretson: And that he was also under retainer by the Coal Mining Association of Cripple Creek, and that he had no connection with any other mining class in Colorado, during this period; did you hear that?

Mr. Haywood: No, I did not hear that; but I think it is true beyond any question of doubt that they were all members of the Citizens' Alliance in 1903.

Commissioner Garretson: And that they were furnishing the medium of communication, even if there was different existing groups?

Mr. Haywood: Absolutely.

Commissioner Garretson: That is all.

Mr. Haywood: I met the members of the Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. in the senate chamber and the assembly hall before the mines and the mining committee, and they were contending then against an eight-hour law.

Chairman Walsh: I have three questions that I have been requested to ask you that have been sent up, and I wish you would answer them as briefly as you can. One is, Do you not consider the exploitation of children in industry under the present system a form of violence of a very insidious and brutal sort?

Mr. Haywood: I most certainly do. It is only one of the terrible violences that are practiced by the capitalistic class.

Chairman Walsh: Then there is another question: Will I. W. W.'ism do away with crime and criminals? If not, how will you organize your society to protect the well-behaved many against the vicious few?

Mr. Haywood: Industrialism will do away with crime and criminals, as 95 per cent of the crime today is crime against property. Abolishing the wage system—abolishing private property—will remove 95 per cent of the crime.

Chairman Walsh: Now, I have here a formal question from some gentleman through a letter. He says that during the week prominent lawyers and sociologists have been asked a categorical question under the first section of the questionarie, namely, as to the prevalent attitude of courts in labor cases. I thought your whole testimony was directed to that end, but nevertheless, if you have anything further to say on that, I would be very glad to have you say it. What is your view of the prevalent attitude of courts in labor cases?

Mr. Haywood: I think, Mr. Chairman, that in citing the strikes, showing that the militia have been used in nearly every one; that many, thousands of men have been arrested without warrant; that thousands have come before the courts, and, although warrants have been issued, they were discharged. It seems to me that in answer to that question it is

safe to say that the courts are used, as a general rule, in favor of the capitalistic class.

Chairman Walsh: Now, there is one other question: Were you present during the testimony of Judge Cullen, formerly judge of the New York court of appeals?

Mr. Haywood: No.

Chairman Walsh: I undestood you had a comment to make upon that from the field, as it were, as one who had been upon the ground. He discussed the matter from a legal standpoint.

Mr. Haywood: I have the speech made by Judge Cullen, and there are abstracts from his speech which I seem, in a way, to agree with.

Chairman Walsh: What are they?

Mr. Haywood: The militia and the use of the militia in the field.

Chairman Walsh: Did your observation in the field concur with the conclusions reached by Judge Cullen in his speech, which may be said to have been reiterated by him on the witness stand?

Mr. Haywood: Why, yes. I saw the militia at work; I saw them as I told you, and the militia was ordered to bring in three prisoners, and the militia absolutely refused to obey the order, because the court was at that time favorable to the strikers.

Chairman Walsh: As a matter of industrial unrest, does that sort of handling of men cause or does it not cause the most bitter resentment?

Mr. Haywood: The working class of this country have looked upon the courts with a great deal of awe and respect in the past; that is not true now. They look upon the courts as a tool of the employing class.

Chairman Walsh: Do the workers as a body have the frame of mind expressed by Judge Cullen (with reference to judges as a class when this form of what you might call legal oppression is practiced upon them) in his speech as follows (reads):

"The Governor might imprison or execute the members of the legislature or even the learned judges of the supreme court themselves. Frankly, I do not regard such a danger as likely, for I have great confidence in the common sense of the Amer-

ican people, and I imagine that if such a course were attempted not even the devotion of those learned judges to the principles of law they had learned would induce them to voluntarily surrender life or liberty, and that in their resistance they would be supported by the mass of the people."

Is that the attitude of mind the workers have—that when their rights are invaded by the force of the military power they feel they ought to resist, and that the most of the American people would support them if they understood it?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Chairman Walsh: So, from your standpoint in the field, and Judge Cullen's standpoint from the court of appeals bench, there is no disagreement on that proposition?

Mr. Haywood: Mr. Walsh, during the Cripple Creek strike of 1903, 1904, and 1905 the miners of that district would have killed every militiaman in the district if it were not for the fact that they believed the people of the United States did not understand it; if it were not for the fact that Roosevelt was in the presidential chair at that time, and there was a 10-company post of soldiers just outside of Denver. They knew their rights were being invaded, and they were willing to fight for their rights.

Chairman Walsh: Just as Judge Cullen says the people would fight if they attempted the same violence on the judges of the court?

Mr. Haywood: Yes; the American people have always fought for their rights, and they are going to fight for them again.

Chairman Walsh: Commissioner O'Connell has some questions to ask.

Commissioner O'Connell: That end of the table (indicating) have brought out the position of the independent workmen of the world that it is not necessary to discuss that further.

I want to get some information in regard to the citation of yesterday, in which you spoke of a man in the Wheatland hop fields that was branded with the letters I. W. W. with a hot cigar.

Mr. Haywood: That was in San Diego.

Commissioner O'Connell: Can you give the particulars of that, with the names, and so forth?

Chairman Walsh: We have that in our record.

Mr. Haywood: Did you embody that in your report, Mr. Weinstock?

Commissioner Weinstock: No; that circumstance occurred after I made my investigation.

Chairman Walsh: There is an investigation and it is in our report, because I read it; the name of the man was B. L. Reitman, and he was taken outside of the city, it is alleged, and his clothing stripped from him, and with a lighted cigar they attempted to burn the letters, "I. W. W." on his person; that part of it is in the record.

Commissioner O'Connell: And that was after you made your investigation?

Commissioner Weinstock: Yes; after I made my investigation.

Mr. Haywood: Was Nicolage (?) killed at that time?

Commissioner Weinstock: I do not remember.

Commissioner O'Connell: I will look it up.

Now, Mr. Haywood, I feel that you will agree with me that the ideas that you have just outlined to us are not going to become operative right away?

Mr. Haywood: Yes.

Commissioner O'Connell: It is not going to take place within the next month or the next year or several years; in the meantime we must be doing something, and this commission was created by Congress for the purpose of ascertaining what the underlying causes of industrial unrest are, the principal causes, and to make some recommendations to Congress. That would imply that Congress would be interested in doing something if we made certain recommendations right away for the relief of the people, particularly the working people.

Now, if you were a member of this commission, Mr. Haywood, what would you be in favor of recommending to Congress to take up immediately to relieve the people? What would you advise this commission to recommend?

Mr. Haywood: I think I would advise to meet the needs of the people, employment, work, such as the Government could do—reclamation, reforesting stations—such work as would meet the needs of the unemployed; that is, just as remedial measures.

Commissioner O'Connell: You consider, then, that unemployment, or temporarily so, is one of the underlying causes of industrial unrest?

Mr. Haywood: Certainly, when a man is out of work, when he has no means of obtaining food for his family, that certainly is a cause of unrest. That is a cause of the present discontent largely.

Commissioner O'Connell: And would also imply, as I take it from your answer to a question a while ago, that idle hands beget crime; if there is steady employment, crime decreases.

Mr. Haywood: That is always true; crime always increases in the winter when unemployment is greatest and suffering most intense.

Commissioner O'Connell: What would you do in the case of the itinerant worker, the casual employee who only has employment for a certain period of the year, for instance, picking fruit, or cutting ice in the winter, or doing logging in the summer, and all that?

Mr. Haywood: Of course, I think that all of these people should be organized, and we are going on to that end. We establish what we call the organized workers, and we will meet the vast body of workers employed in the harvest fields.

Commissioner O'Connell: Would you have the Government arrange for the carrying of people from one industry to the other, where they were wanted, without cost to the workmen?

Mr. Haywood: I think that workmen should be given free transportation; I don't mean in box cars, as has been suggested; I don't know by whom, that is fixed up, they ride that way now, but they should be given free transportation in proper conveyances in looking for work.

Commissioner O'Connell: The job and the man ought to be brought together by the Government itself, without cost to the man or the job?

Mr. Haywood: That may be a remedial remedy suggested by the commission.

Commissioner O'Connell: That is incidental to the unemployment, and what you believe to be the functional cause of industrial unrest. Have you in mind any other general question that might be effective in this direction, that this commission might suggest to Congress as a remedy? Of course, I don't mean that healthy unrest, we don't want that, but we want the unrest that creates the criminals and makes paupers and makes men helpless, that sort of unrest. Can you think of any other idea you might suggest to the commission? I am sure we would appreciate it, notwithstanding we probably feel that you are so imbued with your Utopian ideas of things that they would not modernize down to the affairs of today, that are effective today and tomorrow?

Mr. Haywood: Really, Mr. O'Connell, I don't think that I presented any Utopian ideas, I talked for the necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter, and amusement. We can talk of Utopia afterwards. The greatest need is employment.

Commissioner O'Connell: You think unemployment, insufficient wage, long hours of labor, employment of children, employment of women beyond reasonable hours, and at low wages, the unfair application of the laws by the courts, the unfair attitude of the courts as to the equity or opportunity of the poor man as against the rich man, to secure justice, all those things point toward unrest?

Mr. Haywood: They certainly do; they are the things that make unrest.

Commissioner O'Connell: They are the things that make for unrest?

Mr. Haywood: Yes, sir.

Commissioner O'Connell. And those are the things you think this commission ought to interest itself in at this time?

Mr. Haywood: If there was any possibility of Congress remedying these evils, I think this commission has a duty to perform in recommending such changes.

Commissioner O'Connell: That is all.

Chairman Walsh: That is all, Mr. Haywood, and you will be excused permanently. We thank you.

Mr. Haywood: I have here the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World that I wanted to make a part of the record, I would like to read it in.

Chairman Walsh: We will be very glad to have it put in the record.

Mr. Haywood, (reading): "Mr. Chairman, in view of the attempt on the part of Commissioner Weinstock yesterday to create an erroneous impression relative to the methods and aims of the I. W. W., and in view of the further fact that Commissioner Weinstock read into the record in the form of questions propounded to me portions of a biased report on the I. W. W. prepared some years ago by himself in California, I desire at this time to read for the enlightenment of the commission the very brief Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"I. W. W. PREAMBLE

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common.

"There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth, and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

"We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade-unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class.

"The trade-unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars.

"Moreover the trade-unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

"These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.'

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism.

"The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown.

"By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of a new society within the shell of the old."

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Fourth: Organize local committees to carry our literature into the mills, mines and factories. These committees should arrange routes in cities so that every house will be in possession of the real facts of America's gross injustice.

* * *

Co-operation spells success. Do you stand with us or against us? Do you believe that everyone has the right to protect their lives and property from lawless mobs? This is a question that concerns every man, woman and child in this country.

Whatever you decide must be done without delay. **Remember these men have been continuously imprisoned since 1919.**

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

THESE ARE THE FACTS!

Eleven men were tried on a charge of having conspired to commit murder in the first degree, and for the slaying of Lieut. Warren Grimm in the carrying out of the alleged conspiracy. Ten of these men were members of the Industrial Workers of the World, and the eleventh was their attorney, Elmer Stuart Smith, who had advised them that they had a right to defend themselves, even with guns, against an attack by superior numbers.

The trial was staged at Montesano, 50 miles west of Centralia, and extended from January 25, to March 13 in 1920. Judge John M. Wilson of the Superior Court presided. When the prosecution had concluded its presentation of evidence, the court released Bert Faulkner, finding that no case had been made against him. On March 12 the jurors retired to deliberate, remained out 20 hours, and then returned a verdict which Judge Wilson rejected as unacceptable under the law.

They had acquitted Elmer Stuart Smith and Mike Sheehan, had declared Loren Roberts insane, adjudged Eugene Barnett and John Lamb guilty of murder in the third degree, and found the others guilty of murder in the second degree. There is no such a crime as third degree murder in the state of Washington, so the jurors were sent out to continue their deliberations. Two hours later they brought in a revised verdict in which Attorney Smith and Sheehan were acquitted, Roberts was found insane, and the following were declared guilty of second degree murder: Eugene Barnett, John Lamb, Britt Smith, Bert Bland, Commodore Bland, Ray Becker and James McInerney.

This verdict was in keeping with the court's instructions, but it was a direct contradiction of the charge against the defendants in the indictment.

They had been accused of, and tried for, alleged conspiracy to commit murder in the first degree and the carrying out of such a conspiracy. But second degree murder is defined by the statutes of the state of Washington as unpremeditated murder. If there was no premeditation, the defense contends, there could not have been a conspiracy.

And with that verdict was a special plea from the jury, signed by all its members, saying: "We, the undersigned jurors, respectfully petition the court to extend leniency to the defendants whose names appear on the attached verdict."

Yet when Judge Wilson had the seven convicted defendants before him again on April 5, he dealt to them the highest sentence possible under the law —25 to 40 years in prison. Questioned about the case later that day, Judge Wilson admitted that the verdict was a contradiction of the charge. "But," he said to a newspaper man who had raised the question, "you've been around trials enough to know that lawyers don't always know the law, and even judges don't always know it."

Montesano, seat of Gray's Harbor county, was chosen as the trial-scene after the defense had asked for a change of venue because of the high emotional tension and bitter prejudice which existed in Lewis county, in which Centralia is situated. But as the weeks went on, the lumber interests carried their anti-I. W. W. propaganda into every corner of Gray's Harbor county, and the defense demanded a second change of venue. On January 3, 1920, Judge Wilson admitted that a fair trial of the case could not be had in Montesano, and indicated that he would grant the requested change. But five days later, he reversed his attitude and decreed that Montesano must be the scene of trial.

From the first, the odds were heavily against the defense. Judge Wilson was manifestly prejudiced. He had delivered a eulogy of the slain paraders

at an Elks memorial service on December 7, in the very hall where the business men of Centralia had met to devise ways and means to drive the I. W. W. out of town. All along the coast various bar associations nad pledged their members not to defend any I. W. W., no matter what charge, great or small, was placed against him. This was a clear violation of the oath which every lawyer takes when admitted to the bar. Immediately after the Centralia rioting, the Attorney General at Olympia ordered the arrest of all I. W. W. members found anywhere in the commonwealth. Eight hundred were thrown into jail. Only three attorneys in Washington dared defend I. W. W. cases. George F. Vanderveer of Seattle, former county prosecutor there, was retained in behalf of the Centralia men. Tied up with other cases, he could not take up the Centralia fight until two days before the date for trial. Meanwhile the prosecution, with unlimited money and unbounded other resources at its command, had two and a half months for preparation.

Six attorneys went into court for the prosecution. Herman Allen, prosecutor for Lewis county, where the tragedy had occurred, was pushed aside, and the legal attack was made by W. H. Abel and C. D. Cunningham, both attorneys for the lumber interests. Each was retained on a $5,000 contract from Lewis county. Cunningham was the legal representative of F. B. Hubbard, lumber magnate and then president of the Employers' Association of the State of Washington. Hubbard had been a leader in the employers' fight against the 1917 strike of the I. W. W. for decent wages and living conditions in the lumber camps. Abel had been a special deputy sheriff during that strike and was active in opposing it.

Many members of the American Legion in uniform were brought to Montesano at the opening of the trial, and were detailed to sit in the courtroom.

Fifty or more were in constant attendance at the trial, their eyes always fixed on the jurors. These Legionaires were paid $4 a day and expenses for this service, and were lodged in the city hall.

There were two outstanding issues in the case: 1—Which side was the aggressor—the ex-service men in the Armistice Day parade, or the I. W. W. members who were in their hall when the parade came along?

2—Did Eugene Barnett fire the shot which killed Warren Grimm? . . . The prosecutors contended that the industrialists had fired in cold blood upon the parade in keeping with a pre-conceived plan. The defense denied this, and declared that the I. W. W. members on trial simply defended themselves against attack by superior numbers; that they had been warned to be ready for such an attack; that under the law they had full right to prepare for such defense, and to use guns if they had reason to fear violence.

Judge Wilson permitted the prosecution to introduce with a free hand all evidence which tended to support the theory that the I. W. W. members had conspired to fire upon innocent passing soldiers. But he refused to let the defense introduce any evidence which was offered to show that many Centralia business men had conspired to raid the industrial hall on Armistice Day. He prohibited the defense from submitting to the jury evidence of what was common knowledge in Centralia, notably the following facts:

That 100 business men of that town had met in Elks' hall on the night of October 20, 1919, and laid plans to drive the I. W. W. out of town.

That the county prosecutor and the police chief informed the meeting that the I. W. W. had committed no violation of law and could not lawfully be banished.

That F. B. Hubbard, lumber mill owner, then

declared: "This is a damned outrage. If I were chief of police I would have the Wobblies out of here within 24 hours."

That William Scales, local commander of the American Legion, who presided at the business men's meeting, said that while he did not favor raiding the I. W. W. hall, he was certain that no American jury would convict anybody who might raid it.

That there had been an attack on a hall previously occupied by the I. W. W., this attack being made by the tail-end of a Memorial Day parade and being led by F. B. Hubbard, who appropriated a desk taken from that hall.

That on this occasion the raiders went through the I. W. W. quarters "like a swarm of rats," dragged the industrial unionists outside, lifted them by the ears onto motor trucks, and transported them to the next county, warning them never to come back.

That Blind Tom Lassiter, a man who sold I. W. W. newspapers, suffered the loss of his news stand and all his possessions by burning at the hands of a mob; and that Lassiter subsequently was kidnapped by business men on the main street of Centralia in daylight, thrown into an automobile, and dumped into a ditch in the next county.

That the I. W. W. had been warned that their hall would be raided on Armistice Day, had asked for police protection, and were denied it.

That when this happened the I. W. W. issued 1,000 handbills, appealing to the law-abiding citizens of Centralia for a square deal; and that these handbills were carried to every house in the town.

The handbills were issued a few days before the Armistice Day celebration. Among other things the text said: "The profiteering class of Centralia have

of late been waving the flag of our country in an endeavor to incite the lawless element of our city to raid our hall and club us out of town. For this purpose they have inspired editorials in the Hub, falsely and viciously attacking the I. W. W., hoping to gain public approval for such revolting criminality. These profiteers are holding numerous secret meetings to that end, and covertly inviting returned service men to do their bidding. . . . They say we are a menace; and we are a menace to all mobocrats and pilfering thieves. Never did the I. W. W. burn public or private halls, kidnap their fellow citizens, destroy their property, club their fellows out of town, or act in any way as lawbreakers. . . . Our only crime is solidarity, loyalty to the working class, and justice to the oppressed."

Four copies of Centralia newspapers which told of meetings of business men who were planning to drive the I. W. W. from town were excluded by the court from exhibits offered by the defense.

Judge Wilson took the curious position that the defense must first show an overt act on the part of Warren Grimm before he would permit the introduction of any evidence to show conspiracy by him and his fellow marchers. He refused to admit testimony concerning any utterance or action by Warren Grimm in connection with the carrying out of the plan to raid the I. W. W. hall, on the ground that some special physical movement of the man must be shown a moment before the shooting actually started. It was not sufficient to show that Grimm was close to the hall and had fallen out of the paraders' ranks.

Two defense witnesses testified that Grimm was in the very doorway of the industrial hall just before the shots were fired from inside. These were Guy Bray, 16, and Jay Cook, 41. Bray testified that he was related by marriage to Lieut. Frank Van Gilder, second in command in the parade. Shortly

before the procession started, Bray said, he saw Van Gilder walking with a large man in uniform. Bray asked Van Gilder who the man was, and Van Gilder said it was Warren Grimm. The witness described the parade in its essential points. As the ex-service men halted, he declared, he saw two men break from the rear ranks and rush toward the hall. They kicked in the door, he said, and then the shooting began. "Van Gilder and the large man he had said was Grimm were then five or ten feet north of the hall door," Bray told the jury. "I saw the large man suddenly put both hands to his stomach, and double up."

Jay Cooke testified similarly with regard to Grimm's presence in the doorway of the hall. As they left the courtroom after testifying, both Cooke and Bray were arrested on charges of perjury, and efforts were made to break down Bray's testimony by means of the third degree. But obviously these arrests were made simply for their psychological effect, inasmuch as the two witnesses were never tried for perjury, the cases against them being dismissed after the I. W. W. trial had ended.

Testimony by Lieutenant Van Gilder for the prosecution placed Grimm a half block away from the industrialists' hall. Van Gilder explained Grimm's act of dropping out of the line of march by saying that he had fallen back to remind the military sections to salute the old soldiers in the reviewing stand, and later joined him at the head of the service men. He swore that Grimm was shot while facing southeast, and while his back was toward the hall.

"Something seemed to jar him," Van Gilder testified. "He turned very pale. I said, 'Are you hit?' and he said, 'Yes.' I told him to go to the hospital and get dressed. He started across the street and when he had gone a few paces he bent over, his hands on his stomach, but went across."

In summing up the whole case, Attorney Vanderveer argued that Van Gilder's testimony was open to question on this point: that Van Gilder, a soldier, unhurt, did not even offer to help his mortally stricken comrade to safety. Any normal man in such a circumstance would have aided his friend, Vanderveer contended. If Van Gilder is to be accepted as normal, then one must conclude that Grimm wasn't at Van Gilder's side when the former was shot, but that he was where Bray and Cooke testified they saw him—in the doorway of the I. W. W. hall. Other defense witnesses declared they had seen a large man answering Grimm's description coming from the direction of the hall door; he was holding both hands over his abdomen; they sighted him at several points between the hall entrance and the street corner.

Van Gilder had said that Grimm had dropped back to remind the marchers to salute the old soldiers **in the reviewing stand.** Joseph Smith of Chehalis, an overseas veteran and a participant in the march, gave vital testimony for the defense bearing on this point. While the parade was being formed he said, the commander of the Chehalis division instructed his men to be ready, when they reached the reviewing stand, to give the "eyes right" salute—a quick turning of the head to the right.

They never came to any reviewing stand, Smith said, and evidently there wasn't any. Along the march north, another marcher named Shields or Scales said to Smith: "You'll see lots of excitement after we turn to come back."

Later a man who had been pointed out to Smith as Lieutenant Grimm came along the line, Smith declared, and one of the marchers called out: "What about that reviewing stand?" "We'll have eyes right when we get there," said Grimm. "Will there be anything doing when we start back?"

some other marcher asked Grimm. . . . "Sure there will," Grimm replied, according to Smith.

"While coming back," Smith declared, "Herman Gibbons, another marcher, said to me: 'We are going to give the Wobbly hall eyes right as we go by.' At the Wobbly hall this command was given. Then I saw the men break ranks, leap out and run toward the hall. I saw them kick in the door. Then shots came."

But the strongest piece of testimony in behalf of the defense was that given by Dr. Frank Bickford, member of the American Legion and marcher in the Armistice Day parade. At the trial he repeated the testimony he had given at the coroner's inquest; this: "When the parade stopped in front of the I. W. W. hall, I offered to lead a raid if enough would follow. But others pushed ahead of me, forced open the door, and then the shots came from inside."

No effort was made by the prosecution to shake Dr. Bickford's testimony. It let him go with practically no cross-examination; and neither of the special prosecutors, Abel nor Cunningham, made any reference to the Bickford testimony in his closing statement.

Eugene Barnett was accused of firing, from a window of the Avalon hotel, some 300 feet away, the shot that killed Grimm. Elsie Hornbeck, bookkeeper in a garage across the street, told the jury that she saw a thin-faced man in the hotel window on Armistice Day, shortly before the shooting; and after many helpless pauses and appealing glances at Prosecutor Abel, she identified Barnett as that man. She had sworn that she had never seen the man in the window from that wild day until she saw Barnett in court three months later; and made it appear that she was able to recognize Barnett solely because of the vivid impression his face made upon her memory on November 11. But in cross-examination, Attorney Vanderveer trapped her into admitting that

she had been shown two photographs of Barnett by the prosecution. . . . And Barnett was not a thin-faced man, as she had testified. His face was oval in shape, as photographs reveal, both on November 11 and during the trial. That is manifest even in a picture made of him after he had been in the hands of the mob for days.

James T. McAllister and his wife, proprietors of the Roderick hotel, swore that Barnett was in their establishment all during the rioting; that he was unarmed. Other witnesses testified that he lingered in town after the shooting, and later in the day rode his horse ten miles to his home—at an easy gait. He was observed by numerous persons along the way, because he wore a big black hat and cowboy chaps, a costume in which he had previously been seen by many acquaintances. . . . Mrs. McAllister was taken prisoner by the mob on Armistice Day, and held in jail at Chehalis, the county seat, for 22 days, incommunicado. No charge was ever placed against her; she was simply kept isolated in a rat-infested jail, and questioned repeatedly.

Grimm was shot by an I. W. W., the defense admitted, but not by any of those on trial. The fatal bullet was fired from a 35-50 rifle, according to medical testimony. And such a gun was owned by John Doe Davis, who escaped in the confusion of the riot. The state itself was instrumental in proving this point; for it insisted on giving weight and credibility to the "confession" of Loren Roberts, the boy whom the defense contended was made insane by the mob; and in that statement Roberts declared specifically that the man who fired from the Avalon hotel was Davis. Alienists were brought as witnesses by the prosecution to show that Roberts was sane during the progress of the trial, but despite their testimony the jury found that the boy was insane and irresponsible, and recommended that he be sent to an asylum where he could obtain proper treatment.

Witnesses summoned by the prosecution asserted that Ben Casagranda and Earl Watts, paraders, fell wounded around the corner from the I. W. W. hall. But certain established facts tend to refute this testimony—the fact that bloodstains were found on the sidewalk in front of the hall; that Casagranda and Watts were shot by hard-nosed bullets which went clear through their bodies; and that the only hard-nosed bullets found by the prosecution's own witnesses were lodged in buildings opposite the front of the hall. One may judge from these circumstances whether these men were shot by bullets fired by the tortured and lynched Wesley Everest, who was stationed inside the hall and who had the only gun which used hard-nosed bullets, or whether they were shot around the corner.

Despite the barring of the mass of testimony offered by the defense to prove a carefully formulated plan for attack on the I. W. W. hall, Attorney Vanderveer did succeed in showing by various witnesses that two prominent citizens of Centralia carried ropes in the Armistice Day parade. These were Postmaster T. H. McCleary and the Rev. H. W. Thompson. When the state employers' association had wanted the hanging law in Washington revived a little while before, Thompson lectured in many towns and cities in behalf of that law. Prosecutor Abel asked one witness who had testified about the ropes if she knew "whether Postmaster McCleary owned a cow and a calf." Evidently he was trying to set up an alibi for McCleary. But the witness didn't know. McCleary himself testified that he had picked up "an old piece of rope" and used it in a playful tug-of-war with another parader.

T. W. Siddle, a railroad brakeman, and his wife watched the parade move through the business section toward the I. W. W. hall. McCleary and Thompson both carried ropes and McCleary still had a rope when he came back after the shooting, Siddle testi-

fied. Siddle subsequently saw a big blood spot on the sidewalk in front of the hall. Three other witnesses also testified that they had seen McCleary carrying a rope.

Thomas Meaden, a tailor, testified that he was standing near the I. W. W. building, and heard Lieutenant Cormier, the commander of the marching soldiers, order the column to halt and face the hall. "Then came cries of 'Let's go!' 'Come on!' and 'Let's get 'em!'" he declared. "At first they trotted in the advance on the building. Then they charged. There were about 20 of them in the advance guard. These were followed by the whole body of troops. I saw them reach the doorway. There was a crash of glass and wood as they battered down the door. I went toward the hall. I recall hearing then the shooting from the hall. When I approached nearer I saw a wounded man lying on the sidewalk, just at the entrance of the hall. This was Arthur McElfresh."

Meaden's testimony was corroborated in every detail by Forrest Campbell, a candy maker. Campbell said: "I saw Cormier stop the parade and almost at once a group rushed at the hall. Two or three men were in the lead. They were running. I heard the glass crash and the door swing open. I saw McElfresh lying on the sidewalk in front of the place." Campbell said he also heard the shouting of the men: "Let's go!" and "Who's going to lead us?" just as the rush started. Later, Campbell said, he was taken to the American Legion headquarters and held for six hours while he was grilled as to the information he had about the shooting. He made statements then, it was shown, that were completely in accord with what he testified on the witness stand.

Judge Wilson declared that Vanderveer must show a direct connection between Warren Grimm, the slain parader, and an overt act in the tragedy,

before he could have a witness explain why the I. W. W. expected violence. "That is not the law," replied Vanderveer. "The law says that to prove self-defense we need only to show substantial reasons for apprehension. If the defendants had reason to believe that they were to be attacked by a crowd, including Grimm, they had the right to prepare to defend themselves and their property."

The court's ruling was made in the face of a mass of testimony showing that Grimm, or a man closely answering his description, was close to the I. W. W. hall, even in the very doorway, and that during the raid this man was wounded in the abdomen. Grimm was the only man wounded in this manner.

When Elmer Stuart Smith, defendant, took the witness stand, he was prohibited by the court from answering these questions put by Vanderveer: "Did you appeal to the governor for protection against the raids?" . . . "When did you appeal?" . . . "Did the governor respond to the appeal?"

During the trial Vanderveer found it necessary to ask for a warrant for a Mrs. Carpenter of Centralia, alleging that she had attempted to tamper with a defense witness. Helen Martini, 13, declared that Mrs. Carpenter had asked her if she couldn't forget some of the things she had intended to testify. The woman admitted to Vanderveer that she had done this, giving the lame excuse that Helen was a Campfire girl and that she thought "it would be better if some things could be forgotten." Helen Martini was a vital witness. She testified that she had seen the parade from a rear window of her home, and corroborated the statements of Jay and Ray Cook that there had been a long break in the ranks of the paraders just before the shooting. Her mother and sister gave similar testimony.

THEY MUST COME OUT

These eight innocent men are still in prison—they are very likely to stay there the rest of their lives unless the workers of America do something to bring them out.

Consider the situation: the Centralia case men are clearly the victims of a conspiracy, they were convicted of second degree murder, yes, but convicted under circumstances which made a fair trial absolutely impossible. They were conspired against both before and after they went before the judge. In the opinion of the majority of the jury that tried them, they should not have been convicted; in the opinion of the representatives of organized labor who sat as a labor jury on their case, they should not have been convicted. Their innocence is established by the acquittal of two men tried with them, against whom there was as much evidence as there was against the eight now in prison.

In any other case but a labor case, these facts, as soon as they became known, would have secured executive clemency for the prisoners. It is perfectly legal for the Governor of the State of Washington to pardon the Centralia Victims; to order a new trial for them would be one of the least things that justice demands of him.

The Lumber Trust, which dictates the policy of the State of Washington has decreed that these Labor Prisoners, whether innocent or guilty, shall not be released, shall not even have a fair trial. The Governor of the State of Washington will obey the orders of the Lumber Owners, unless great pressure is applied by the workers and common people of the state, and of the nation.

We must have wide-spread publicity, we must din the facts of the case into every worker's ear, as a preliminary step. The people of Washington have heard little but the Lumber Trust side of the case. The press is with the Lumber Trust. BUT WE MUST PUT OUR SIDE OF THE CASE BEFORE THE PEOPLE AND TO DO SO WE MUST HAVE MONEY!

Send your contribution today, to the General Defense Committe, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

To The
WORKERS
WHO FEED
The
WORLD

Join the Union of YOUR Class

FOODSTUFF WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL
UNION No. 460, of the INDUSTRIAL
WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Do you ever stop to think, you fellow workers on whom the world depends for sustenance, how important a part of society you are?

Food is the chief concern of mankind; it is one of the fundamental elements without which humanity cannot exist. Food is the foundation of life, and most of the working hours of the human race are occupied in obtaining this most important necessity.

Of all the workers engaged in industry today, with thorough organization the foodstuff workers hold perhaps the most strategic position. But, lacking such organization, a summary of wages, hours and conditions prevailing in the foodstuff industry reveals a lamentable condition. The men and women to whom the world looks for its food are one of the worst exploited and wretchedly conditioned groups in the whole world of industry.

As society has gone forward, step by step, the foodstuff industry has become more and more important. The number of workers employed has become larger and larger, and more profit has been piled up by those who control the food resources of the world; and the conditions prevailing among foodstuff workers employed have grown progressively worse until they are intolerable.

Bills of Fare Change

As mankind progressed from one stage of civilization to another, the food requirements of the race changed also. The crude edibles, consisting mostly of raw meats and roots, which formed the principal items on the bills of fare of our early ancestors, no longer suit or satisfy us. A great industry, with ramifications extending to all parts of the earth, is necessary to produce, distribute and preserve the materials required to keep up the food supply in the present stage of civilization. If the workers engaged in this great industry will realize their industrial importance, it can easily be seen by any of them who give the matter serious thought. They can demand more of the good things which pass daily thru their hands, instead of existing on the meager fare of slaves. One thing only is necessary

for the foodstuff workers, and that is organization. Organization was necessary in the quest of food, in the days when ferocious beasts were to be met and killed, that the tribe might eat; and today organization is just as imperative, if the food workers are to obtain their rightful share of the foodstuffs their labor provides. The masters of the foodstuff industry are fully as ferocious as the beasts of the jungle, and operate under the protection begotten of their unchallenged economic power. Organization is fully as necessary today as it was when all the tribe took the trail into the forest. They hunted the meal and we are compelled to hunt a meal ticket. We must capture the jobs for today; jobs mean meal tickets, and industrial connection means life.

The Men Who Control

The men who control the gigantic packing houses, refrigerating plants, flour mills, canning factories, hotels and restaurants, are all organized. They present at all times a solid front to the demands of the workers employed in the distribution, production and preservation of foodstuffs.

The only method by which the workers employed in this industry can successfully combat the organization of the masters is to organize in the same way. The masters are organized along industrial and class lines, and the workers must employ the same methods. All of the men and women employed in the foodstuff industry must organize together in one union. No worker whom the boss employs can be considered unnecessary, and no union complete which leaves any of them out.

The Workers Divided

In the foodstuff industry, there are, perhaps, more different classifications of labor than in any other industry, and consequently, at present there are more different organizations represented.

This is the position in which the masters of food like to see their workers, because they realize that division means defeat for the workers and domination for them. Craft unionism has made possible the defeat of the workers in their past struggles for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions. The principle of craft unionism is not correct, as

whenever it makes a successful attempt, it only enables one group of workers to better itself at the expense of other groups, only in the end to suffer the punishment which it helped to inflict on the others. Craft unionism hopelessly divides the workers, and in such manner as enables the boss to defeat each group, as he selects. In the meat packing department of the foodstuff industry, the "Big Five" have proven conclusively that so long as the workers pin their hopes to the antiquated, obsolete craft form of organization, no concerted action can be taken; and that the chains of slavery can be bound more and more tightly around the passive bodies of the packing house workers.

Last winter the stockyard workers tried, not to gain better conditions, but merely to hold what they had, and the resulting strike was marked, as most craft union strikes are, by violence, treason and, finally, defeat.

Industry Centralizing

On countless occasions different groups of workers employed in restaurants, hotels, canning factories, and flour mills, have tried to fight the masters with the craft form of organization, and the results have usually been the same—defeat and submission to the terms of the boss. But the signs of the times point to an era of new unionism in the foodstuff industry. This industry, like all others, is becoming more and more centralized. Every day the control is coming into fewer hands. This makes it easier for the workers engaged in the food industry to battle for their rights. It clarifies the issue, and enables the workers to see their common enemy in a manner not possible heretofore.

Again, no worker can fail to realize how impotent the craft unions have proved themselves to be, and the intelligent ones in these unions are looking around for a better weapon in the unceasing struggle with the masters of the foodstuff industry. The form of organization most suited to the needs of the foodstuff workers is the I. W. W. This organization is founded on solid working class principles, and admits every worker in industry to its membership. The I. W. W. does not ask, are you a butcher,

cook, baker, or waiter? It only asks, are you engaged in the production, distribution or preservation of food? If you are, then you are eligible for membership in the Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460, of the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. realizes the fallacy of dividing the workers so that the boss may more easily defeat them, and it organizes every worker, whether he or she be employed in stockyards, refrigerating plant, bakery, canning factory, flour mill, hotel or restaurant, into one union, composed of all the workers engaged in the production, distribution and preservation of food. In this manner, when it becomes necessary for any of these workers to engage in strikes against the employers, all of the workers in the industry are involved, and any department or the entire industry can be closed down.

If the stockyard workers had been so organized during the recent strike, the refrigerator men, electricians, machinists, clerks, chauffeurs and other different crafts would not have remained at work when the butchers went out. The "Big Five" would have been the loser instead of the workers.

The I. W. W. believes that "an injury to one is an injury to all." It recognizes no aristocracy of skill, will tolerate no lines of division, and realizes that only the solidarity of labor can wrest victory from the grasping hands of the capitalist class.

Foodstuff Workers! The I. W. W. represents your only hope. Too long have you attempted to fight the master of food with old style organizations, or none at all. Too long have you listened to the glib-tongued labor fakers, or depended upon the good heartedness (?) of the masters. In the I. W. W. you will find no business agents to barter with the boss, and no officials to sell you out when victory is within your grasp. The I. W. W. cannot give you a ready made union; unions are not made that way, but the I. W. W. can furnish you with the idea, and can send organizers to help to get started. It can lend you the experience gained in a long and bitter struggle in all industries. It can show you how to avoid the mistakes commonly made by labor, and can give you valuable pointers in your struggle to form an organization that will be invincible.

All Power to the Workers

The I. W. W. is a rank and file organization. The officials, instead of dictating policies, are only allowed to take such action as the members instruct them, and they only stay in office for one year.

All the power lies in the hands of the members, as the I. W. W. believes in direct action, which means dealing directly with the boss, and no one not engaged in the particular department interested in a strike has anything to say regarding the calling of the strike or the settlement. If you wait for the officials of the I. W. W. to call off or settle a strike, you would have a long wait. The strike is yours to settle and call off, or to continue.

Foodstuff workers, this is the union you have been looking for; this is the weapon you need in your struggle to obtain your rightful share of the good things of life, which you work so hard to produce (for others).

Organize! Foodstuff Workers! Join the Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460, of the I. W. W. Join the only union which can help you change your miserable conditions. Join the union which not only wants more wages, but which wants to abolish the wage system and some fine morning the world will ask Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460, what they are going to have for breakfast.

For further information write to FOODSTUFF WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 460, 1001 W. MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

THE PREAMBLE

of the

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class has interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

ALL WORKERS

—IN THE—

FOODSTUFF INDUSTRY

PACKING HOUSES
FLOUR MILLS
BAKERIES
CANNERIES
HOTELS
AND RESTAURANTS

SUGAR REFINERIES
COLD STORAGE PLANTS
ALL PLACES WHERE
FOOD STUFFS ARE
MANUFACTURED
STORED and
DISTRIBUTED

Should Join the

Foodstuff Workers

Industrial Union No. 460,

I. W. W.

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The Trail To Truth

When the workers in industry attempt to mould their economic power into effective organizations with the avowed purpose of securing a larger share of production and saner and more humane working conditions, they are opposed by the employers in many ways. While the underlying couses of the employers opposition are always the same, its forms are many and everchanging. In their war with the workers the masters of industry have a bag filled with many tricks. They have many medecine-men who becloud the people's minds with smoke-screens of inspired propaganda and draw red herrings across the trail that leads to economic truth. They strive to sway the executive, judicial and legislative powers of the political state against the workers; and they incite the mob to saturnalias of brutality by pandering to all its baser passions.

The stroy of the tragic struggle of the workers of San Pedro to organize industrially and to strike for a larger measure of economic justice furnishes a classical confirmation of the truth of the foregoing generalizations. Only within recent weeks the citizens of San Pedro have seen the masters of industry transfer their opposition to industrial organization, from the field of criminal jurisprudence to the field of sanguinary terrorism. The raid upon the I.W.W. hall on the evening of the 14th of June lst, and the mob's fiendish breaking and torturing of the bodies of men and women and the scalding of helpless and innocent children was a natural sequel to the action of California's Appellate Courts in rendering decisions which release many members of the I.W.W. from San Quentin prison. Enraged at the ineffectiveness of legal persecution the employers have resorted to the tactics of terrorism.

And now that the story of the San Pedro mob's brutalities is trickling out to the world through the channels kept open by the workers; and the smoke-screens of mendacity of the servile press are being dispelled by the sunlight of truth, the masters of industry are forced to abandon their position upon the field of sanguinary force and skulk under cover of a new barrage of propaganda. The bag is shaken again and

yields up another trick; it is an old trick. The sadist slinks out of sight and the medicine-man steps again to the front.

Ole Hanson, world-renowned discoverer of revolutionary mares' nests and erstwhile prosecution witness in California criminal syndicalism cases, has spoken.

Ordinarily we would refrain from enegaging in any refutation of any statements of this poor marionette relative to the I.W.W., but we feel impelled at this time to do so. We are moved to this action out of considerations broad enough in their scope to embroce not only the scalded innocents in the hospitals of San Pedro; the many other victims of the mobe, and all the rest of the membership—but every fair-minded citizen of this community.

Go back with us, citizens of San Pedro, to the days before the fateful 14th of this month. You can not help but recall that at that time the baser passions of men were being appealed to with utterances which, though they have been proven to have been utterly false, were potent in inciting the unthinking mob element to do what they did.

Attempts are being made to bring about like conditions in San Pedro today by those interested in destroying the I.W.W. Ole Hanson has come and gone and left his appeal in the minds of the mob elements together with an inspired set of resolutions which declare that the I.W.W. is an unlawful and anarchistic organization whose teachings are directed toward overthrowing the government. In practically all his utterances Hanson strove to rouse the baser passions of unthinking men by declaring tht the I.W.W. is wholly destructive, opposed to all government, and saboteurs of industry. These misleading utterances and the resolutions referred to were given an added emphasis in this community by being sensationally reported and broadcasted by your local press. Added to these dangerous factors which jeopardize the peaec and fair name of your city, are the nightly utterances of another bravo not unlike Hanson. We refer to Sageant Weber, anti-I.W.W. street speaker, whose spoken propaganda is plainly designed to appeal to the mob.

The limitations of space in this leaflet preclude our refuting the false and misleading utterances of these opportuniistic creatures of the employing interests of San Pedro by giving you all the facts relative to the I.W.W.W., its principles, and its program of industrial action.

Suffice it to say that we are a purely industrial labor organization, striving peacefully to organize all workers in all industry. Our immediate aim in forming such industrial organizations is to thus place within the hands of the workers an economic instrument with which they can cope with the ever-increasing power of the masters of industry in the evey-day struggle for living wages and decent working conditions.

Our aims, in their relation to the future, make of us a dual organization—dual in the sense that we have a dual purpose in organizing the workers into industrial unions. Economic history has taught us that social systems of the past have been self-destructive—that they have gone down in the chaos of social revolutions and been succeeded by other and newer forms, which in turn have undergone the same evolutionary process until there was born at last into the world the system of capitalism under which we are now living. We, of the I.W.W., have a membership made up largely of men and women who are in every-day contact with industry, and that is to say in every-day contact with the the living, fluxing realities of economic development and evolution. We vision and feel the historic change. We know, and our knowledge flows from the hard contacts with the very stuff and life of industry, that the present system of capitalism can not perpetuate itself—that it is not less self-destructive than all other preceding economic and social systems of society. And so we are striving to so organize all useful workers in solid groups of industriay units of production, that when the present system of capitalism shall have outlived its usefulness and ceases to function longer in distributing to all peoples the essential needs of life, the chaos of red revolution which has marked past transitions of older social systems to newer forms, may be avoided and the change made peacefully. That, briefly, makes up our credo. Does it sound like the ugly thing of which you have been told by the servile and reactionary press and the Ole Hansons and "Sargeant" Webers?

Do you, citizens of San Pedro, believe that the children of men and women who hold such views regarding industrial development should be parboiled by howling thugs?

Come, citizens of San Pedro, let us reason together. Before we were the recipients of cracked heads, broken limbs and scalded and tarred bodies at the hands of the mob, you were told that we intended to blow up the morgue in which there lay the bodies of more than two score dead sailors—workers like ourselves whose lives were snuffed out like our lives are many times snuffed out in the mines and mills. This was the charge against us for which we were subjected to the gas-pipe, the scalding-pot and the tar and feathers. We still bear the wounds inflicted by the mob and our scalded little ones will carry scars on their bodies to their graves, but it turns out that not one scintilla of evidence has ever been adduced to show that any member of the I.W.W. ever had the remotest idea of harming in any way the bodies of those dead sailor lads. Today, equally wild and lying stories are being circulated against us. The masters and their servile leaders of mobs still lust for our blood. Is it not logical to assume that such stories and statements may be equally false?

Now we do not ask that you accept our statement of our industrial aims and principles, and our tactics of organization, without investigation for yourselves. Accordingly we would ask all fair-minded citizens of San Pedro to go first and listen to the diatribes hurled nightly against us by Sergeant Weber, then read every scrap of criticism of our organization and its membership in the press or anywhere else it may be obtained, and then come to the I.W.W. and get our literature which tells the world in plain and unmistakable language the true character of our organization. We would ask that you then make careful comparisons of both sides of the controvery and learn the truth for yourselves.

Come, citizens of San Pedro, let us reason together. Let us travel together down the trail that leads to truth.

SAN PEDRO PUBLICITY COMMITTEE.

PAUL WARE, Secretary

567 W. 6th Street

San Pedro, Cal.

N. B.—Since the foregoing was written, the bag has been shaken again and another old trick brought forth. Our evening street meetings at Fourth and Beacon Streets have been broken up and a score or more of our members taken to jail, charged with violation of the Busick injunction, which would restrain a worker in California from even attempting to organize his economic power in the manner and for the puposes set forth in the foregoing statement.

After our arrested members were lodged in jail, an improbable story emanates from the police authorities to the effect that they have "foiled" an attempt at a wholesale jail delivery planned by "the wobblies." According to this cannard our arrested members sawed through the bars of the jail preparatory to flight. We have positive proof of the falsity of this wild story. The entire affair bears all the appearances of a police "plant." We know and can prove to any fair-minded person that the bars of the jail were sawed hours before our meeting was broken up and our members arrested.

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TWENTY FIVE YEARS OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM



The INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

Printed in U. S. A.

PRICE 20 CENTS

LA BELLE SANSCULOTTE

By Covington Hall

Writer and Oldtime Industrial Unionist

She is coming, O my masters, she is coming in her might,
With the red flag o'er her legions and her sword sharp, clean and bright;
She is breaking through your dungeons, she is tearing off your chain,
She is coming to take vengeance without mercy once again!

She is coming, O my masters, with a new might in her arms,
Her vision clear, unclouded by a dying Satan's charms;
She is coming in hate's beauty, with love's fierceness in her eye,
Like a maddened mother hast'ning where your tortured child-slaves die!

She is coming, O my masters, with her strong, steel-muscled hands,
She is reaching for your factories, your gardens and your lands;
She is calling to her standard all the sons of grief and toil,
She is promising your soldiers all your stolen wealth for spoil.

She is coming, O my masters! 'Neath her red, triumphal arch,
Lo! the guards that now surround you in her rebel ranks shall march!
She is coming as forever and forever she has come,
Arm in arm with Hope and Freedom, to the long roll of Right's drum!

She is coming, O my masters! Soon her troops shall rest their feet
In the limpid waters flowing through your bowers, cool and sweet;
Soon her hungered hosts shall gather in your gold-roofed banquet hall,
And to ecstatic music hold high revel o'er your fall!

She is coming, O my masters, she is coming in her might,
With the red flag o'er her legions and her sword sharp, clean and bright!
She is coming in hate's beauty, with love's fierceness in her eye,
Like a maddened mother hast'ning where your tortured child-slaves die!

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INTRODUCTION

In step with productive development to industrial proportions, the Industrial Workers of the World was formed by a group of revolutionary unionists at Chicago, June 27, 1905. Among its founders were such figures as Eugene V. Debs, Thos J. Haggerty, Wm. E. Trautman, William D. Haywood, and several of the men who have contributed articles for this commemorative pamphlet.

From its inception the I. W. W. has produced its own dauntless working class voices, and in these pages, marked by keen intelligence, broad information, clarity of logic, diversity of expression and loftiness of vision, leading writers, produced by the organization's power to rally articulation, have created a work that will endure to the greater glory of our glorious movement.

Because of the fortunate factors just enumerated it is believed by those privileged to have read the pamphlet in manuscript that this work is unsurpassed in its field, if, indeed, it has ever been equalled. The widest possible distribution of this 25th Anniversary of the I. W. W. pamphlet is certain to redound to the greater prestige and growth of the I. W. W., and to this end let all in our organization, or animated by a wish to see it flourish, pledge themselves to carry the pamphlet to the dark places of working class ignorance and light them with its working class truth.



REVOLUTIONARY CLASS UNION

By JAMES P. THOMPSON
Labor Orator and One of the I. W. W. Founders

"In order to understand the social movement it must be looked at as a process of natural history, governed by laws not only independent of the human will, consciousness and intelligence, but rather, on the contrary, determining that will, consciousness and intelligence."

"Just as the real reason why people dress differently in winter than in summer is to be found in the different climatic conditions, so, 'the real causes of all social changes and revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in their more or less confused ideas of right and wrong or of truth and justice, not in the philosophy but in the economics of each particular epoch." (1).

Cannibalism was very prevalent among the ancients. We of today are shocked at the very thought of cannibalism. And yet, cannibalism is, in many ways, one of the most humane forms in which man was ever devoured by his fellowman.

When the productiveness of labor reached the point where man was able to produce not only enough to maintain himself, but more, then cannibalism died out and slavery began.

With the beginning of slavery, of course, society divided into classes. Morality took on a class character. Instead of "whatever is in the interest of the tribe is good", we have this formula, "Anything that is in the interest of the ruling class is good and anything against their interest is bad." "The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class." (4).

The master class was forced to organize in order to rule, and behold, "The State" appears! The State is merely the organized powers of oppression and coercion used by the ruling

class to maintain themselves in their position as a ruling class. The State changes in form from time to time as conditions change, and it wears many different national uniforms, but it never loses its identity as "The State". The class machine of oppression known as "The State" will only disappear when the world's last class struggle ends.

In the fifth century the barbarians of the north swept down over western Europe and plundered everywhere until they reached the sea, then turned back. The slaves who fled to the woods at their approach were tilling the soil. They trembled at the sight of the organized barbarians, but the barbarians said to them, "Fear not, we will not kill you. Go on and till the soil, but remember, all you produce over and above what is necessary to maintain you you must give to us." Then followed over a thousand years of feudalism, those horrible centuries of blood and tears known as the dark ages during which the ruling class, led by their kings, claimed a divine right to rule and rob their fellowmen.

It was indeed a dark age. The phantom-haunted fogs of ignorance, superstition and fear hung like a pall over the human race. "The voice of liberty was strangled and murderers sat upon the thrones. The fires of persecution climbed around the limbs of countless martyrs. Brave men and women languished in dungeons and darkness." (5). "All the Mount Calvaries of truth and discovery were white with the fire-bleached bones of thinkers." (6).

Fortunately, society is not a solid crystal. It is an organism, not only capable of change but constantly changing. Gradually within feudal society, production for exchange, i. e. the capitalist mode of production, developed. The factory system came and later on machinery and modern industry. The discovery of America and the opening up of the world's markets increased the demand for commodities.

A commodity, by the way, is "any useful thing produced by labor for exchange" (7), and, note carefully, production for exchange is the capitalist mode of production. As capitalism developed within feudal society the capitalist class, i. e. the bourgeoisie, grew in wealth and power. They were compelled to pay heavy tribute to the Bishop and the King, but in spite of the reactionary forces that were hampering and trying to block and roll back the wheels of progress,

capitalism developed. The capitalist class grew in wealth and power until they were able seriously to challenge the ruling class.

Here we have a situation that must exist before a revolution is possible, i. e. "the old society must be pregnant with the new." (8).

Finally came the trial of strength between the new and the old. A series of revolutions shook the world. The old went down before the greater power of the new! The capitalist class became the ruling class. The capitalist mode of production prevailed. The whole social structure changed to conform to the conditions arising from the capitalist mode of production. And behold! Capitalism, the paradise of the capitalist, the epoch of the bourgeoisie.

In feudal society the land owning class was the ruling class and that one great interest was represented by governments in the form of absolute monarchies. As the capitalist mode of production develops in any country there develops alongside of the "land interest" many other interests: merchant, manufacture, transportation, oil, steel, lumber, etc., all among the capitalist class. In the early stages of capitalism none of these interests was powerful enough to rule its own industry, to say nothing of rule the country. Here we have the foundation for Democracy. With the triumph of this class capitalist governments were formed. The absolute monarchy gave way to the constitutional monarcy or the Republic. The representative form of government appeared.

"The economic mode of production and exchange forms the basis of the whole social structure." (9).

Capitalism demands an educated working class. Workers who could neither read nor write would not be able to sort freight, read price tags, count money, keep books, use the tape measure, the square, the micrometer, etc. With the coming of capitalism the free school system appears. It is to the interest of the capitalist class to increase the productiveness of labor, in order to shorten that part of the working day during which we produce wealth for ourselves and correspondingly lengthen that part of the working day during which we produce surplus value for them. They educate us in order to make of us perfected instruments of production. But it is not enough

that we merely work for them. They mis-educate us in order to get us to fight for them! Think of a slave class fighting to defend a slave system!

Capitalism is based on wage slavery. The capitalists hire wage workers to produce wealth, give them part of that wealth in the form of wages and keep the rest. We do not sell our labor to the capitalists; we sell our labor power. "That which confronts the capitalist in the market is not labor but the laborer and that which we sell is our labor power". (10). Labor power is just as different from labor as a machine is different from the work it does. "Labor power is the mental and physical capabilities of man which he exercises when he produces wealth". (11).

To illustrate what a wage slave is, suppose you owned a nice automobile and some one should say to you, "I want to use your car until it is all worn out. I will give it gas and oil enough to keep it running until it can't run any more." Surely you would not agree to that. You wouldn't allow anybody to use your car until it was all worn out just for gas and oil.

But, mark you well, if you are a wage worker that is what you are doing with your body. The capitalists use you until you are all worn out and all they aim to give you is what the chattel slaves got, what the serfs got, what a horse gets, a bare living, and you are not even sure of that. How about your children? You parents spend many happy hours teaching your children how to walk and how to talk. Long years are spent upon their education. When they get to be wonderful young men and women with their eyes brightly shining like the headlights on a new car, and with their veins and arteries like the wiring on a new car, and their hearts beating without a murmur, like the smooth running of new engines, then the capitalists say to the proud parents, "We want to use your children to produce wealth for us and for our children. Just as we have used you to produce wealth for us, so our children want to use your children to produce wealth for them when we are gone."

The parents ask, "What are our children to get for the use of their bodies during the precious years of their lives?" Answer, "Gas and oil". A mere living wage. The endless chain that starts and ends with work. Work to get money, to buy food, to get strength to work. Every increase in the productiv-

ity of labor, every invention, every victory of science and triumph of genius in the line of industrial progress, only goes to increase the wealth of a parasite class while the workers are only supposed to get what slave classes always got, a bare living and often not even that. This is wage slavery, the foundation of capitalism.

But capitalism is only a passing stage in the economic development of mankind. As capitalism spreads over the earth it produces the wage working class, i. e. the proletariat, the great class whose historic mission is to end exploitation of man by his fellow man. "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product." (12)

"The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie to save from extinction their existence as factions of the middle class. They are, therefore, not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheels of history." (13).

In the early days of capitalism the wage workers were not conscious of their historic mission, they had no idea of revolution. Their whole idea of success was to work hard, save their money and get into business. When looking for employment they would take any job they could get, no matter how long the hours or how short the pay. They reasoned, "it is better to work hard for small wages than to remain idle and consume what you have saved." Of course, the employers, the buyers of labor power, when they found that the sellers of labor power were willing to take any price offered, didn't offer much.

As a result, the workers soon found themselves working many hours a day for very small pay. They didn't get enough to live and keep themselves in normal condition, to say nothing of saving anything. They grew rapidly weaker and smaller. They were perishing. Then the unrest began. They realized that something must be done. But still no idea of revolution. They reasoned that capitalism was all right but it needed some improvements, some reforms. The capitalists in some cases gave such improvements as seemed necessary to keep from

"killing the chickens that were laying the golden eggs." Marx said, speaking of the English Factory Acts: "Apart from the working class movement that daily grew more threatening, the limiting of factory labor was dictated by the same necessity which spread guano over the English fields. The same blind eagerness for plunder that in the one case exhausted the soil had, in the other, torn up by the roots the living force of the nation." (14)

But the workers were not satisfied. They wanted more than a living wage. They wanted a saving wage. What hope was there for them if they could not save something for their old age? And how were they to get into business? In some cases, the politician framed up the old age pension idea. They told the workers: "With an old age pension you won't need to save anything for your old age. When you get old the dear government will take care of you." They aim to get the workers to be satisfied with a mere existence wage and then work them to death before they have a chance to get old.

But the workers want to escape from wage slavery. Some of them soon learned that the laws of society are not made by the subject class, that reforms are either economically unsound or politically impossible. That the workers can get only what they have the power to take. If they have the power to take and begin to exercise that power, the capitalists will often try to get ahead of them and give, hoping to get credit that they do not deserve and deceive the workers into the belief that the benefits do not come because of their own organized powers but because of kindness in the hearts of the capitalists. Rest assured, that if the workers allow their organized power to weaken, the hearts of the capitalists will harden accordingly. In the light of this fact how foolish it is for the workers to ask the capitalists to give them the shorter working day or week, or any other thing that they have the power to take.

Many workers have not learned these things yet and so much valuable energy is wasted in building organization founded upon the rights of labor, the right to vote, etc. "The rights of labor are only for times of relative peace in the class war. When the crisis comes these so-called tissues of civilization are brushed aside and the mailed-fist of the capitalist class is thrust in our faces." (15) Organizations founded upon the rights of labor are built upon sand, and when the

storm comes the winds blow the sandy foundation away and the organization collapses. Clearly, the organization of the proletariat must be founded upon the solid rock of proletarian power. Liberty and power are identical.

A favorite plan of the workers in the early days was for one alone to ask the employer for more pay. It usually worked out about as follows: One worker would say to the others, "I am going to ask the boss for more pay and if he doesn't give it to me I am going to quit." The other workers, each speaking for himself, would say, "Go ahead and ask him and if he gives it to you, I will ask him." The boss usually answered by saying, "No, if I give you more pay all the others will want more."

Finally the workers got the union idea! Then, instead of "I want more," they went up together and said, "We want more, and if we don't get it we will all quit." It was a good idea and worked well. The organized workers having power were respected more and, above all, they respected themselves more. The union movement developed fast. The employers were afraid of this new power. They, being the ruling class, finally passed a law taking away from labor "the right to strike"—but they could not enforce it! The workers said, "We may not have the right to strike, but we have the power to strike!" And they went on strike in protest against the law that tried to make it a crime to strike. After a long and bitter struggle, during which many brave union workers went to jail, the right to strike was won by the organized workers.

Thus early in the labor movement was demonstrated a vital point, one that should be carefully noted, and that is, the difference between, and the relation between, the **rights of labor** and the **powers of labor.**

The unions at first were rather small autonomous groups, formed for the most part on trade or craft lines and with little, or no, idea of class solidarity. They did not recognize the irrepressible class struggle in society. Their idea was that capital and labor were brothers. In other words, the interest of the robbers and the robbed are identical! Their only hope of escape from wage slavery was to "work hard, save money, and get into business."

With the development of machinery and modern industry the meager savings of an individual worker are unable to

cope, in a business way, with the giant combinations of capital. With the coming of "Big Business," millions of petty land holders, small shop keepers and petty bourgeoisie generally are being crushed out of business and forced into the ranks of the proletariat.

"In the sphere of agriculture, modern industry has a more revolutionary effect than elsewhere, for this reason, that it annihilates the peasant, that bulwark of the old society, and replaces him by the wage worker." (16)

The wage working class, the proletariat, is rapidly increasing in numbers and importance. "They dominate the nerve centers of the economic life." (17) They are the living parts of modern industry. The industries run when they run them, and stop when they stop. They are the only class that is able to operate the modern machinery of production. "The proletariat cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air." (18) This great class is coming! All other classes are going!

"The centering of the management of industry into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class." (19) When one craft is on strike all the other crafts remain at work and help to break the strike. When coal miners are on strike in one district or country, the transportation workers help the employing class by bringing in coal from other districts or countries. Thus the workers of one industry scab on the workers of another industry. The capitalist class cannot whip the working class. They can only defeat us so long as they can get one part of our class to whip the other part. We "defeat one another in wage wars."

The employing class, organized as a class, in employers' associations, etc. transfer orders, where possible, and back up each other in the class war. They know that if one group of workers fight and win, other workers will be encouraged to do likewise, and the more they get the more they will want. So, no matter how much the capitalists fight among themselves, they are as one against labor.

Now, we have, on a bigger scale, somewhat the same condition as existed before the first labor union was formed. When

the members of one craft ask for more pay the employers say: "If we give you more, then all the other crafts will want more."

From these conditions, and not from the brain of any savior or superman, comes the idea of industrial unionism. The idea that the industrial workers of the world, the proletariat, should organize as a class and back up each other in the great struggle for life and freedom.

This grand idea of solidarity of labor, a solidarity that knows no race, no creed, no country, is a result of historically developed conditions and has been developing for years in industrial countries.

Not only are the wage workers getting the idea of class organization but, because of the development of "big business", they are giving up the idea of becoming capitalists and, glory of glories, they are becoming consciously revolutionary!

In Chicago, Illinois, U. S. A., in the year 1905, an organization named "The Industrial Workers of the World" was formed. The present writer had the privilege of rewriting the Preamble of this organization in 1908, and it has stood unchanged from that day to this.

A study of the Preamble and Constitution of this organization will show the form and spirit of a 20th century revolutionary labor organization. The Preamble says in part, "It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized; not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Thus the old society is pregnant with the new. The powers that rule the world today will never surrender to a weaker power. Clearly the thing to do is to build the power of organized labor. To try to save the petty bourgeoisie farmers, shop keepers, etc. is not revolutionary but reactionary. Reformers try to patch up capitalism. Reactioneries try to roll back the wheels of history. Revolutionists build the new within the shell of the old.

Capitalism is rapidly spreading over the earth, but the coming of the modern world is the coming of the proletariat.

As Marx so well said, "What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable."

When the organized power of the proletariat becomes greater than the organized power of other classes, then will come the revolution! The old power will go down before the greater power of the new. Capitalism based on production for sale will give way to production for use. Thus will end the world's last class struggle. The age-long exploitation of man by his fellowman will cease forever, and this will be the crowning achievement of the human race.

Industrial Workers of the World, unite. You have a world and life itself to gain!

(1) Frederick Engels
(4) Karl Marx
(10) Karl Marx
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FREE SPEECH FIGHTS OF THE I.W.W.

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My first real contact with the I. W. W., when I was a hopeful young reformer in St. Louis in 1912, came about as the result of the Kansas City free speech fight. Some of the boys just out of jail dropped in to undeceive me about Kansas City's boasted municipal workhouse. They simply and dramatically told the story, new to me, of how free speech really is won.

That technique, developed by the I. W. W. in its ten year struggle to speak on the public streets despite police orders, is unique in American history. It demonstrated the powerlessness of all the forces of law and order in the face of men determined to fill the jails if necessary to win their right to talk. No power on earth can beat men with the courage to go to jail, willingly and cheerfully, for a principle. Not if there are enough of them.

I learned of that technique in the Kansas City fight; the same tactics that marked the score of struggles chiefly in mid-western and Pacific Coast states in the years 1906 to 1916. First the gag on street-speaking, the arrests of the speakers on any handy charge, their conviction and sentence. Then the call for volunteers, the continued stream of soap-boxers night after night on crowded downtown streets, the ceaseless arrests, and then the city's awakening in alarm to the menace of a jail filled to overflowing and new candidates arriving by every freight. The press calls for stern measures. Chambers of Commerce resolve on emergency committees, patriots rave. But nothing stops the invasion nor checks the soap-boxing. The men in jail won't work; they will sing songs. They become front-page copy. Every speech in court is print-

ed in full; every incident in the jail makes drama. Finally, hopeless of stemming the tide and having no more jails, the champions of free speech are released; the fight is won. In Kansas City, sane heads in influential places pointed out the futility of boarding all these men at the city's expense just because they wanted to talk on the streets, and the chief of police surrendered, agreeing to let all the men loose on one condition as a face-saver,— that they could speak freely if they would not abuse the police. Since they had no intention of abusing the defenseless police, they agreed.

I watched similar tactics at work in St. Louis that winter in a campaign to make the city provide food and shelter for the thousands of homeless men who had come to town from the fields and camps. The I. W. W. men dropped into a restaurant, ate, and then presented their checks to the cashier, telling him to charge them to the mayor. Arrested, they made speeches in court that broke on the front pages. The town got excited over the prospect of thousands of men heading for St. Louis to eat on the mayor,—for out of jail or in it that was just what they did. After a few score had made the point clear, the City Council hastily passed an emergency bill to set up a lodging house with free meals, and the fight was won. And won on precisely the same tactics, the same dramatic and moral appeal that won free speech. No amount of lawful propaganda or public appeals could have turned the trick. Courage, numbers, team-work and dramatic sense did it.

These free speech fights of the I. W. W. cropped out without planning wherever the police put on the lid. They rarely had any relation to a strike. They were an outgrowth of street propaganda in cities where organizers were attempting to recruit members. As advertising for the I. W. W. they were a huge success. Thousands of citizens who had only heard remotely of the organization were aroused to fear and hate by the menace they saw to property interests in the organization of these "outcasts of society." Revolutionary words seemed to take on reality when accompanied by such willing martyrdom. The shafts of revolt hit home because the guardians of property and law had no answer to the accusations. Here were men with a vision and nothing to lose. They could not be bought off nor intimidated. Short of killing them there was no answer to their determination to

speak save surrender. And as some old farmer is quoted as saying, "You can't kill 'em; the law protects 'em."

This resistance of the I. W. W. boys, combined with revolutionary propaganda and songs couched in words anybody could understand, aroused passionate prejudice. Sober citizens forgot all law and order; they called for blood. And they got it. Though not a single case of violence by a single member of the I. W. W. marked a single conviction in scores of free speech fights, the violence against them was colossal. It would be futile to record the beatings, kidnappings, torture. Some ten men lost their lives in these fights. Something over 2,000 were sent to jail out of more thousands arrested.

And yet the net effect on the public mind was that the violence was chiefly on the part of the I. W. W. or directly incited by them. That the sworn guardians of the law and the leading citizens were incited to violence merely by ideas they feared is not held against them outside radical circles. They did their patriotic duty against those seeking to overthrow society. Charges of violence against the I. W. W. even in the total absence of proof, were gladly accepted to justify the violence against them. I know of no movement in recent history which so withstood the temptation to violent reprisals as did the I. W. W. in these free speech and other fights to keep the organization going. As a vindication of the power of organized non-violent resistance it is one of the outstanding examples of all time. Practically every fight was won.

Of course the price paid by the organization for these victories was high. Whether they were worth it in terms of the purposes of the I. W. W. is a matter of opinion. Many in the I. W. W. criticized the diversion of energy to a struggle against the police instead of against the bosses, and to winning a free speech that did not build unions. To win the right to talk tended to become the goal rather than the use to which that right was put. But I venture to appraise the effect of the struggle on the morale of the workers as far more important than its victories. The exhibitions of solidarity, of the sacrifice of the individual to the interests of his class, of uncompromising purpose, all built a personality around the I. W. W. which made it the unrivalled spokesman of native American militancy. It had more of the old revoltionary tra-

dition in it, and in precisely its original spirit—1776—than any movement in or out of the working class since. Certainly no fight for free speech before or since has approached it in determination, dramatic tactics or success in its immediate purposes.

One of the significant factors in this struggle was its almost exclusive isolation in the I. W. W. Ordinarily free speech fights arouse widespread participation by those not directly affected who accept the old tradition of "letting them talk." But the violent prejudice aroused by the I. W. W. scared off timid liberals. Outside the Socialists and anarchists only a few staunch libertarians championed their rights. Contributions to defense funds came from middle-class sources in considerable amount, but they did not embarrass the givers by public identification with the I. W. W.

It is commonly said that most of those who fight for free speech do so to get their own rights, but would not lift a finger to get such rights for others. And it is charged, with, unhappily, considerable evidence to prove it, that some who have been loudest in demanding their own rights have denied those rights to others. One radical party breaks up the meetings of another. One A. F. of L. leader, an avowed champion of free speech, a few years ago called for the prosecution of the I. W. W. under the criminal syndicalism laws. He hired thugs to raid their halls and break up their meetings. But I have never heard of a single instance in which the I. W. W. has broken up a meeting of rivals or opponents. They accept for others the principle of a tolerance they fought so hard to gain.

The period of these struggles for the right to speak on the streets came to an end with the war. Everett was the last scene of significant conflict. With the war prosecutions, the energies of the organization were directed to saving it from attack by far more powerful forces than local police and chambers of commerce. And since the war, propaganda on the soap-box has gone out of fashion with the changes brought about in industry, in the tactics of radical organizations and in the I. W. W. itself.

Of the score of fights, two stand out as most conspicuous because most dramatic and tragic,—Everett, Wash. in 1916 and San Diego in 1912. Lives were lost in both; scores of

men were beaten, tortured, kidnapped, deported, mobbed, prosecuted. They are so different in character that they deserve description,—that at Everett an exclusive I. W. W. struggle, the other in San Diego shared by Socialists, anarchists, liberals and orthodox trade-unionists.

The San Diego fight was significant because of the long-continued lawless violence by the police and a citizens' committee of "vigilantes" who deported and beat the free speech fighters; because of the undaunted resistance of the I. W. W. men who supplied most of the recruits; and because of the united front put up by organized labor, Socialists, liberals and even religious leaders. The active struggle lasted longer than any free speech fight on record—nine months. It attracted nation-wide attention and involved both state and federal governments.

The issue arose suddenly in December, 1911 when the San Diego City Council, in response to the urging of merchants, adopted an ordinance barring the customary street-speaking in the center of the city. Fifty blocks were closed. Socialists, single-taxers, trade unionists, the I. W. W. and religious groups at once formed the California Free Speech League to fight for their common rights. The day the law took effect, 40 speakers, including two lawyers, were arrested. They were held without trial under excessive bail. A hundred more were soon added, jamming the jails. Overcrowding, rotten food, illness, brutality marked their confinement.

The I. W. W. sent out a call for men. The trade unions pledged support to the fight. The reactionary press called for hanging or shooting without trial. The I. W. W. men began arriving. The police threw a mounted guard along the county line to turn them back. In the course of the eight months of the fight scores were seized, beaten, turned back; one group were forced to kiss the flag at the point of guns, another to run a gauntlet of thugs who beat them mercilessly. One labor man, not an I. W. W., was kidnapped, taken into the country and warned to keep going on pain of death if he returned. Other deportations followed. Altogether hundreds were seized by a self-appointed citizens' committee—vigilantes—taken far out into one desert, beaten and warned not to return.

Mass protest meetings were held in San Diego and Los Angeles. At one in San Diego led by a woman evangelist, the fire hose was turned on speakers and audience for over an hour, injuring many. The fight, with its daily skirmishes, aroused the press all over the state. The death of one prisoner from a beating put iron into the fighters. Rising protests from all quarters over the state prompted Governor Hiram Johnson to appoint an official investigator.

Just when the fight seemed on its way to settlement with acquittals in court, a clash with the police resulted in the killing of one I. W. W., the wounding of several more, and of two police officers. Wholesale persecution followed. Raids and deportations were renewed. A visiting anarchist speaker was seized, taken out into the country by vigilantes, beaten, branded and tarred.

The report of the governor's investigator, sustaining the charges against the police and vigilantes, together with a further inquiry by the attorney-general, prompted the indictment of leading vigilantes. Even the federal government ordered an investigation. The free speech fighters resumed their meetings; distinguished outside speakers came in; press support grew. The men arrested were finally brought to trial. Some were sentenced to six months. But arrests stopped. The vigilantes were never tried. The fight was over and won.

The conflict in the seaport lumber town of Everett, Washington, in 1916, in contrast to the San Diego struggle, was short—less than a month—and it was an exclusive I. W. W. movement. The issue arose in a strike of the A. F. of L. shingle-weavers, when police and thugs broke up picket lines and meetings. The I. W. W. decided then to try its hand at opening up the town. Attempts to rent a hall resulted in the arrest and beating of organizers, who were run out. The leaders then decided to approach the city from the sea. A boat was chartered in Seattle. When it landed in Everett, the 41 men on board were seized by the sheriff and his men, loaded into trucks and taken out of town. There they were made to run a gauntlet on a railroad track—kicked, beaten and stuck with sharp sticks. Driven from town, they determined to recruit larger forces. The week following 300 men on two chartered steamers left Seattle. Arriving at the dock in Everett, singing "Hold the Fort for we are coming," they

were met by a fusillade of shots and scores of rifles in the hands of the sheriff and his deputies, many of them recruited by the lumber interests. Five men lay dead on the decks, others fell into the sea; 31 were wounded. Two deputy sheriffs were killed, 16 wounded—by crossfire, the defense contended in the trials, due to firing on the boats from three sides. All the remaining I. W. W. men were arrested at once, with all others who could be found in town, including three women. Seventy-four were charged with murder.

The dauntless spirit of the I. W. W. was evident when the very next day two men tried to hold a street meeting of protest. Arrested, they were tortured and beaten. Of the men charged with murder, one was brought to trial in Seattle several months later, and after two months acquitted. The others were then freed. Not a single one of the scores of deputies who fired on men merely seeking to land in town to speak on the streets, was arrested or prosecuted. The sheriff in charge of them later got a state job. The Everett fight resulted in the establishment of free speech after the trials. The I. W. W. opened a hall and held street meetings without interference.

San Diego and Everett—not typical of the many I. W. W. free speech fights, but the best evidence of the spirit of determination behind them. They emphasize what Mr. Dooley long ago said of rights. "Don't ask for rights; take them. There's something the matter with a right that is handed to you." And they illustrate the truth that law is only what its agents choose to make it.

When the war began there were few places where the I. W. W. was unable to keep open a hall or to speak on the streets. The war hysteria and the criminal syndicalism laws, together with the federal prosecutions, soon closed most of them. The fighting front of the organization shifted from the streets to the criminal courts. Shortly in many states it became a crime to be a member of the I. W. W. Yet after the war,the halls opened up again, though street speaking was far less common. Except for the period of terrorism following Centralia, the halls stayed open. But no fight for free speech on the streets has marked the years since, save for a little flurry in Toledo.

Among the outstanding free speech fights of the I. W. W. are the following: **1906,** San Francisco, Cal.; **1909,** Missoula, Mont., Spokane, Wash., New Castle, Pa.; **1910,** Wenatchee, Walla Walla, Wash., Fresno, Cal.; **1911,** Duluth, Minn., Victoria, B. C., Denver, Colo., Superior, Wis., Kansas City, M., Aberdeen, Wash.; **1912,** San Diego, Cal., Aberdeen, S. D., New Bedford, Mass., Minneapolis, Minn.; **1913,** Denver, Grand Junction, Colo., Minot, N. D., Seattle, Wash., Kansas City, Mo.; **1914,** Aberdeen, S. D.; **1915,** Paterson, N. J.; **1916,** Old Forge, Pa., Everett, Wash.

Nobody in the United States today, where free speech remains a challenging issue, in strikes and out, carries on the tactics so dramatically worked out by the I. W. W. They wrote a chapter in the history of American liberties like that of the struggle of the Quakers for freedom to meet and worship, of the militant suffragists to carry their propaganda to the seats of government, and of the Abolitionists to be heard.

Far more effective is this direct action of open conflict than all the legal maneuvres in the courts to get rights that no government willingly grants. Power wins rights,—the power of determination backed by willingness to suffer jail or violence to get them. The little minority of the working class represented in the I. W. W. blazed the trail in those ten years of fighting for free speech which the entire American working class must in some fashion follow. Without that spirit no revolutionary program can succeed. Without it, the elementary rights of agitation remain a myth.

HOW THE I.W.W. DEFENDS LABOR

By RALPH CHAPLIN
Labor Poet, Artist and Speaker

While education has been its chief achievement, militant industrial unionism in America has in the main followed two major lines—combat and defense. Both of these have been spectacular in the extreme. At every point where the Industrial Workers of the World contacted the powerful and firmly entrenched employing interests, friction developed on a scale hitherto unprecedented. With its revolutionary ideal and deeply rooted scepticism of all methods save those of the direct action of the workers at the point of production, the I. W. W., as might be supposed, was from the beginning destined for a stormy career. In fact, the first year of its existence was marked by one of the most outstanding labor defense cases in history.

The Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone case was in reality the aftermath of the great strike of the Western Federation of Miners, which culminated in the gigantic frame-up against three of the officers of the Union. On January 19, 1906 William D. Haywood, Charles Moyer and George A. Pettibone were arrested in Colorado and spirited away to Idaho. No opportunity was given these men to see their families or to consult lawyers. One Harry Orchard, a stoolpigeon, made a purported confession in which the three miners were accused of conspiracy to cause the murder of ex-Governor Frank Stuenenburg of Idaho. This now famous case was made a matter of national importance by the energetic measures used by the defense. Publicity, both in the labor and capitalist press, resulted in stirring up public opinion all over the nation and the world. The I. W. W. learned its first big lesson in the tactics of labor defense from this case—one that was to be of utmost value in the years to come. Publicity won the day.

Eugene V. Debs' ringing slogan, "If they hang Bill Haywood they've got to hang me," became the battle cry that was echoed in many parts of the world. Clarence Darrow's masterly plea for acquittal prevailed over the narrowness and prejudice of the times. The acquittal of Haywood resulted in the dropping of the case against the others.

In July, August and September, 1909 the I. W. W. led the strike of 8,000 workers at the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rocks, Penn. These men represented sixteen nationalities. The notorious state constabulary or, as the strikers called them, the American Cossacks, were called out. An amazing series of brutalities resulted. In order to call attention to the injustices being perpetrated against helpless workers, the strike committee issued an ultimatum which focused the attention of the nation on the scene. Ben Williams, editor of Solidarity, and a number of fellow workers had been arrested. Meetings were held all over the country and defense funds were raised. The true story of the eleven weeks of police brutality was given to the nation. The "Cossacks" made one last desperate attempt to break the strike with customary violence. A terrible encounter ensued in which the state policemen were forced to seek shelter in the company plants. The strike ended. The defendants were released. A similar story on a smaller scale was repeated in 1912-13 in Little Falls, N. Y.

While the Spokane free speech fight is mentioned elsewhere, the defense features are worthy of note. Six hundred members of the I. W. W. were arrested in Spokane, Washington, in the latter part of 1909. In order to put their purpose on the front page of the daily papers, more than 200 of them went on a hunger strike of from eleven to thirteen days. The persistence of the hunger strikers, coupled with the attendant publicity, forced the officials of the city to yield. In San Diego, Kansas City and other cities which sought to deny workers the right of free speech, similar tactics were used with similar results.

In 1912 a strike occurred in the textile mills at Lawrence, Massachusetts. This was another of the great strikes of labor history. About 30,000 workers speaking 27 different languages participated. The strike was well organized and splendidly directed. This and the Paterson, N. J. strike un-

doubtedly reveal Wm. D. Haywood at his best in the role of strike strategist. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the "Joan of Arc" of the American Labor Movement, and Joe Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti, for their courage and ability, became figures of national prominence during this strike. The two latter were falsely accused of the murder of a little girl who was killed in what was alleged to have been a street riot. Ettor, Giovannitti and another Italian named Caruso, were held in jail a year. The result of the trial was an acquittal. The defense work had been very extensive in scope. Public opinion, which rejoiced in the victory of the strikers, was emphatic in demanding the release of the defendants. It was discovered that one of the mill operators had planted evidence to help convict the unjustly accused men. This operator afterwards was reported as having committed suicide in Florida.

In the latter part of 1913 another great textile strike under I. W. W. leadership occurred in Paterson, N. J. The Doherty mill, owned chiefly by Japanese capitalists, was one of the largest units involved. All the hoary subterfuges of the employing class were used to discredit the strikers; the frame-up, patriotism, the spy system and open police brutality. This strike produced some of the most spectacular defense features in labor history. At one time the entire child-population of Paterson was removed to other cities to be looked after until the end of the strike, thus leaving their parents free to endure the hardships of the industrial struggle without worrying about their offspring. Bob Fitzsimmons, the fighter and Bertha Kalich, the actress contributed their talent at benefit performances. But the famous Paterson Pageant was by far the greatest strike-benefit and defense-publicity stunt on record. Madison Square Garden in New York City was the scene of a colossal reproduction of the entire strike. Another striking feature of defense publicity was Bill Haywood's exposure of the millowners methods of processing silk for profitable sale. This process is known as "dynamiting" and consisted of the loading of the fabric with lead, tin or zinc. These adulterations were exposed, to the consternation of the textile barons and the advantage of the strikers.

The Ford and Suhr case is another of the great milestones in the story of labor defense. In Wheatland, California, in 1913 a strike occurred in the height of the hop picking

season. Richard Ford and Herman Suhr were arrested charged with the murder of Prosecuting Attorney Manwell and Deputy Sheriff Riordan. The trial aroused widespread interest and resulted in conviction for the death of Manwell. But the terrible conditions prevailing in the hop fields were exposed. For twelve years agitation for the release of Ford and Suhr was carried on in the face of the most intense bitterness on the part of the California ruling class and its prosecutors. Ford was released on parole in 1925. Re-arrested and tried again for murder; this time with a verdict of acquittal. Suhr was released in 1926. The trial was handled by the California Branch of the General Defense Committee which obtained the signatures of a majority of the trial jury to a petition stating that they believed the convictions amounted to a miscarriage of justice.

The strike of the Southern lumberjacks which occurred in 1913 offers another example of the benefits to labor of well organized defense work. Intolerable conditions had driven the lumber workers to revolt. The strike was organized and directed by the I. W. W. A riot was planned and executed by company directors and gun-men. Fifty-eight men were arrested and thrown into jail. Four men belonging to the A. F. of L. were killed outright in a daylight massacre. Attempt to organize was the only reason given or required. Blacklist was used freely. Men and women were driven out of the country. The 58 men were confined in jail for months until news of the frightful conditions spread to all parts of the country. Thus the I. W. W. opened up the semi-fuedal South for labor organization.

The case of Rangel and Cline, like the one mentioned above, attracted a great deal of attention. The widest publicity was given to the facts in the case, but like Ford and Suhr, the two men were forced to serve a large part of their time in prison. In 1914, Charles Cline, an I. W. W. and a Mexican fellow worker named Rangel, were arrested near the border. They were charged with violation of the neutrality act for attempting to join forces with Mexican rebels across the Rio Grande who were attempting to overthrow the tyranny of Porfirio Diaz, dictator of Mexico. Both served thirteen years. The wide interest aroused by their case was still alive

when both men were pardoned by the Governor of Texas, "Ma" Ferguson.

The famous Joe Hill case occurred in Utah in 1914. It was a classical case of the "frame-up" used against labor. A strike against the Utah Construction Company occurred at Bingham Canyon. It was a success. The I. W. W. song writer, Joe Hill, was the chief agitator and organizer. He was arrested in Salt Lake City for the murder of a local groceryman named Morrison. He was tried and convicted; appealed and lost. Gurley Flynn visited Joe Hill in jail, and urged him to accept the defense of the organization. Then started a period of defense activity only paralleled by the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The Governor's mansion was inundated with letters and telegrams. The Swedish Ambassador and even President Wilson were induced to appeal for clemency for Joe Hill. Protest meetings were held in all parts of the world. On November 17, 1915 Joe Hill faced a firing squad in the Utah penitentiary. His last message was "Don't mourn for me; organize." Joe Hill's body was sent to Chicago and cremated at Graceland Cemetery. His funeral was one of the largest in the history of Chicago.

The Everett Massacre occurred in 1916. Striking shingle weavers were denied the right to speak on the streets of Everett, Wn. Lumber workers were beaten with ax-handles and driven out of town. Loggers from Seattle attempted to come to Everett by steamship to hold a meeting. These were met as the steamer Verona reached the city docks, by a fusillade of bullets from gun-men about the wharves. Two hundred and ninety-four workers were arrested. Seventy-four were charged with murder of a gunman named Jefferson Beard, who was killed by crossfire of the sheriff's forces. The indictment was reduced and Tom Tracy went to trial. George Vanderveer of Seattle was the defense attorney. Great publicity was given this case. The defendant was acquitted. The remaining men were freed.

The Mesaba strike in 1916 ran true to form. The entire iron range was flooded with gunmen. Sixteen thousand miners were involved. There were kidnappings, sluggings and other forms of police brutality, culminating in the arrest of three organizers for libel. These men had said in open meeting that company gun-men had killed a striking miner

named John Alar. They were freed later. Another miner sent to the penitentiary at Stillwater, Minn. was finally released, largely as a result of defense activities.

Among the war-time cases the one tried at Chicago was the largest. An attempt was made under the cloak of the "war for democracy" to crush the I. W. W. once and for all, by arresting all of its officials and many of the most active workers. One hundred and thirteen were put on trial. Eighty-seven were confined in the Cook County jail for a year awaiting trial. The defense was hampered in every conceivable way. One hundred men were convicted and sentenced to from a year and a day to twenty years. The expense of the trial and defense publicity work were enormous. During the first year of imprisonment only a little over $7,000 had been raised for the defense. When Bill Haywood was released on bail he suggested the organization of a general defense committee. The famous letter "In Memoriam" bordered with black, which was the first thing Haywood got out, brought in $9,000 in about a month. While the Wichita and Sacramento cases were going on another famous document, "With Drops of Blood," was published. The first month's returns from this were over $22,000.

The General Defense Committee was using profitably all the experiences of the past in I. W. W. defense work. Speakers were sent to all parts of the country. Each member released from prison on bail was immediately sent on the firing line. The capital building in Washington was inundated with protests. A million special protest cards were circulated and 3,000,000 "Amnesty by Christmas" stamps were prepared and used. In addition to these, hundreds of thousands of pamphlets and leaflets were circulated, in spite of the efforts of the Government to obstruct such work. The "Amnesty by Christmas" drive of the General Defense Committee in the Fall of 1923 is conceded to have been an important factor in securing a general release of political prisoners.

The members of the I. W. W. arrested in Kansas were first arrested and charged with vagrancy. It will be remembered they were picked up in the oil fields suspected of trying to organize the oil workers, thus interfering with the profits of that great patriot, Harry Sinclair! These men were held in jail two years awaiting trial. The original charge of

vagrancy was changed on March 6 to violation of the Lever Act, which was quashed. New indictment was drawn charging 38 men with conspiracy prior to and during their confinement in jail. Men convicted in the Chicago case were named as co-conspirators. Numerous attempts made by defense counsel to quash the indictment were finally successful, but again a new indictment was drawn with certain changes made in it. Men went to trial on December 1, 1919. Verdict of guilty rendered with sentences ranging from three to nine years. During their confinement in jail two went insane; one died from influenza; three contracted tuberculosis.

The Sacramento Case, in 1917 also started with an explosion at the rear of the gubernatorial mansion, members of the I. W. W. being charged with the crime. Charles M. Fickert, then running for re-election used this as political capital. Every I. W. W. in town was arrested. Five days after the explosion two I. W. W. members were arrested. They had a package containing nine sticks of dynamite, five cakes of soap and a quantity of bacon. They said they were going prospecting. Evidence was lacking, so evidence was manufactured, with the help of the daily press. Defendants were charged with violating every war act and with numerous fires occurring in California. Defendants became convinced they could expect no justice and refused to employ counsel, using the "silent defense" method. A. W. Fox, Theodora Pollock and Basile Saffores employed counsel and were let off with fines. The others were convicted on all counts and sentenced to from one to ten years.

The California Syndicalism cases began after the passage of the law in the Spring of 1919. Eight members of the I. W. W. were prosecuted. Trials of I. W. W. members occurred for a period of over five years, accusations being filed in twenty counties; actual trials were held in fourteen. Five hundred and thirty-one persons were accused by indictment; 292 dismissed without trial; 264 were actually tried; 164 actually convicted. Three professional witnesses—Dymond, Coutts and Townsend—appeared against the accused at all trials, their method being to recount their acts while members themselves of the organization. No attempt was made to check up their statements. The I. W. W. started a state-wide campaign of organization and defense literature. Tom Con-

nors was indicted on a charge of tampering with a juryman. These trials brought to light the character of the I. W. W. as an industrial union. To counteract the true facts and keep them from reaching the public, the injunction was resorted to, which meant that the accused would have no right to a jury trial. Direct violence upon the part of the predatory interests resulted in a mob raid upon the hall of the I. W. W. at San Pedro, California, a number of people, including several children being severely injured. A grand jury investigation whitewashed the entire business. The I. W. W. continued to function with more vigor than ever, and subsequently all criminal syndicalism cases were dismissed.

In the Centralia, Washington case of November 11, 1919, the charge was made that an American Legion man had been killed by members of the I. W. W. in Centralia. Ten men were involved. The trouble was the result of the Legion men going out of the line of march to attack the I. W. W. hall. In the skirmish that ensued Lieutenant Warren O. Grimm and three other Legionnaires were killed. On March 13, 1920 a verdict was returned that was unacceptable to the court and the jury returned with new instructions. The new verdict rendered was "guilty of murder in the second degree" Britt Smith, Bert Bland, Commodore Bland, Ray Becker, James McInerney, Eugene Barnett and John Lamb; Mike Sheehan and Elmer Smith were acquitted; Loren Roberts was adjudged insane.

Since the imprisonment of the Centralia defendants increasing efforts have been made to secure their release. Numerous books and leaflets have been circulated. Protest meetings have been held regularly and influential organizations and publicists have been interested and induced to make an effort to secure belated justice. Statements exonerating the defendants have been obtained from trial jurymen. It has been a hard and bitterly contested struggle from the beginning.

Legal defense, publicity, prison relief and relief funds for the families of imprisoned men have been supplied wherever needed by the General Defense Committee from the beginning.

BUILD FOR POWER

By C. E. PAYNE
I. W. W. Editor, Organizer and One of the Founders

"Not orthodox, but well planned."

In the fewest words possible that may be taken as an explanation of the methods of the strikes of the I. W. W. in the Pacific Northwest in the past quarter century. The strikes were not orthodox in that they did not follow any set rule, neither were they called by any officials.

They were planned, and very carefully, in that they were considered from every angle by the men who did the striking, and when called off the decision as to time and terms of ending was made by the strikers on their own initiative.

There were few questions of what course any officials would take. Officials followed instructions as a matter of course. Instead, there were reports that "We tightened up our picket line," or "The camp is out solid," or "Not a scab getting through." The slogan—had these unorthodox strikers stooped to slogans—might have been, "We run this strike."

There were two elements in the making of these struggles, outside that of the unbearable industrial conditions which were the prime cause. The first was a spirit of independence on the part of the strikers. On this fertile soil the delegates of the Industrial Workers of the World sowed the seed of industrial solidarity. Before they came, protests had been an individual matter. When a man did not like conditions he had quit one job and sought another. But the delegates proclaimed that "In Union there is strength."

The new idea took root and flourished. In the spring of 1907 a strike of saw mill workers in Portland, Oregon, brought the organization vividly to the attention of the Northwest workers. The strike was a success in one respect, the mills were tied up solidly.

In another respect it was not so successful. The workers did not yet have the idea they must stick on the picket lines

and see that none but they should go back to work. So many left that not enough remained to do picket duty, and the few who stayed called the strike off, allowing the mills to be filled with unorganized men. The workers struck as one, but considered this their full duty. They did not yet understand that workers must claim a proprietary right in the jobs, even in the industry itself.

In June, 1908, lumber companies in Western Montana cut wages in the saw mills. They were working on the nine hour day and there was no dispute on that point. The strike started July 1 at Bonner and the mills were closed until next spring. The strike was lost and the reduced scale held until 1916, when lumber pilers asked 25 cents a day increase. A short strike resulted which gained an increase of 19 cents a day. In 1913 there had been a strike to hold the nine hour day, which was won.

A number of free speech fights in the Northwest in 1909, 1910 and 1911 had focused attention on the I. W. W. By the spring of 1912 the delegates, speakers and writers had envisioned to the workers the possibility of action in their own interest. The cartoons of Ernest Riebe, "Mr. Block," were a large factor in showing the hoplessness of meekly accepting conditions imposed by the employers.

In March, 1912, a strike of saw mill workers in Grays Harbor was bitterly fought for about a month. Men and women formed solid picket lines which the companies could not break. As a last resort to break the strike, many of the active strikers were kidnapped and deported from the district, and the companies sent gun men and city officials to close the Finnish and Croatian halls where the strikers had headquarters. Those halls were nailed up with two inch planks and heavy spikes, and the owning clubs were not allowed to reopen them until several weeks later under threat of having them burned.

On March 28, 1912, a strike began on the Canadian Northern construction work. All activity in this strike was carried on by the I. W. W. and large numbers of men joined while it was going on. Considerable gains were made in wages and conditions, but the greatest gain was in the sense of power that arose. Five years later that feeling of power swept 40,000 lumber workers into the most spectacular strike the Northwest has ever seen.

In a strike of shingleweavers in 1916, members of the I. W. W. had given much help to the Shingleweavers Union. The lumber companies in Everett tried to drive every union man, and especially the I. W. W., from the town. In making that effort they caused the massacre of November 5 on the Everett dock, then charged 74 workers with murder to cover their own guilt. Thousands of Northwest workers joined the I. W. W. in protest against this travesty. Tom Tracy was the only one of the men ever brought into court. He was acquitted May 5, 1917, after a trial lasting two months.

Excellent generalship was used in the strikes of 1917. No action was attempted in the winter. When water began to run high in the spring, the river drivers in the "short log" district of Western Montana, Idaho and Northeast Washington demanded higher wages, and in many cases gained them. Where they did not gain, the companies lost heavily in logs left on the shores of the streams to be damaged by worms and rot during the summer. In several woods camps in this district strikes started in June against the rotten conditions and gained some headway. But no attempt was made until July to draw the loggers of Western Washington and Oregon into the strike.

Camps and mills in the Northwest close one to three weeks in late June and early July. When the lay-off comes, men from every camp are in Spokane, Seattle, Tacoma, Portland and Vancouver. There men hear of conditions in all camps and mills west of the Rocky Mountains. Discussion about "solidarity for better conditions" had been carried on for years. Speakers and organizers now held many meetings in the cities and towns during the lay-off, explaining principles and tactics to willing listeners.

When the camps reopened, delegates and organizers went into the woods, picking up the few loose ends of organization work and making ready for the next attack. Every camp operated with a full crew. But in three weeks after they started, hundreds of camps were silent. Thousands of men came out and picketed strategic points. Committees were elected to have immediate charge of activities. There were central strike committees in all lumber centers, and then one general strike committee for the lumber industry of the Northwest.

The demands were generally for the eight hour day, 50 cents a day increase in wages and better camp conditions.

The saw mill workers were not on strike with the woods workers and no effort was made to stop the mills. They soon ran out of logs and had to close. Some companies tried to have their mill crews cut logs, but the effort was a failure. Some of the bosses in the Lumbermen's Association wanted to settle and they held many acrimonious sessions. When one of their meetings adjourned one great lumber baron came out with a blacked eye. But they had posted bonds that no company might grant the demands of the strikers until the Association should permit, so the strike went on. The workers were fighting the Lumbermen's Association, not a number of individuals.

When the strike had been on about two months, the question of further financing came up. Very little money had been received from outside sources. The strikers decided to "transfer the strike to the job." That is, go back to work and take the eight hour day, which was the principal issue. Wage increases of more than the demands had been offered, and the companies stood ready to make some camp improvements, so the working time was practically the only one to gain, and all there was of that was to take it.

When the strikers considered the time opportune, they instructed their committees to call the strike off. Woods workers formed themselves into crews and applied for jobs. They seemed satisfied with their holiday and ready to work. Things appeared right, until eight hours had been worked. In some instances men worked one day on the ten hour schedule, but mostly the eight hour day was taken at first.

Then came the test of power. Some crews were discharged when they first stopped work at the end of eight hours. But the companies were at heavy expense in preparing for operation, had the overhead costs for foremen and other items, and had stocked up with fresh meats, fruits and vegetables. Many thousands of dollars would be lost by discharging the men, so some companies gave in at first. Others discharged one or more crews before they realized all would act the same, but they finally accepted the eight hour day as an established fact.

The improvements in camp conditions cost not less than $25 for each of the 40,000 workers affected, an outlay of a million dollars. Two hours time off the work day reduced the value of the output by at least a dollar per man and the wage increase added another dollar to the expense account, making well over $80,000 a day extra cost to the companies. No wonder the lumber barons raged like wild beasts in Centralia on November 11, 1919.

There were many smaller strikes in the construction and lumber camps of the Northwest from 1917 until the spring of 1923. Each had its individual cause, but all were to resist encroachments by the bosses on what had been won in wages and conditions, or to enforce demands that had been made by the men but not granted by the companies at first. The strike in the spring of 1923 was not so much in the interest of the strikers themselves, as it was a show of solidarity for the Class War Prisoners.

In each district, sometimes in each camp, there were local demands for improvement of certain conditions, but all were headed with the one demand, "Release the Class War Prisoners." When action began to be discussed in the fall of 1922, the companies tried to turn the movement aside. They looked around to see what improvements could be made. The bosses did less driving. As strike talk gained in volume some companies raised wages 50 cents a day. But in spite of these sops the men struck and showed such solidarity the Class War Prisoners gained years in commutation of their sentences. When the strikers went back to work there was no effort by the companies to victimize them. Their organization was too strong.

A sporadic attempt at a strike in the woods was made in September, 1923, which has been a source of much misunderstanding. There had been some talk after the May strike of another effort in the near future. In August a representative committee elected from the various lumbering districts of the Northwest met in Portland to canvass the situation. One committeeman was instructed to vote for a strike in September. All others were instructed to the general effect that the members who elected them did not consider a strike in their districts advisable at that time, but they would support any action the majority decided on.

After the situation had been thoroughly canvassed, the committee decided, with only one dissenting vote, not to issue a strike call. The decision was published everywhere, and men continued work with a determination that when they should strike again, it would be with more power than ever. Then a few, who wanted a strike at all costs, met in one Branch, issued a "strike call" and published it broadcast in the name of the I. W. W. This caused much confusion for a time, but workers now generally have a clear understanding of the event.

The strikes of the I. W. W. are the spectacular events that have marked the progress of the organization. They are the mile posts that measure the distance we have come, but they are not the road itself. That road is paved with the slow, painstaking work of many delegates and educators, proving to the workers that emancipation from wage slavery is possible, and that it will come from the conscious act of the workers themselves. The road of organization leads to the full social value of all production to go to the producers.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNION IN AGRICULTURE

By TOM CONNORS
I. W. W. Speaker, Organizer and Defense Worker

Looking down from a skyscraper one can scarcely discern the individual in the streets of the city below. Only currents or masses of men weave in and out among the buildings, and so it is that the history of a labor movement appears to the student who casually glances backward. A continual interweaving of persons, events and trends comes before the mind's eye, with an occasional inlay set forth prominently because of the real or imaginary significance attached to the subject. One such gem in the history of the Industrial Workers of the World is the formation of the Agricultural Workers Organization of the I. W. W. in 1915.

The signal importance attached to the formation of the Agricultural Workers Organization is due to the fact that around its development hinges the institution of the present structure of the I. W. W., a series of co-ordinating industrial unions. During the first eleven years of its existence the I. W. W. ardently advocated the industrial form of union structure, but only at the end of such period of time was able actually to install such system in its own organization. The story of the development of the A. W. O. No. 400 also presents a graphic picture of the part played by the migratory worker in the upbuilding of industrial unionism in the United States. A brief survey of conditions as they existed in the harvest area of this country at that time will assist an understanding of why such development took the particular trend it did take.

The wheat belt in the middle west section of this country, through which the horde of migratory workers swarmed each year at harvest time, consisted of a territory extending from the Pan Handle of Texas through Oklahoma, Kansas,

Nebraska, South and North Dakotas. Montana and Washington. The latter four of the states mentioned depended greatly on the migratory worker for man power to harvest the small grain crops; this to a much greater extent than at the present time. An idea of the change occurring in this respect may be gleaned from the fact that in 1912 the State of Kansas required 85 per cent. of the necessary labor for the harvest period to enter the State from outside its border; today, the same State depends on other States to furnish a mere 10 per cent. of the needed harvest labor.

The large number of workers which were needed from beyond the respective state lines caused the farming communities in each grain growing state to develop high-powered publicity methods to attract the desired workers. Several times the number needed were advertised for, usually with the desired result of flooding the various districts with job-seeking migratory workers, from two to five men often being on the spot for each job. Once an oversupply of men was created, every available means of coercion was used to force the workers to accept a mere pittance as wages, while the business elements in the towns spared no effort to devise ways and means to retain each penny paid as harvest wages within the confines of their respective communities. To achieve success in this respect was not a difficult undertaking.

The very finest types among the somewhat heterogeneous American working class were to be found amid the horde which rode the railroad trains into the job-promising land of golden wheat. On top of boxcars, occasionally on the rods but usually inside of the boxcars, could be found hundreds of thousands of men from every walk in life. East, West, North and South, it mattered not as to direction, the most picturesque, and pathetic, one might say, aggregation of hungry and helpless workers ever assembled in one industry migrated about, seeking for an opportunity to exchange their labor power for some slight measure of the wherewithal of life. This was the ideal labor situation—ideal for the employing farmers—prevailing in the harvest fields of these United States prior to the formation of the A. W. O. No. 400 of the I. W. W.

Adding to the terrible situation described above a sprinkling of high-jacks, tin-horn gamblers, bootleggers and pros-

titutes, gives one a fairly accurate idea of what the unorganized agricultural worker faced as he entered the wheat growing area to seek a living. The farming communities well knew how to use these degenerates to the interests of the local employers. It is notorious that oftentimes the village or town marshal served as the village bootlegger much of the harvest country being in the local option belt and "dry" at the time. It also was a very ordinary and usual occurrence for the marshal, as well as other town or village officials, to work in cahoots with the high-jacks, tin-horn gamblers and bootleggers.

The general premise underlying these alignments with the social degenerates was that a slave without money, broke and hungry, was always a servile slave. Under such conditions the individualist thought only to secure a job which meant that he would eat for a few days; never, under such circumstances would he scruple about wage rates. During the years 1913 and 1914, however, some substantial benefits accrued to certain groups of harvest workers because of organization. Scattered members of various local unions of the I. W. W. formed temporary alliances on jobs and in harvest districts to curtail hours, and improve wages and job conditions.

Prior to 1915 many admirable victories were won as the result of the activities of I. W. W. members in the harvest fields, but, usually owing to the lack of a cohesive and lasting organization, these gains were of a temporary nature. A few isolated instances are of record where a wage of three dollars for a ten hour working day was paid, although the general top wage to that time had been two dollars and fifty cents, and the working day period from a sun-up to sun-down day to a sun-up to a far-into-the-night "day". The need for a more unified organization in the harvest fields was clearly recognized in 1914.

Acting on a recommendation from Frank Little, General Executive Board member, the Ninth Annual Convention of the I. W. W., which convened in Chicago, September 21, 1914, indorsed a resolution which instructed the general administration to call a conference early in 1915 of representatives from all I. W. W. locals whose members actively participated in the small grain harvest. In accordance with these instructions a conference was called for April 15, 1915, to be held in Kansas City, Mo.

The conference was called to order by a General Executive Board member on the date set. A total of nine delegates were seated from the following local unions of the I. W. W.: Local 57, Des Moines, Ia.; Local 66, Fresno, Calif.; Local 92, Portland, Ore.; Local 61, Kansas City, Mo.; Local 69, Salt Lake City, Utah; Local 173, San Francisco, Calif.; Local 64, Minneapolis, Minn.; and Local 26, Denver, Colo. The actual accomplishment of this conference was the formation of the Agricultural Workers Organization.

A resolution adopted by the conference determined the formation of a permanent union as well as deciding on the name for such union. Another action of the body was to set a two dollar initiation fee and ask all local unions of the I. W. W. located in the harvest area to bring their initiation fee to such level. A general secretary-treasurer was elected for the A. W. O., and his wages were set at $18 per week. A general organization committee of five members was provided for, as was an undetermined number of field delegates, the latter to work without pay.

A charter was issued by the general administration of the I. W. W. to the Agricultural Workers Organization No. 400 on April 21, 1915. This charter gave the A. W. O. No. 400 the status of a national industrial union. At the time of issuing this charter from the organization general office the matter of designating a number for it arose. The then General Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. commented that inasmuch as this local was being formed by the elite of the working class a suitable number was 400. During the respective period the term "400" was a common expression in use to designate a group of plutocrats in "high society" who numbered around this figure, and who owned the greater portion of the wealth in this vast nation.

It also was determined at this first conference that union operating programs must be determined close to the job, and provisions were made for field meetings to be held for the purpose of transacting such union business as was pertinent to each respective locality. Arrangements were made to protect members from high-jacks when moving from job to job. This was one of the outstanding problems of the day because many of the high-jack gangs operated in conjunction with village and town officials, as well as railroad crews, and gen-

erally presented a real menace. The destructive effect of booze and gambling among the workers was clearly recognized by the body, and a policy which provided for the separation of these disturbing influences from the organization's activities was adopted. It is notorious that no booze or gambling was tolerated among organized harvest workers during the subsequent period.

On July 25, 1915, three months after the formation of the A. W. O. No. 400, a second conference was held in Kansas City, Mo. This meeting was called for the purpose of planning an organized movement of harvest workers into the northern wheat areas, the harvest then being about completed in the southern districts. Reports made to this meeting showed that organization receipts for the three month period, and around 90 per cent. of the total was collected during the last ten days, were $878, while expenses for the same period were $789. At this time the A. W. O. consisted of only one branch, the headquarters branch at Kansas City.

At this conference a tentative wage scale of $3 for the South Dakota area was set, and a $3.50 scale for North Dakota, the hours to be a maximum of ten in both instances. Many cases reported to the conference showed that wages had been raised from the standard $2.50 to a wage of $3 for 10 hours work in Kansas, while from every section where the union was active came reports of a vicious and persistent persecution of union members. More than 100 arrests of active members prior to the end of July were reported, with all but 12 being released within a period of a few days.

The July meeting in Kansas City decided to move the A. W. O. headquarters to Minneapolis, Minn. The following general meeting was held at the latter named city. Among the important actions taken at this meeting which was held November 15 and 16 was to arrange for the opening of branches in Kansas City, Sioux City, Ia., Omaha, Neb., and Des Moines, Ia. On December 12, 1915, a conference of 55 members was held in Sacramento, Cal., at which an additional local was formed. At the Minneapolis conference a plan of extending organization activities into the lumber camps and iron ore mines of the north central states was adopted.

During the winter of 1915 and early in 1916 the A. W. O. 400, greatly assisted to achieve a substantial organization

in both the Mesaba Range metal mining industry and the lumber industry of Minnesota and Wisconsin. So closely aligned with the organization activities in industries other than agriculture was the A. W. O. that during the early months of 1916 two national industrial union charters were issued by the General Administration of the I. W. W. wherein the headquarters of these unions were to be maintained jointly with that of the A.W.O. No. 400. On February 3, 1916 National Industrial Union charter 490 was issued to the iron ore miners in the Mesaba Range district. This union also formed branches throughout the respective territory while its headquarters was joined with that of the A. W. O. Likewise, on March 6, 1916, National Industrial Union charter No. 573 was issued to the general construction workers. This union was constituted and aligned similarly to I. U. No. 490.

Official reports made to the fall, 1916, general meeting of the A. W. O. No. 400 showed that the A. W. O. had initiated more than 8,000 members, and that the finances of the union were in excellent condition. Substantial progress was made during 1916 in organizing workers in the cities of the middle west, as well as in the lumber, metal mining and construction industries of the same area, the A. W. O. actively participating in these activities. The action of the 1916 general convention of the I. W. W. in revising the structure of the general organization changed the A. W. O. No. 400 into the A. W. I. U. No. 400. This structural revision by the Tenth (1916) General Convention of the I. W. W. arranged for the structure of the I. W. W. to consist of industrial unions and a general recruiting union. I. U. 490 became part of M. M. I. U., once No. 800, and severed its headquarters from that of the A. W. I. U., while I. U. 573 became C. W. I. U. No. 573, and for a time continued to maintain its headquarters jointly with the A. W. I. U. No. 400.

In May, 1917, the Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 573 held a convention in Omaha, Nebraska, and decided to sever its headquarters from that of the A. W. I. U. This convention represented 1200 members and five branches.

The A. W. I. U. hall in Kansas City, Mo., was raided by the authorities twice during March, 1917, but on May 30 of the same year the spring convention of the industrial union was held in the same hall. In attendance at this convention

was a representative of the Non-Partisan League of America who requested a wage scale adjustment for the 1917 harvest between the A. W. I. U. No. 400 and members of the League. The Non-Partisan League members at the time comprised a majority of the grain growers in the State of North Dakota, and a considerable number in South Dakota, Montana and Minnesota. The representative of the League promised to make an endeavor to secure free transportation on railroad passenger trains for union agriculture workers when moving from job to job. The convention elected a committee of five to discuss wages, hours, etc., with the League administrators. Some benefit resulted from the subsequent negotiations, and, although no general definite agreements were made, the A. W. I. U. No. 400 achieved phenomenal success along organizational lines throughout the League territory.

During the first three years of its existence the agricultural workers' organization had effected a veritable revolution within the harvest area. The 12 to 16 hour working day disappeared, wages doubled, and harvest workers were being housed either in the farmer's home or given adequate blankets and clean sleeping quarters over a considerable portion of the wheat harvest country. No organized body of agricultural workers now feared the high-jack, and a union man became a sort of terror to the bootlegger and the gambler; no indulgence in liquor or gambling was tolerated either around the halls or outdoor meeting places. Likewise railroad train crews had changed from petty grafters, taking the razor or pocket knife from a worker who lacked the demanded $1 per division, to some of the most substantial friends of the A. W. I. U. The number of railroad workers, especially train crews, lined up in the I. W. W. during this period is hard to approximate, but surely runs to a sizable figure.

The membership of the agricultural workers' organization more than doubled during the year 1917. This increase continued even after the great national raids on I. W. W. halls, September 5 of that year. In the course of these raids every scrap of paper, all records, even tables, filing cases and desks were removed from the headquarters of the A. W. I. U. No. 400 in Minneapolis, Minn. The persistent "war-time" persecution meted out to industrial unionists in this country during the following months greatly hampered the work of organi-

zation. However, this very persecution may have been partly responsible for the success achieved in organizing the agricultural workers of this country a few years later.

The tale of the more picturesque phases of the development of the A. W. O. No. 400 and the A. W. I. U. No. 400 (now A. W. I. U. No. 110) has been related. The delegates and members of this Industrial Union have at all times shown the greatest courage in the face of all obstacles which employers naturally raised against them. Their activity is at all times a ringing challenge to the boss class that would, without A. W. I. U. opposition, at once make conditions worse than ever before.

THE WAY OF THE WOBBLY

By F. W. THOMPSON
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The strikes of the I. W. W. best show what is meant by solidarity and militancy. Action is the test of unionism; and the I. W. W. in action proves the merits of a unionism based squarely on the class struggle, untrammelled by any agreements or other "respectabilities". From call to settlement, the strikes of 25 years of struggle stand out as colorful, dramatic exponents of industrial unionism.

The Call of Solidarity

Many I. W. W. strikes—Lawrence and McKees Rocks for example—were not called by the organization. But where the I. W. W. calls a strike, it starts with a flourish. Scarcely was the new organization born before a strike of its members broke out in the great General Electric works in Schenectady. That it was a new organization with a new way of striking was indicated by the fact that they stayed in the shop and just quit work one December morning at 10 o'clock.

Taking entire command of the struck job is a Wobbly ideal; it found an early realization in Skowhegan, Me., when the employees of the Marston Mills, in revolt against discrimination and unfilled promises of increases, all walked out, taking the boiler room crew with them, blowing off the steam and pulling the fires before they left.

In Gray's Harbor, Wash., in 1912, a strike broke out for higher wages in the saw mills. The Lytel Mill was surrounded by a stockade twelve feet high surmounted by barbed wire and the guards at the gate were doubled. The wage slaves inside were to be kept immune. But 150 I. W. W.'s went over the top, cutting the wire, pulling the whistle, mingling with the saw mill workers as they swept out the front gate past the astounded guards. (Woehlke in **Outlook**, July 6, 1912).

The auto industry has always been a hard nut for unions to crack. There have been many small walkouts from departments, but few effective walkouts. The I. W. W. managed one. In the Studebaker plants in Detroit in 1913 the workers wanted weekly pay days. A constant agitation by noon-day speakers had kept the I. W. W. before them for some months. June 16 those employed at plant No. 3 at Delray walked out in the morning, held a meeting in an adjoining lot, formed in line and paraded to plant No. 1 arriving there at noon and swelling their ranks in this way by another 2000. The next day by the same tactics they brought out the men in other plants.

In the last large strike of the I. W. W.—the Colorado coal miners in 1927-8—it required still other tactics to make a clean walkout. For the first time in history the miners in all three fields in the state were brought out together by the call of solidarity. The state law required 30 days' notice before any strike; and the strike call for October 18 was given plenty of publicity. Particularly in the south there were closed mining camps difficult to penetrate, every inch of them company property. This was circumvented by calling at each house at supper time unobserved, leaving notice of a meeting that evening just outside the company line. The western coal field, high in the mountains and isolated from the main lines of communication was brought out by a caravan of 100 cars that left Lafayette in the north, did its duty, and then steamed into the south, raising the spirit of their fellow workers and bringing out the workers in the big Ideal Mine, immunized up to that time by the blood-thirsty guards of Rockefeller.

Working largely with the spread-out jobs of the lumberjack and the construction worker the I. W. W. has often had the problem of inaccessibility before it in a strike call. In the Edison construction strike in California in 1922, many of the men on tunnel work were snow-bound high up in the mountains. In such camps the company clerks do not hesitate to tamper with the U. S. mail to keep out the I. W. W. But by December 1 the newspapers carried the news in headlines, and these men improvised snowshoes and skis for themselves and made their way through the deep snow of the mountain passes to join their fellow workers. The lumber strikes have

ordinarily been called by "flying squadrons" that have reached all camps with the call of solidarity. The September 1923 strike in the Northwest woods presented a difficult situation inasmuch as there was a disagreement as to the advisability of calling it. The hurried strike call reached the most inaccessible parts, delivered from a 20th century union by 20th century methods—by airplane!

In all cases the I. W. W. leaves the strike to the members on the job. In the spring of 1923 the G. E. B. recommended a strike in all industries for the release of class war prisoners but left the date and the actual calling of the strike to those on the jobs. The marine transport workers, the lumberjacks, the construction workers all responded effectively. In all cases the I. W. W. calls its strikes so that there is no wavering and uncertainty, and the straight issue of the class struggle, with its clarion call of solidarity is blazoned in the front.

How I. W. W. Strikes Are Run

I. W. W. strikes are run by the strikers. This is forcibly illustrated by the following incident in the great Paterson silk strike of 1913: Big Bill Haywood was seated in the Turn Hall headquarters of the Paterson strikers when he was approached by the leading rabbi of the city. A staccato dialogue took place as follows:

"Oh, Mr. Haywood, I am so glad to meet you. I've been wanting to meet the leader of the strike for some time."

"You've made a mistake," replied Bill, "I'm not the leader."

"What! You're not? Well, who is he?"

"There ain't any He."

"Perhaps I should have said **'they'**," persisted the prophet of the Chosen people, "Who are they?"

"This strike has no leaders," answered Bill.

"It hasn't! Well, who is in charge of it?"

"The strikers."

"But can't I meet some responsible parties elsewhere? You know I represent the other churches of the city, the Catholic Fathers and the Methodist ministers are awaiting my report. I would like to find out all I can and then maybe we could come to some agreement with the mill owners."

"The mill owners already know what the strikers want," said Bill.

"They do! Why some of the leading citizens don't know yet!"

"That's funny," smiled Bill, "I just got off a train from Akron a couple of hours ago and I know."

"Will you please tell me?"

"It's very simple," answered Bill, "They want an eight hour day, abolition of the three and four loom system in broad silks, abolition of the two loom system in ribbons, and the dyers want a minimum wage of $12 a week."

"Well, well!" mused the other stroking his rabbinical beard, "I must say it's strange we had not heard all this!"

"There's an awful lot of things you never heard of, parson," said Bill.

"Do they have a strike committee, and where do they meet?" continued the rabbi.

"Right in this hall, every morning at eight o'clock."

"Who are they?"

"I don't know; and if I did I wouldn't tell," laughed Bill.

"How many are there?"

"One hundred and twenty-seven."

"One hundred and twenty-seven! MY GOD! What can we do with a strike committee of one hundred and twenty-seven that meets in a public hall before all the rest of the strikers?"

"I don't reckon that you can do much except the heavy looking on, parson," said Bill. "There ain't much left in the world for fellows like you to do except that, and besides this is an I. W. W. strike. In an I. W. W. strike there isn't room for anybody except the working class and the bosses; everybody else is excess baggage." (Solidarity, April 19, 1913.)

Picketing is the great essential in any strike. In Lawrence, 1912, when the pickets were stopped from standing, the moving picket line was adopted—an endless chain of rebel workers, marching in a circle around the mills, whose thousand-voiced "boos" sent chills down the spine of any potential scab. In their continuous struggle for better job conditions, the Agricultural Workers have had to maintain a picket line from Kansas to Northern Alberta. In the great construction strikes, as in the Great Northern and the Canadian Northern in B. C. in 1912, or the Great Northern in Washington in 1922, it has been necessary to picket employment offices from Los Angeles

to Winnipeg, and from Seattle to Chicago. In such strikes, scabs are given free shipments. The I. W. W. has often adopted the effective tactic of shipping out its members in these consignments of scabs, often making up most of the shipment, quitting the train en route, leaving the railway in possession of a motley array of cheap suitcases packed with gunny sacks and bricks. In the B. C. construction strike of 1913 it was sometimes necessary, since shipments of scabs under guard reached the camps, to send in members to scab on the job to bring out the camp with them. The I. W. W. always pickets, if not in one way, then it finds another.

The **time element** in a strike is a most important factor. That is one reason why the I. W. W. leaves the strike in the hands of the strikers. Many of the I. W. W. strikes have been small, short strikes, won by calling them at the critical moment. In Los Angeles in 1912, a dramatic pageant required 150 extras to dress as Roman soldiers to carry the queen on the stage in a chair and carry her off. The usual rate was $1.50 but this time the extras were offered only 75 cents. There was too much unemployment to pull the regular kind of strike, so a group of I. W. W.'s hired out at the half scale. Four of them took hold of the queen's divan and the rest headed the procession behind her. When the cue was given for them to march on the stage, they stalled at the stage entrance. When the cue "All hail the Queen!" was given for the third time, the manager came up and asked what the matter was. He was told that they wanted $3.00. When the cue was given again the price went up to $4.00; and when they went on the stage it was only after they had each been handed five dollar bills. The next day the management hired another crew and picked their own men to handle the queen. But the I. W. W.'s were there; and, dressed as Roman soldiers, gracefully and majestically they circled the stage so as to have charge of the queen as she made her exit. They were all given $5.00 before they left the stage; but the entire body of extras was marched in full uniform into the patrol wagons. The next day the manager had to plead with the judge please to let them out as he needed their regalia for the matinee. So out they came, marching though the city streets in splendid array, singing the songs of the I. W. W. A less ornate strike based on the same tactics of the critical moment, was that of the snow

snovellers on the railway out of Janesville, Wis., in January 1910. The train was held up by the heavy snows; the men demanded "mittens, whiskey and a dollar an hour." They won out on the spot.

Closely connected with this tactic of the critical moment, is the **intermittent strike.** For instance in the construction strike on all Guthrie and Grant Smith camps in 1922, the strike was forced on April 28th before proper organization was effected; but it was transferred to the job until May 28th when the organization was able to handle it in good shape. The 1917 lumber strike is a well-known instance of the successful use of the intermittent strike. Here the **strike on the job** was also used, the men quitting at the end of eight hours, thus winning the eight hour day. An early instance of the strike on the job is that of the Chicago clothing workers in 1910. This strike of 580 men and girls against Lamm and Co. was started because of the discharge of one man. The company was forced to accede to all of their demands except the reinstatement of the man. The workers decided to go back on the terms offered; and there by passive resistance methods in a couple of hours they won a shop committee, not asked for and the reinstatement of this man.

The I. W. W. favors short strikes and these require few committees. But when a long strike cannot be avoided as in Little Falls, Oct. 10, 1912 to Jan. 3, 1913, adequate provision must be made for relief, etc. Here a soup kitchen served wholesome meals at a cost of seven cents each; another committee supplied rations for families. A publicity committee provided all papers with news and attended to the legal work, securing affidavits, etc. A special clothes committee ascertained the needs of each striker in that respect, and by systematic repairs and alteration made the fullest use of the clothing sent, even maintaining their own shoe repair shop. A social committee kept up the spirit of solidarity though the cold winter months combining education with amusements. There were picket and vigilance committees, and to co-ordinate all, the main strike committee.

The employers ordinarily try to inject violence into all strikes; the I. W. W. has had to adopt a variety of tactics to foil this game. Most reliable of all is a good vigilance com-

mittee. In Portland in 1923, in the longshore strike, it was necessary to close the blind pigs in order to keep order; the I. W. W. closed them. In the Goldfield strike of 1907 against payment in worthless and unguaranteed scrip, troops were brought in. The I. W. W. issued a straight appeal to "every $15 a month soldier-slave" to stand by his class. Violence was avoided and a federal investigation ordered the removal of the troops. In McKees Rocks in 1909, the I. W. W. had the steel trust cossacks to contend with—ruthless thugs who had crushed every previous revolt with bloody intimidation. The strike was spontaneous. Secretary Morrison of the A. F. of L. had visited the scene and decided that "These strikers are a lot of ignorant, unorganized foreigners, and the A. F. of L. can do nothing for them." But among them were refugees of the Russian revolt of 1905 who got in touch with the I. W. W. for assistance. An "Unknown Committee" was formed of these revolutionists; and to the Cossacks, after a striker had been killed by them, a notice was sent: "For every striker's life that you take, a trooper's life will be taken." A riot was started at O'Donovan Bridge by Deputy Sheriff Exler; four strikers were killed and the unknown committee took the lives of three Cossacks and called it quits, for it was already clear that this amount of discipline had checked the violence of the blustering thugs.

Lawrence furnishes a good illustration of the nature of strike violence. Dynamite was planted by a member of the School Board named Breen to incriminate the strikers. He was caught, convicted and fined $500!

How Strikes End

A strike is a display of solidarity. If morale is to be maintained the workers must quit together and go back together. At this the I. W. W. has always aimed. It is up to the strikers to settle the strike. In Lawrence a large committee familiar from their work with every technical point that might be raised in such a settlement, confronted and surprised the company attorneys. The decision that raised the wages of textile workers by over $5,000,000 per year was ratified by a mass meeting of all strikers on Lawrence common.

Organization on the job is worth a multitude of promises and agreements. The Philadelphia longshoremen in their

strike in 1920 ended it with as big a surprise as when it began, while the Shipping Board and the stevedores were wrangling over terms, thus transferring all the solidarity of the strike to the job in the form of complete job control. The great Iron Range strike on the Mesaba in 1916 used the same tactics and got results that could not have been obtained by prolonging the strike. The miners of Butte, fearing the defection of co-operating A. F. of L. unions in their strike of 1919 that tied up the entire city, went back on the same score.

To write the history of I. W. W. strikes would take a book. The I. W. W. is out to win and in its striking ways it adopts winning tactics.

THE COLORADO CONQUEST

By ED DELANEY
Long Prominent In I. W. W. Defense Work

The working class in the United States are about as adept at grasping the significance of new theories or new methods as are the English people at grasping the sense of the average American joke. However, the same peculiarity is true of both in the same sense, in that when they finally conceive the full meaning of the thing under consideration and find that it can be as it is purported, then they go ahead with it, whether it be a new theory for the American or a new joke for the Englishman. So it was with the miners in the state of Colorado.

For many years the miners had been trampled underfoot by the coal companies. Attempts had been made, it is true, to break the company rule and monarchy but each attempt was like the first and all were unsuccessful. Laws were created for their benefit, only to be ignored. Time passed and with its passing conditions grew worse and the miner, stoic that he is, bore on uncomplaining. Only a few could find the time to look for a new method of attack, only a few could grasp the new idea when it was first presented in the form of the I. W. W. by a union organizer.

Considering this, then it is not strange that when in September of 1927, when an announcement was made by the I. W. W. that a strike would be called on October 18, that both the coal miners and the mine operators chuckled up their sleeves. The miners chuckled because they had been through many strikes in recent years and had nothing to show for their trouble except the losses they had suffered. Many were of the opinion, too, that a strike which would close all the coal mines in the state was utterly impossible.

And the operators snickered among themselves, some even going so far as to laugh aloud at the statement. They were positive that their actions in previous strikes had been of such a character as to preclude the possibility of any future

strikes of any magnitude. Indeed, it was such as to frighten stronger men than the miners were reputed to be. Did they not own the State, were not the militia, state police and all armed forces, as well as the courts ready to back their every decision with hot lead and court decisions? And if they were not sufficient did they not have their own hordes of gunmen to use as reinforcements? Solidarity there would be all right but it would be on the side of the operators and not with the miners, the lowly diggers of coal.

Despite such an atmosphere, the I. W. W. served notice on the State Industrial Commission that a general strike of the coal mining industry would be called and they served this notice in the manner prescribed by Colorado law.

Time passed and with the passing of each day more recruits to the idea of striking were gathered. Some miners acceded to the idea through mere curiosity; curious whether the I. W. W. and its methods were any different than the old line craft organizations or not; and with others the idea of tying up the entire industry went home and they began to appreciate their own strength. So great was this spreading feeling of solidarity that the operators thought better of their snickers and began casting their suave smiles of good fellowship around. Then came their announcement, virtually on the eve of the strike that they would grant an increase in wages—but, that they were doing it at the behest of the employees who had petitioned for such an increase in the prescribed manner as provided for in the Rockefeller Plan. The employers were beginning to realize that a determined effort was afoot and that the two day strike which had been carried on in the Walsenberg district by the I. W. W. in August, as a protest against the death sentence of Sacco and Vanzetti, had not been a mere empty gesture.

Came the dawn of October 18 and thousands of miners picked their way through the murky streets of the Colorado mining towns; picked their way, not to the shafts or slopes of coal mines but to the union halls and meeting places. Meetings were called and picket lines formed. I. W. W. organizers explained the necessity of discipline, of how violence in every form should be avoided; explained that committees to govern the strike should be elected and all of the other details that go to make up a successful strike. Songs were sung and the pickets

were on their way. Singing the stirring words of the song, "Solidarity" and indelibly imprinted in their memories was the phrase, "Watch the man who advocates violence."

Throughout the day they wended their way, not in groups of two or three but in great masses, hundreds strong. All day long they sang their songs and as they passed along their chosen routes their ranks were augmented by hundreds more.

With the coming of night they congregated about their meeting places and huge mass meetings were held. Speakers were present and they spoke in nearly every language prevalent in each respective district. Deep voiced Slavs, speaking in terms of questions—and after each question the audience would respond in unison and the deep throated reply would sound not unlike the intonations of a Catholic congregation responding to the chanting of the priest during Vespers. Mexicans using the picturesque speech of their homeland became quite flowery in their eloquence. Italians, sometimes highly emotional, again very solemn, but always gesturing with their hands drew encore after encore. Then too, there were Russian, French and English speakers, but they all told the same story. The story of the miners' serfdom. The story of the I. W. W. and its method of securing victories. Strike! Solidarity would win!

Strike committees were elected early in the struggle and they agreed to the original demands which had been drawn up at the conference held in Aguilar earlier in the year. These demands, twenty-two in number, were for a return of the Jacksonville wage scale, for the enforcement of state mining laws, the right to have a checkweighman, pit committee, no union interference, etc. All of them important in the life of the average miner; all of them fair in every respect and of such a nature as to have been voluntarily acceded to by any employer if he were even half human.

Thus began a strike that was to stir the entire world. A strike such as had never before been witnessed in the coal industry of this country, and it was fitting that an organization such as the Industrial Workers of the World should be its sponsor. This was the greatest strike that had ever occurred in the industry. Never before had such demands been made and never had there been such a splendid display of strategy as was used by these determined workers. Indeed, it was only

through such a union as the I. W. W. that the strike could have even been a remote possibility, for it was broad enough in character, great enough in wisdom and flexibility to allow for a change of program or tactics to meet every move of the boss and do it instantaneously.

The succeeding days found meetings being held and pickets still holding their ground. Their ranks were filled. Practically every mine in the state was idle. Great droves of miners were travelling from district to district in automobile caravans and wherever they went mines would close down. Freemont County was the last to succumb and when it finally fell into line a total of 325 mines out of a grand total of 343 in the entire state were closed down tight. This happened not in the summer time, but in the busy season; at that time of the year when the coal mine operators had a ready market for their coal. The operators were amazed, yea, dumfounded. Despite their laws, despite their jurists, their gunmen, state and private, their mines were idle and the country was crying for coal.

It must be understood, however, that the boss did not stand idly by and allow the I. W. W. to go on unmolested in its endeavors. Rather, the boss made the first move to thwart the strike with violence by raiding the I. W. W. hall in Walsenburg on the 16th of October in the dead of night. Cars loaded with gunmen had raced by in the street shooting the place full of holes and endeavoring to bluff the miners out. Next day the hall opened as usual and it remained open, bullets or no bullets. Governor Adams had reinstated the state police on the payroll of Colorado. Private gunmen were imported, county and city police officials were urged to violence and a miniature hell reigned in every coal camp. Men and women were jailed. Women and children as well as men were beaten up. Hundreds of pounds of roofing nails were strewn on the highways to stop the picket cars by puncturing the tires, but the strike went on. Each person jailed brought more recruits to the strikers' camp, each person beaten brought more relief to their exhausted relief funds.

No longer were the employers laughing. No longer were the workers chuckling—they laughed aloud. The world stood

aghast. Something had gone wrong in Colorado. The miners were unafraid. Not only had southern Colorado gone on strike—the entire State was tied up.

A month passed. A month of excitement of the most stirring kind. The miners were getting along famously. They realized their power and had settled down for a long strike. But the operators had another trick up their sleeves. They remembered Ludlow and decided on a murder scene. Serene, Colorado was to be the place, at the workings of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company's Columbine mine. On the morning of November 21 as the picket line wended its way toward the mine, as they had been in the habit of doing each morning, they found the road closed. They reached the gate and were suddenly attacked by a group of state police and company thugs. Shots were fired indiscriminately into the line of over six hundred men, women and children, all of whom were without arms of any description. Six people were killed as a result of the shooting and thirty-four others were badly wounded, including some women. Murder in the coldest sense of the word, yet the man who directed it was awarded a medal. This man was Louis Scherf, head of the state police.

Governor Adams declared martial law in northern Colorado and, the Columbine became the habitat for the state militia. Men were arrested and illegally detained—blood was on Colorado's hands and they would blot it with innocent humans' liberty. Men were in morgues, others in hospitals, some in jail, the militia was present bristling with rifles and bayonets affixed, yet the strike went on. Murdering had not broken its spirit.

The employers were beginning to realize that they were not dealing with an old line organization like the U. M. W. of A. The I. W. W. did not want a contract with one mine in each district; they wanted all the miners to get the same award and would not consider anything that was not effective for every miner in the state, regardless of the district. The I. W. W. fought on with tactics that were unbeatable. Compare them with those used in the strikes which were then going on in Pennsylvania and Ohio!

In Colorado the miners had elected their own committee,

one for each locality, for each district and an all-state executive committee. Every committeeman was an actual coal miner who had been elected by the miners in the particular locality from which he hailed. Who else would know more about conditions in the mines than these men? There were no leaders telling them what to do or when they could do it. True, the I. W. W. had organizers from other fields on the job, but they were men trained in the sort of work necessary there and everyone of them took orders from the committees of miners. The miners handled all the funds, all of the relief and they saw to it that each district received its just share. If one district went hungry then all districts went hungry. If one ate, all ate. And not a man received a penny's wage throughout the entire period of the conflict.

Women were called into consultation. The miners' wives were important cogs in the strike machinery and in Colorado they showed their mettle. They were in every meeting, on the picket lines and were equally as active as the men. This was an innovation, something which had never occurred before, even as everything else as conducted along I. W. W. lines was new, and as a result people came to ask what sort of an organization this I. W. W. was. Everybody was fighting for them—meaning everyone connected with the physical end of the industry, and it seemed like an unexplainable matter.

And so the strike went on, day after day, week after week, the strikers and their families always showing the same indomitable spirit. They met bullets with smiles, clubs with laughter and jails with songs. Their meetings were broken up, their halls and picket lines raided, their homes desecrated but they carried on. Hunger, privation, sickness, child-birth, persecution in every form that thugs, state police, militiamen, county and city officers could possibly conceive, quarantines and murder were their lot, but they continued to strike, continued to sing and smile.

Then came the move on the part of the organization to have a public hearing of the miners' cause. The State Industrial Commission were petitioned to hear the story. They agreed and thereby declared the strike a legal one, despite the fact that they had originally declared it to be illegal be-

cause they stated that proper notification had not been given. The hearing began in Denver on December 19 and sessions were held in five other towns of the state. It proved a revelation to the citizens of the State as well as to all others that were in a position to read of its details.

Miners from every mine of importance came before the Board and told their story in their own way—in their own language. Day after day was consumed in hearing like stories told. Stories of how they had been forced to work in wet places, to move rock, to put up their own timbers, lay their own track and carry materials from old abandoned working places at the risk of their life—all without pay. They told of being robbed of their tonnage by company weigh bosses, of how in one instance there had not even been a scale on the tipple for a period of seven months. Grievance after grievance was mentioned and in not a single instance could the employers refute the testimony given. An indictment was written, a damning indictment that shall go down through the pages of working class history as a record in Colorado's industrial serfdom that could never be refuted.

After the Commission had concluded its hearing in Crested Butte it went to Walsenburg to take similar testimony and arrived there about noon on January 12, 1928. The miners were overjoyed at their coming; they were pleased to think that they were going to have an opportunity to tell their story. And in their delight they planned to parade to the courthouse and welcome the Board. In accordance with their plan they started a line of march from the I. W. W. hall toward the courthouse, but were turned back after a short space had been covered. Turned back to find that they were practically surrounded by gunmen, who were even then pouring lead through the back door of their hall from a machine gun.

Two people were killed, a man and a fifteen year old boy. The hall was riddled, and for hours gunmen paraded the streets intimidating everyone who resembled a worker. This was an effort to stop the taking of testimony; it was thought that the miners would be too frightened to tell of conditions in the mines in and around Walsenburg if they were shot down in cold blood, but this thought proved erroneous also, for the hearing continued and the miners became more bold than ever before.

This hearing brought about a split in the ranks of the mine operators. An immediate concession was made by a number of operators, especially those operating on an independent basis, to the effect that they would grant practically every demand the strikers had made insofar as it was in their power. The offer was refused for the strike was state-wide and it was always maintaind that no mine would operate unless all worked.

After four months of striking the miners voted by a majority of ninety per cent. to return to work. This was on February 19, 1928 and their demands had been practically all won.

An increase in wages of one dollar per day, checkweighmen on the tipples, pit committee in the mines, working conditions 100 per cent. improved and all state mining laws enforced, were the exact concessions earned and received. The miners had cleared themselves in the eyes of a sleepy public and, best of all, had discovered their own strength if properly applied.

Some may say that the strike was too long, others that it was too short, but none can deny that it was pulled at the right time and that the tactics pursued were proper as well as new to the industry. It is not our purpose here to argue over the length or brevity of the strike but it is safe to say that the strike was about as accurately timed as any strike ever conducted.

The strike proved the soundness of the I. W. W. It proved the potential power of the miners. And it brought about conditions which could never have been achieved in any other way. Considering the number of people involved in it, it was the cheapest strike ever held in this country from a financial viewpoint. Yet, more was accomplished than in any other five strikes in the State.

EDUCATION

By CLIFFORD B. ELLIS
Editor of The Industrial Worker

THE PURPOSE OF EDUCATION

Education, in a practical and applied sense, may be defined as that training which enables one to understand and adapt one's self to material reality. When we say "material" we remove the question beyond the field of metaphysical philosophy. The primary concern of the average human is to make a living—to survive—and that is a purely material problem. It deals only with the material factors of health, education and access to the material means of life unrestricted by man-made laws and inhibitions. If all men and women had an equal opportunity to make a living, education might be reduced to a simple and uniform course of instruction; but where equal access to the means of life is denied, the uniformity of school and college courses leading to uniform "degrees" makes the usual education no education at all. Most of our education today is mere mental gymnastics. It is designed not to fit one to make a living, but adapt one to the social order and teach respect for the class division of society into masters and wage slaves.

If education is to prepare one to perform the duties of life, as Webster says, it is apparent that it should be specialized to suit the needs of the individual. It is assumed by our educators that all members of society have certain duties in common, such as duties to the State, a common moral code and the amenities of social intercourse. If all the members of society were of approximately equal economic condition, the assumption might be accepted as a practical working proposition; but in a society divided by class lines, it is an absurdity. The most important material fact of modern social organization is completely and deliberately ignored in education; namely, that society is divided into two fairly well-defined classes consisting of those who work for wages and those

who exploit the wage workers for profit and live by a species of gambling in the wealth produced by the other class.

Even technical education is divided quite unnaturally and unnecessarily into two branches along class lines. These are the mechanical arts on the one hand and the so-called professions on the other. No one can tell just where the line of division between the two branches should be drawn. No one knows just at what point a carpenter becomes an architect or a building engineer; or at what point a reporter becomes a "journalist" or when a real estate huckster becomes a "realtor." Obviously, the line of division lies outside of the technical factors involved and concerns itself with something else. Roughly, it depends on whether you are going to use the technical knowledge gained by study to do useful and practical things—to produce wealth—or whether you are going to use it in the exploitation of those who do the useful things. Or it depends on whether you are going to be a wage worker, get a "job" and draw wages; or whether you are going to exploit or direct the exploitation of wage workers; in which latter case you draw a "salary" or fees or profits and hold a "position." These distinctions have arisen with the advance of bourgeois society. In the earlier stages of capitalism and before, no such divisions existed. Benjamin Franklin never took a formal scientific course leading to a professional degree; Lincoln did not become an "L.L.B." by reading law as he lay on his stomach before the fireplace by the light of a pine-knot; the inventors whose work revolutionized modern society such as Stephenson, Watt, Arkwright, Eli Whitney, Blanchard, Elias Howe, Samuel F. B. Morse, Robert Fulton and others were just workers; they had no degrees and were not "professors." The class lines had not yet been sharply drawn when these did their work. They were members of a revolutionary class that had just come into power and they sprang from the masses of the common people. The necessity of educating them in the mental attitude of the ruling class had not yet developed in the minds of the rising bourgeoisie.

These distinctions of class grew out of the economic division of the people into masters and wage slaves as capitalism developed from the close of the eighteenth century onward. The pioneers of capitalism were revolutionists—an oppressed class. They were not distinguished or distinguishable in their

earlier origins from the masses of peasants, artisans and laborers who were victimized, robbed, "plundered, profaned and disinherited" by the feudal nobility against whom they made common revolutionary warfare.

Our early bourgeois idealists thought they were establishing a "natural" society to succeed the social organization founded upon the artificialities of special privilege, birth and aristocratic rank. They asserted with perfectly naive sincerity that "all men are created equal"; that is, equal in the opportunity to engage in trade or business and by cleverness and artfulness, to get the best end of a business dicker. It was the philosophy of glorified huckstering and its avatar was a push-cart peddler exalted to the n-th degree of success. It was quite natural in an age when vast new continents were open to adventures for exploitation and when the individual trader was free to pit his wits against every other individual trader on a fairly even basis, unhampered by the gigantic combinations and mergers of the modern world. It then seemed needful only to rid the world of the feudal laws in restraint of trade to free the world and establish a democracy of opportunity in which only the naturally inferior would fail.

But, as H. M. Hyndman says, "events move faster than minds." The rise to power of this trading and exploiting class after the revolutionary destruction of the power of the feudal aristocracy, quickly developed the same class divisions and class contradictions that had formerly characterized feudal society. The trading class, formerly repressed, became the dominant class. It soon acquired class consciousness and awareness of the property distinctions that separated it by an immeasurable gulf from the wage workers who created the commodities in which it trafficked. But the ideas and ideology of its origins persisted in its educational system and education was founded upon the fallacy that bourgeois society had established its ideal—equality of opportunity. It persists in that absurd assumption today, when the integration of its capital, the concentration of wealth into fewer and fewer hands, with the spread of its dominion across the world have absorbed the formerly undeveloped resources of the earth and left the newer-born generations nothing but the opportunity to become wage slaves to the class which owns and controls the tools of wealth production and all the natural resources

of land and minerals. These newer arrivals upon the world scene constitute a distinct class in society. They are the disinherited millions, ever increasing in relative and absolute numbers, who are born without wealth and educated into a social universe in which they have neither property nor the means of acquiring property. They constitute the world proletariat—the masses who have nothing to traffic in but their labor power which they must sell to the owning and employing class for the right to live. To impose upon them an impractical bourgeois education in which the idea of growing rich by engaging in trade and business prevails, when they will never have that opportunity, and when the State itself is devoted to the business of barring them from such an opportunity and fixing their status as wage slaves eternally, is an obvious absurdity. And yet that is just what bourgeois education does.

By way of practical illustration, we have selected at random from the hundreds of classified ads in the weekly "Nation" under the heading, "Positions Wanted," the following three, which are typical of the absurd mis-education for a career in life in which the opportunities are disappearing as the class system in society develops a class crisis:

Young man, university senior, competent to tutor in Latin, French, Greek, Music, English, desires position with family for summer. An excellent companion for adults. Drives car well. Box 2368, c/o The Nation.

Versatile young man, college graduate, would like to make a travel-tour with family, as tutor. Authority on drama, English, French, Latin. Plays piano well, drives any make of car. Charming adult conversationalist, indispensable at the bridge-table. Box 2369, c/o The Nation.

Harvard law student desires job for summer; experienced chauffeur, lifeguard, swimming instructor, hotel clerk, waiter, and tutor. Anything will do. What have you? Box 2287, c/o The Nation.

An "authority on drama, English, French, Latin. Plays piano well, indispensable at the bridge table," wants a job driving a car! A "Harvard law student, chauffeur, life guard, swimming instructor, hotel clerk, waiter and tutor" wants a job at anything. "What have you?" Such is education in bourgeois society! Sterile versatility that leads to nothing and nowhere!

The purpose of education is to teach one to understand reality and to adapt one's self to it in the struggle for exist-

ence. Reality and the means of survival are one thing to a worker and quite another to an exploiter of labor; to one who has to make a living with his hands and skill and to another whose purpose in life and means of life are the deception and spoliation of those who labor. The one is a creator; the other is a beast of prey. They have nothing in common—not even a common morality. To instruct the workers in the righteousness of the methods and morality of a system that despoils them and denies them access to the means of life is to defeat the primary object of education. It is to discipline them as victims of a condition that not only does not adapt them to the realities of life, but makes them oblivious to the realities about them which work to their destruction.

Working Class Education

Workers' education is, of necessity, an education in class consciousness. It is so because the economic structure in which they are born and without adaption to which they can not survive, is owned and controlled by a distinct class—the capitalist class. If the truth is taught to the working class it must reveal to them the character of that function which they perform in the economic structure. It must show them how the economic structure works in all its parts. It must analyze the working of the pitiless machine and reduce to exact measurement the benefits which they as sellers of labor power—their inevitable lot—receive; and what the other class —the owners of the structure—receive. If it does not reveal this it fails to educate at all. It miseducates and deceives. It creates a false concept of the world and of social relationships. It prepares them for helpless exploitation and victimization. If the facts of society are taught to the worker he just inevitably becomes class conscious.

The necessity of class education is imposed upon the working class by the facts of industry. That striving toward life—the will to live—which is inherent in every living cell of life, makes it necessary to educate the workers in matters that are deleterious to their health, detrimental to their lives and restrictive of their chances of survival. The capitalist system or any system in which one class lives at the expense of and by the deliberate exploitation of another, is opposed to the chances of survival of the workers. Their lives are lived at

a hazard by the imposition of adverse working and living conditions. Their meager share in the social division of the wealth produced by their labor is insufficient to sustain life. The hazard of existence is increased by their function in the economic structure as workers while that of the owning class is reduced at the expense of the workers. Life insurance and health statistics prove this to be a fact—a reality. To neglect instruction in such vital facts is to miseducate. And to fail to attribute the facts cited to their cause—a class system in society—is to lie by suppression of the truth. That is why education in class consciousness is necessary.

Class systems are not eternal. They are an incident in the history of the human family. Class division is at war with the biological forces that make for race survival. That is why every class system in society has ultimately been overthrown by revolution. That is why the growth of the economic structure, which is a thing distinct and separate from the race itself, has revealed a constant tendency to widen the scope of the ruling class and to embrace an ever widening number of the race. Modern history is a comparatively brief span of years compared to the biological ages. It is a period of some few thousand years as contrasted with the millions of years in which the race was developing from the firstlings of human kind. It emerges at its dawn from a stage of primitive communism in which the individual was supreme. It begins the building of a social economic structure. It gains security of existence by sacrificing individual liberty. But evermore throughout the comparatively brief period in which the economic structure has been in process of evolution, the biological forces have been at war with the class forms. Revolution after revolution has broadened the ruling class lines and admitted an increasing number of the race to opportunity. The slave owning patrician gave way before a more numerous class—the feudal nobility; the feudal nobility in turn was overthrown by a more numerous class—the bourgeoisie; the increasing numbers of the proletariat are challenging the bourgeoisie for control of the economic structure and the class lines have a tendency to broaden and disappear in a final classless society in which the workers will be the only class, embracing the entire human family, with ownership and control of the means of life in

the hands of the collectivity. This is the final solution of social problems—industrial democracy.

Passing of Class Systems

The necessity that gave rise to classes in society has passed. The social economic structure is fairly complete. Its capacity to produce wealth has increased to a point where it is more than ample to provide sustenance for all who will work. The masses have been disciplined to use the social machinery socially without coercion. The only anarchic survivals are the ruling class and their parasitic existence. Production has been socialized. It remains only to socialize control of the economic structure and eliminate expropriation.

Workers' education comprehends this outline. Its purpose is to teach the facts of industry instead of the slave morality of the bourgeois schools. Its technical training is to develop technique for the co-ordination of the productive forces in production for use and not for the maintenance of a useless class of capitalist parasites. It is to render education a vital, living, needful thing that makes for human survival instead of suppression. It is to develop the spirit of freedom and democracy without which the race can make no progress.

The I. W. W. is engaged in this task because it is one of the necessary functions in working class progress. It is the light-bearer of modern democracy—industrial democracy. It is, like every progressive force in society, opposed by the class antagonisms of an outworn system of ruling class education in "social control." It is devoted to realism and scientific truth. It is opposed to class fictions and illusions. It is purely materialistic. Its purpose is to strip the social structure of all its traditional myths and lay its structure and its workings bare. It is to train the working class mind and hand to freedom from ruling class control and exploitation—to enable the working class to master the world and control it in the interest of mankind. It is to enable them to "build the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

To accomplish this it carries on its work of education by the means that lie to hand—through its papers, pamphlets, lecture bureaus, and through its first established college, the Work Peoples College of Duluth. But more potent still is the education it carries on at the point of production, on the job.

It interprets the phenomena of the class struggle as they develop in the form of strikes and lock-outs. It traces their origins. It instructs the workers in the nature of organization and its purposes. It shows them how to adapt organization to the changing economic structure to the end of building up power in the workers' hands. It is developing the institutions of working class control of the world through its job committees, district councils, business meetings, referendums and conventions. It is striving toward realistic co-ordination of the working class forces in the struggle for power. It is plastic, expansive, free, democratic, progressive. It is the advance guard of that rising proletariat which is preparing to take over the means of production and distribution in the interest of the human race and to banish exploitation and slavery of mind and body forever from the human scene.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE I.W.W.

By JOSEPH WAGNER
Writer and One of The I. W. W. Founders

Everything in the universe, from atoms to solar systems, is continually moving, changing, transforming, developing; likewise the history of the human race is nothing but a ceaseless change, a continuous development. In the course of its history classes are formed; these classes continually struggle for supremacy and, after prolonged struggle, one class succeeds another in the dominating position. The struggle continues until class divisions themselves are dissolved and a new, classless society results.

But although these struggles and changes are ceaseless, the apparent velocity of these motions greatly varies at different periods. There are times when whole series of important changes take place so rapidly as to take one's breath away, to be followed by long periods of apparent stagnation, when social evolution seems not only to be standing still but even to be going backward. Of course, this is only an illusion, for, as a matter of fact, historical forces are continually at work, only their manifestations are of a more spectacular nature at one time than at another.

We have witnessed such a rapid moving period immediately after the world war, when the convulsions of old society appeared to be the birth pangs of the social revolution and of the proletarian commonwealth.

Another, though somewhat less spectacular period was that beginning with the present century. After half a century of chafing under the tutelage of politicians, the working class was suddenly showing signs of maturity, and of wanting to lead a life independent of its foster-parents, the socialist politicians.

The French labor unions, at the time, not only broke completely with all political party activity but actually laid down the basis of what is known as revolutionary syndicalism. The main teachings of this school were: (1) labor unions, by the use of direct action, are all-sufficient to carry on the every-day struggle of the workers against their employers; (2) labor unions, using direct action, are the only weapon the workers have for the overthrow of the present system of exploitation; and (3) labor unions are the only organs capable of carrying on production and distribution after the capitalist system is abolished.

The idea took so well with the French workers that in a very few years no longer the old traditional Socialist Party, but the General Confederation of Labor was the real opposition force confronting the French ruling class. Pulling off several district and general strikes in quick succession, and completely paralyzing the industrial and commercial life of France, the G. C. of L. was able to treat directly with the government and to dictate terms to it.

After half a century of unsuccessful struggle—pacifistic at times and bloodily terroristic at other times—led by politicians against czarism, the Russian workers came to the conclusion that medieval czarist despotism could be confronted and defeated only by the organized might of the economic power of the Russian wage workers. Action following thought, the world was soon amazed at the magnitude and results of the revolutionary struggles of Russia.

The spirit of independence of labor unions from political party tutelage was more or less expressing itself in all European countries. Even in Germany, the classic land of social-democracy, Bebel had to reverse the old dictum of his party which was: "General strike is general nonsense," and to admit that the general strike was one of the most potent weapons of the working class. Of course, he amended it to "political general strike."

During the same period mighty and rapid changes were taking place in the already highly developed industrial life of the United States. Gigantic trusts and combines were springing up everywhere; the middle class being pushed to the wall was panic stricken; its politicians armed with political popguns went out "trust busting," and its counterpart, the craft

union system of the country, was crumbling and falling to pieces; the progressive elements in the craft unions were clamoring for a unionism based on new, modern principles. Such were the surroundings in which the I. W. W. was born.

International In Conception

From its very inception, the I. W. W. was international in sentiment and scope. Its name: the **Industrial Workers of the World** was deliberately chosen, after a considerable debate on the floor of the initial convention, and after an amendment to name it the "Industrial Workers of America" was voted down. The Conference of industrial unionists held in Chicago, January 1905, elected a committee to make the necessary arrangement for the first convention. This committee was also instructed to write to the labor organizations based on class struggle, of all countries, inviting them to send delegates to the Chicago convention. None sent delegates, but the general offices of the labor unions of Germany, Australia, France and Denmark answered, expressing sympathy with the purposes of the new organization.

Shortly after the I. W. W. was launched, I. W. W. groups were formed in England, South Africa, Australia and other places, carrying the new message to the workers of the respective countries, and in several countries the established unions themselves indorsed the principles of the I. W. W. and offered to enter into close relationship with it.

Later on, I. W. W. sections, called administrations, were formed in several countries, among them in Australia, Chile, Mexico, Sweden, Germany. Especially through the Marine Transport Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W. were connections with workers of other lands made and maintained.

These I. W. W. organizations, outside of the United States, carried on their work and gave good account of themselves. To mention only a few instances: The port of the city of Tampico, Mexico was completely tied up by the I. W. W. in July 1920; in Chile the Marine Transport Workers of the I. W. W. maintained a strike for three months in order to stop the exportation of cereals needed in that country, but exported by the profiteers; on July 22 a meeting at Santiago, Chile was raided, and a long reign of terror was established in that country, throwing back for a time organization work there.

The Australian Administration of the I. W. W. was organized in 1911 and it made steady progress until the war broke out. The war and patriotic hysteria furnished a good excuse to the master class and its political flunkeys to attempt to destroy the hated I. W. W. In September, 1915, Tom Barker, editor of our organ, "Direct Action," was sentenced to 12 months for writing: "Capitalists your country needs you. Workers follow your masters!" Due to the protests raised by the Australian workers, Barker was released after seven days. He was again arrested in March the following year and sentenced to 12 months, for his I. W. W. activity; but again, due to popular demonstrations of protest he was released in August. A systematic raid and persecution was inaugurated against the I. W. W., and finally it looked like the I. W. W. was put out of business forever; but the activity of the Australian fellow workers has been revived and is going at full swing at this writing.

Attempts To Form An International Of Action

In the pre-war period international relations of the labor organizations were of the loosest kind. Socialist parties and trade union organizations were loosely connected into a Socialist and Labor International, holding Congresses every few years, which were hardly more than oratorical gab-feasts. There was also an International Secretariat of the trade unions, whose function was to serve as a central information bureau for the unions of the different countries, to compile statistics, etc. The syndicalist unions of various countries were just preparing for the formation of an International of labor unions, when the world war broke out, and that, of course, prevented any further progress in that direction, at least for the time being. The war also severed the slender ties existing through the Socialist and Labor International and the International Secretariat of Labor Unions. Therefore at the conclusion of the war, the workers were confronted with the necessity of creating new international organs.

But after-war conditions were materially different from pre-war conditions. The war exigencies necessitated mass production, which meant centralization of industry; the state power of all belligerent countries was used to hasten the transformation from small capitalist production to the "American"

system. Capitalist production had made giant strides towards internationalization of the processes of production, distribution and exploitation of labor. This made it easy for workers everywhere to see the necessity of labor organization on an international scale, even as the I. W. W. had earlier contended. And it was also apparent that the new international had to be an organization of action, not of mere phrase peddling, or of mere bureau for compiling statistics.

The conservative-reformistic labor unions, with the aid of their social-democratic leaders soon consolidated into the Amsterdam International. But although this was too revolutionary for Gompers and his A. F. of L., neither the I. W. W. nor other revolutionary workers would have anything to do with it. The necessity for a world revolutionary labor international was still apparent.

From among the sickening failures and betrayals of the Socialists and labor leaders during the world war, the I. W. W.—both in the United States and abroad—stood out conspicuously as an uncompromising champion of proletarian principles. Its prestige was high among the class conscious workers of the world, and the war having ended, the I. W. W. was expected to take the lead in the reconstruction of the international labor front. The membership of the I. W. W. were aware of the situation; the 1920 General Convention instructed the General Executive Board to take immediate steps towards calling together an international conference of revolutionary labor unions in order to form an international organization. But some disturbing factors intervened.

Political Meddlings

The disillusioned and betrayed socialist workers of all countries rallied to the call of the Russian socialists and formed a new international (Third) of political parties with headquarters at Moscow. To this body flocked, besides sincere socialists, a horde of adventurers and buccaneers, whose ambition was to secure control over the workers' organizations in the various countries. These worthies saw the moves of the I. W. W. and other revolutionary unions, and they went to work to nullify as much as possible the work of industrialists. Thus, by the time the conference called by the I. W. W. and syndicalists was to meet in Berlin, another call was issued

from Moscow, calling also for the formation of a labor union international.

Not wishing to divide the proletarian forces, and not suspecting the sincerity of the Moscow call, the Berlin delegates, after discussing among themselves their common attitude, decided to postpone their own conference and to participate in the Moscow convention. But, to their sorrow, they discovered that the so-called Labor Union International, sponsored by Moscow, was to be no more than a subordinate section of the political Third international. Yet, in spite of that, the delegates of many labor unions remained in it, hoping that the faults could be remedied later from within. They found out their mistake when it was too late, and only liquidation and disruption awaited their organizations. Thus were the politicians able to split the ranks of the revolutionary labor unions.

Later, the syndicalist organizations came together and organized their own "International Workingmen's Association," with headquarters in Berlin. However, by allowing the Moscow farce to take place before their own organization was effected, they lost a good deal of support, and were thus restricted to strictly syndicalist and anarcho-syndicalist organizations, mostly anarchist. Thus a good chance for bringing together all the revolutionary non-political labor unions was lost.

Present I. W. W. Position

The I. W. W. being neither a craft, a political nor a strictly syndicalist organization, is affiliated with neither of the three Internationals. Being by principle opposed to political bunk and to craft form of organization, the I. W. W. finds itself in opposition to both the Amsterdam and Moscow Internationals. It is in friendly relations with that of Berlin, and is willing to co-operate with the unions composing it, whenever the occasion presents itself. In the course of its existence, the I. W. W. always supported every struggle of the workers against the master class everywhere, indifferent to what union the struggling workers are affiliated with.

There are revolutionary labor union bodies in every industrially developed country, that like the I. W. W., cannot identify themselves with either of the present Internationals. The I. W. W. deems it its duty to keep in touch with these bodies, to discuss with them our differences of tactics, pro-

grams, etc. This has been done in late years and we discovered that the I. W. W. program is received favorably in the European countries.

This friendly intercourse and inter-discussions is bound to result in a closer unity and in a more extensive co-operation, and will eventually lead to organic unity of these bodies internationally. It is possible that when a measure of organization on this line is accomplished, a union with the Berlin International will also take place. For while the I. W. W. has no logical place in a purely syndicalist and anarcho-syndicalist International, the entrance of a larger number of industrial unions into it would alter its character of "purity", and would transform it into something like the I. W. W., where anarchists, socialists and other ists can work together in harmony, for a common program.

Specifically the I. W. W. is the result of highly centralized American capitalism. This particular form and substance of capitalism is spreading rapidly all over the world. And as shadow follows the body, so the I. W. W. should and will follow capitalism to the farthest reaches of the earth.

It is said that capitalism is producing its own grave diggers; these grave diggers should be union men and they should carry the red cards of the Industrial Workers of the World.

AT THE CROSSROADS

By JOHN A. GAHAN
Editor of Industrial Solidarity

We have wriggled, crawled, stumbled, staggered, sported, marched from primordial slime to the threshold of television. Animalistic cries of the gibbering arboreal beast rise to lyric beauty in Bori and Smirnov. Evolves the tom-tom's savage monotone to polyphonic ecstasies before the baton of Stokowski. Across skies shoot airplanes at six miles a minute; America is spanned by man's winged wonder in fourteen hours. To the sea he returns, whence came his earliest life-bearing ancestors—but he returns in rigid submersibles, leviathans of steel and speed, incomparably mightier than all that dwell in the waters. Or taking cunningly annealed glass masses, he beholds a countless array of worlds, many millions of light years distant. These whirling worlds, far-flung through infinite space, he weighs, analyzes, ponders. Their orbits are charted, their ages gauged, their speeds computed from his vigil on lonely mountain peak or desert reach. Peering through other artful fabrications of the glass maker, he watches another silent universe, infinitesimally small, a universe of micro-organisms. In germs he sees terrific forces that scourge and slay. Having seen the perils he learns immunities and cures. The same instrument reveals to the fascinated eyes of a Rutherford wonders of energy jailed in atomic prisons, the electronic promise that, once harnessed, forever frees man from age-old drudgery and renders grotesque our titan machines, fit then only as museum pieces.

Think not, however, that the writer has become inoculated with the virus of the American masses' endemic optimism for vicarious prosperity. This seeming paeon of man's marvellous achievements is sung only because incalculable possibilities depend on that evolutionary record. The concomitant history of mass enslavement enduring to the thrice blessed year of Light and Our Lord 1930 is more cruel, more damnable

than all the tortures that might be conceived in the twisted, fanatic brain of a Torquemada or a Massachusetts district attorney.

Need we unearth a long-buried past to corroborate this charge of iniquity that our good patriots and other nice, respectable people will find so iniquitous? Hardly. The sound of every factory whistle is a shriek of violence. We need but hear it understandingly to know this, for it summons to slavery the human work animals. We need but hear endless, tired trudging of millions of little, ragged feet going to the mills and mines of our grand Republic, there to be incorporated—blood, bone, hope, life, all—into commodities that sell for profits. We need simply to reflect that of the 2,000,000,000 inhabitants of terra firma all but comparatively few are hungry, are insecure, are ignorant, are slaves. We have merely to remember the capitalistic playfulness of 1914-'18, in which millions upon millions of working class men and boys were butchered and maimed, while millions more of the slave populations suffered vile and fatal diseases. The shell-shocked still scream, and will still be screaming when the "best of all possible systems in the best of all possible words" again drives our kind to wholesale murder glorified by patriots as "civilized warfare," sanctified by the clergy as "civilized warfare," and commercialized thoroughly by the bourses, pits, curbs and 'changes.

We write in America the Prosperous, the earth's richest land, matchless haven of opportunity—where under the folds of her starry flag eight or nine million wage slaves can not find masters; where an ever intensifying battle for bread is sending ever more to find it in lunatic asylums or to graves where they shall not require it. America, the showy—where money is god and most of the people consequently godless. What a wonderful country are we, with all of our inventions, our machines, our radios, our mammoth factories and our people in the mass regimented to sausage-like sameness, a sameness of ignorance, docility, servility, shoddy, scraps, shacks and speed-up! This America needs another Walt Whitman to sing it. Our farmers in Iowa, too poor to buy coal have a way of burning corn for fuel; our miners sit in their hovel homes idle, and hungry for Iowa corn. Workers need shoes, and other workers want to produce them, but Lynn and Brock-

ton factories stagnate—because you do not get shoes under the superlatively sane capitalist system because you need them, but when you have the price to pay for them. The difference is very tangible.

Production under capitalism is anti-social. It is anti-social because it operates against the interests of the producing class, the great social group. It refuses to act without the music of clinking golden profits. It endures on a slave basis. In its most anti-social aspect it creates bayonets, battleships, bullets and police clubs, to say nothing of its criminal creation of mansions for a parasitic minority and shanties for the useful many. Through the pages of this unique pamphlet, which the writer has carefully perused in manuscript, every conceivable argument, brilliantly presented with clearest logic, has been advanced by revolutionary industrial union thinkers, to show what has to be done to make production pro-social. This writer need not weary you with repetition. We may profitably dwell on our indictment of the system. What one word sums up the damnation of bourgeois rule? Hunger.

What a word—hunger—in the human understanding! We rarely think of other than the belly form of hunger because that is so elemental, and the workers have ever been compelled to fight so desperately to assuage it. Yet in a world where there is such a diversity of beauty in fine music, drama, sculpture, letters and other arts and sciences conducing to man's aesthetic, emotional and intellectual good, deprivation of these satisfactions is a very real sort of hunger for those with the faintest appetite for them. But what can the degradation, the denial be called that goes so deep that it renders most of the slaves insensible even to their aspiration? How long could this monstrous capitalism survive if the workers understood their loss and resented it? Capitalism is synonmyous with violence, and the handmaid of chaos. Its beneficiaries care less for us than for dray-horses. While we work we are suffered to receive oats and a stall. When unemployed the oats vanish and the stall is removed. The biped work beast must destroy the monster that bestializes him, must put capitalism in its grave before manhood and womanhood in their finest flower, the flower of freedom, can flourish in the world, before hunger of body and of mind and heart are forever banished from the race.

We, the workers, are many, though divided because of ignorance. They, the capitalists, are few, but strong organizationally, ruthless in policy, grimly determined to increase in power and to perpetuate their dictatorship over the hopeless existence of a robbed class. The thoughtless might conclude that there is no ray of hope for the workers. Indeed, this despairing attitude is like a terrible paralysis, preventing many from acting for working class progress. We have reached an era where action may not much longer be delayed if we are to escape the heavy heel of a tyranny unprecedented in the annals of man.

Fascism in hydra-headed guise spreads across the world. Vast masses of people seem stunned into an apathy ill suited to their great need for the extension of liberty through industrial enfranchisement. Yet there is more than a ray of hope; there is a flood of hope's light, for the workers have numerical ascendency, theirs is the creative power and eagerness to build; social justice is a sense peculiarly their own, evolution favors them, and they are educable. You who are low in spirit because the apathy magnifies itself in your vision, consider the strikes of the workers as outlined in this pamphlet; think of the courage of the vanguard of the revolutionary hosts; regard their tact, imagination, solidarity. Hear them singing as they fight. Take heart in the thrilling spectacle of their defiance of outlaws in uniform and extra-legal mobs that would throttle the message of social upheaval. Then away with despair; down with cynicism! Up action and faith, for truly, "Evolution makes hope scientific"!

Can we, having learned through battles how to fight, having suffered the miseries of defeat, and the joys of victory over an implacable foe; can we see anything ahead for the working class but eventual triumph? Dare we the despondent thought of going down to the shambles under that Iron Heel limned by the fanciful London?

"O, Liberty, can man resign thee,
Once having felt thy generous flame?"

The reaction, the fascist hordes, ultra-capitalistic agents by their desperate deeds but show the desperate straits of a decaying system. Our duty, that which should be the main-

spring of our lives, the joy of our hearts, is to agitate without ceasing until we have proved the leaven to move the suffering, inert mass to revolt. They are educable; ours is to educate them. Our agitators have again and again caused them by thousands to hurl defiance at the employers, to battle as an indomitable phalanx to victory after victory. Multiply our agitational power by every I. W. W. being a tireless agitator, and we can inspire the workers by millions to challenge not alone capitalist routine of day to day in production, but capitalist ownership itself of the productive equipment. Everything hinges on action. All will be won by action or lost because of its lack.

In one hundred years the workers have moved vastly nearer to freedom than in all the ages before this century. When the fierce thought first burned in the modern worker's brain questioning capitalist property rights, in that hour was doomed the regime of the robbers of trade and commerce. For that thought will not die. It lives and grows and circles the globe. It is in every land, in every port, in every industry, in every city, and every village. It is a restless, sleepless, gnawing, deathless thought of international tongue, the red thought of social revolution. Agitate mightily, bravely, incessantly for its propagation! That can be your only claim to glory, a glory surpassing that of kings and generals and all the makers of slavery and of death, for that is a glory of striving to bring to the old, sad world happiness for all, happiness founded on the justice of industrial equality and freedom from the chains of the wage system.

For us the night is long but we envision a red dawn, and in the all-pervading shadows of the unsocial derangement of capitalism we keep alight the bivouac, incendiary fires of hope and "fan the flames of discontent." The night will pass. Our species, the human workers, have built a world. Evolution of the tool has at last brought them within reach of the touchstone making for universal abundance in equality. Nature no longer is a niggard. The genius and energy of the working class, laboring with hands and minds, have shown that there need be no want, no hunger, no famine. All that stands in the way is the arch-criminal, Capitalism, and we are in every part of the world ceaselessly sapping its foundations.

It will fall. With it forever go slavery, crime, war, ignorance, poverty and waste. On the ruins will rise the Industrial Commonwealth, home of a free race, happy, fair, friendly "without disease of flesh or brain." Thus will be realized the hope of martyrs, the dream of sages, by the almighty strength of the organized industrial workers of the world.

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY, weekly newspaper in English, official organ of the I. W. W. $2 a year; single copies 5 cents, published at 555 W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER, weekly newspaper in English. Official Western Organ of the I. W. W. $2 a year; single copies 5 cents. Published at Seattle, Wash. Address Box 1857.

INDUSTRIALISTI, Finnish, daily newspaper, $4.75 a year, $2.75 six months, $1.75 three months. Single copies 5 cents. Published at Duluth, Minn. Address Box 464.

TIE VAPAUTEEN, Finnish monthly magazine, 32 pages, $1.75 a year; single copies 15 cents, April and December 48 pages, 25 cents. Published at Duluth, Minn. Address Box 464.

BERMUNKAS, Hungarian weekly newspaper, $2 a year; single copies 5 cents. Published at P. O. Box 17, Station Y, New York, N. Y.

IL PROLETARIO, Italian weekly newspaper, $2 a year; single copies 5 cents. Published at Brooklyn, N. Y. Address Box 24, Station T.

JEDNA VELKA UNIE, Czecho-Slovakian weekly newspaper, $2 a year; single copies 5 cents. Published at 11314 Revere Av., S. E. Cleveland, Ohio.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

FORWORD

Unemployment has been talked about, written about, investigated. It has been the subject of lengthy reports and innumerable resolutions. A whole alphabet system of government, as well as several hundred leagues and associations have been born to end it. For four years there has been a dizzy ballyhoo of promises to abolish unemployment. But really nothing has been done about it.

The proof that nothing has been done about it surrounds us everywhere, in the dying C. W. A., in the masses of men looking for jobs, in the fear of joblessness that weighs down on those at work. That unemployment is just as much a problem as it ever was, is a clear fact that anyone with eyes with which to see can see.

It is because it is time to do something about it that the I. W. W. issues this careful analysis of the relation between machinery and unemployment, establishing clearly that the cause of unemployment is exploitation, and that the machine has added to unemployment only as it added to exploitation. It is because of this that the New Deal machine wrecking is no more effective than the more primitive Luddite machine wrecking of a century ago, or the misguided craft efforts of the past generation. It is because of this that no sort of labor movement that contents itself with affording a system of "labor brokerage" can combat unemployment. It is because of this that the only program to deal with unemployment is the vigorous and revolutionary program of

the I. W. W.; those who would do something about unemployment must do something about exploitation; those who would end unemployment must end exploitation.

Unemployment is not a problem of brick-layers, of garment cutters or of door-knob polishers; it is a problem of the working class. It will take an organization of the working class to solve it. There is only one such organization—the Industrial Workers of the World, with a place in one or another of its component industrial unions for every member of the working class.

If you are weary of waiting for something to be done about unemployment, and have decided to do something about it, then:—

a) if you have not joined the I. W. W., do so at once;

b) if you are working, organize your fellow workers on the job, and don't work too hard, or too long, or for too little;

c) if you are not working, get busy on the only job you ever had, the job you have been neglecting while doing the other class's job—the job of organizing your class to run the world in its own interest.

Issued June, 1934, by the
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UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE MACHINE

I.

The World-wide Crisis

At the end of the year 1931 the International Labor Office of the League of Nations at Geneva reported 125 million workers in the Western nations unemployed. The depth of the depression that followed the panic of October, 1929 had not been reached at that time so it is safe to say, using those figures as a basis for estimate, that the number of unemployed reached the 150 million mark in the summer of 1933. In the United States alone, conservative figures place the number of unemployed at 12,000,000 and this figure is inadequate for the reason that it does not include the partially unemployed, the "temporary lay-offs" or those who do casual and seasonal labor, nor allow for the idleness in the agricultural and kindred industries. A fairer estimate, therefore, would be close to 18,000,000 unemployed at this time.

This progressive slump into the slough of idleness, poverty, pauperism and misery has been going on for four years. It is world-wide. It cannot be explained upon an assumption of local national causes. It extends from pole to pole and from London to the Ganges. Nor can it be dated from the beginning of the panic in 1929 or the World War. The same forces that produced the World War and its immolation of over 40 million lives in violent death or death from famine and pestilence, are the causes of this post-war desolation and social disintegration. The world is sick from a progressive economic paralysis whose symptoms have been perfectly apparent for fifty years.

As this condition of widespread international unemployment had been progressive in Europe and America since long before the World War and its development in exaggerated form in the United States with the collapse of the stock market in October, 1929, was merely the climax of a series of progressive stages of world economic disorder, we must look for world causes rather than national causes as the reason for the general collapse of the economic structure. And, as the worldwide panic burst at the height of the period of greatest wealth production, with granaries and warehouses crammed with redundant goods and banks overflowing with money and credit symbols, there can be no natural factor such as crop-failure, flood or famine in the analysis. The direct opposite condition, one of peak production and natural superabundance prevailed. The fault must lie, therefore, in the system of production and distribution of wealth.

Two reasons popularly assigned for widespread starvation and pauperism in the midst of stupendous masses of stored wealth stand out. One is "over-production" and the other is "over-development of

the technique of production." They both may be reduced to absurdity as far as they are to be considered fundamental causes. For it is silly to speak of over-production of wheat when half the world is without ability to obtain sufficient bread. It is equally fatuous to speak of over-production of wool and cotton when the masses are growing ragged and haunting the second-hand clothing stations of the Salvation Army and the relief bureaus; or while the columns of our daily journals abound with appeals for charitable gifts of clothing and layettes for newborn infants. It is tragic irony to root out "over-productive" fruit orchards; to plow under every third row of cotton; or to restrict the planting of grain when millions of ill-clad and under-fed workers are haunting the garbage dumps and burrowing in the refuse cans for a scrap of food. And that condition is a fact of such common observation that it needs no data of reference. It is still more absurd to speak of an excess of building when the "For Rent" sign hangs on every fourth house in the residence suburbs, while the evicted former tenants build shacks and shanties of packing boxes, burlap and tin cans on the fringes of all our cities, so that the name, "Shantytown" has come into common usage as descriptive of these new but unboasted real estate "additions."

The other factor of advanced technology is one that requires a more serious consideration, particularly since it has been so widely discussed under various names, "mechanization," "technocracy," "rationalization," "technological unemployment" and many others. Let us take a glance at it for a moment and see just what it is, for it isn't new, however novel the late terminology may seem, or however cleverly the mystic soothsayers of economic science may draw their graphs and describe their curves of statistical trends.

The Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution is a fact. It is undisputed that machines have been displacing men in industry for over 200 years and at a constantly accelerating rate. From the decline of the feudal era in the fourteenth century, when men first began to produce things on an extensive scale for sale and exchange rather than, as in previous ages, to supply the needs and luxury tastes of their overlords, in other words, since the beginning of commodity-production, there has existed a growing profit motive for increased production. A commodity is a thing produced for sale or exchange rather than for use. This production of things for sale and exchange has been the impelling force that has stimulated human greed for wealth through trade and manufacture. The more goods produced, the more wealth for him who held possession of the output; therefore, the faster commodities could be produced and sold, the more rapidly could wealth be acquired.

The first advances in increased power and productivity of labor were slow. Water-power, horse-power and wind-power have their limitations. It was not until the introduction of the steam-engine as a practical means of applying power to production in 1781 that the real industrial revolution began. Like all inventions, the steam-engine was a social growth. It had existed in embryonic form for centuries. It had been used in crude form to pump water from the mines of Cornwall for generations before Watt and Bolton, in response to the universal demand for increased commodity-production and for some form of power to replace the human body and the water, wind and horse power applied to spinning and weaving, improved the crude steam-engine into a practical prime mover in industry.

The development of power from that day to this can be measured best in terms of mechanical force. The best engines of the eighteenth century produced 50 horsepower. The turbines of today produce 300,000 horsepower.

The impact of this new power upon society was tremendous, even in its crude beginnings. The puny human body that had been the embodiment of power and skill for 7,000 years was thrust aside like sods turned up by the ploughshare. The windmill and water-wheel, limited to favorable topographical areas, were quickly superseded. Old crafts and ancient ways of making a living became obsolete and Europe swarmed with hordes of displaced and starving working men and women. New machines to take the place of the hand-driven tools and adapted to using the new power came into being with ever-increasing tempo. Great manufacturing cities such as Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham suddenly took on an access of rapid growth in wealth and population. And as economic wealth is power, the power and influence of the land-holding aristocracy gave way before that of a newly-enriched commercial aristocracy. To supply the factories with raw wool, peasants in hundreds of thousands were evicted and their small holdings turned into sheep-walks. To provide the manufacturers with an unlimited supply of "free" slaves (that is, "free" to move about in search of a job) the feudal laws that bound men in service to the lord of the soil were trampled under foot or repealed and the evicted peasants were herded to the cities under pressure of starvation to compete with one another in the sale of their labor-power to the new lords of the factory and mill. By 1821, according to Seignobos' "Political History of Europe Since 1814," there were 2,500,000 out of a total population of 12,000,000 on poor relief in Great

Britain. This "relative surplus population" had been produced by deliberate expropriation of the lands of the peasants and the appropriation of the industrial machinery and inventions by the legal piracy of the upstart manufacturing aristocracy of Great Britain. To control or dispose of this mass of "technologically unemployed" workers without violent revolution was the great political problem of England's ruling class for fifty years, just as the present mass of unemployed workers is the menacing problem of the ruling class of today.

In England "there remained in 1815," says Seignobos, "almost no independent peasants, small landed proprietors, or tenants on lease; all lands had finally been absorbed into great estates, belonging to lords or squires.

"A similar concentration had taken place in manufacturing since the end of the eighteenth century. The industrial system had been revolutionized by two changes: 1st, the new machines driven by water or by steam, and the new mechanical arts, had created the factory system; 2nd, small employers who produced directly for a single business house, were replaced by capitalist employers who produced on a large scale for the general market and for exportation."

It is to be observed, in reading the above quotation from Seignobos, that England, whose present population is about 40,000,000, was suffering from a condition of "technological unemployment" and "surplus population" in 1821 when her population was around 12,000,000. There was no dearth of wealth in 1821; there is none today. England was the wealthiest because the most industrially advanced nation on earth in 1821; she is, next to the United States, the wealthiest nation in the world today. Of her total population, 2,500,000 or around 21 per cent were on

poor relief in 1821. After a century of colonization and many and vast emigrations and the loss of 3,000,000 in the World War, 2,728,000 were on doles on Jan. 31, 1932 and these figures, like those of the United States do not adequately reflect the actual numbers of her unemployed which were much greater and have increased in the past year and a half. In 1821 the unemployment of her workers was attributed to the introduction of new machines, the excessive birthrate and the dispossession of her tenant farmers; today it is similarly attributed to rationalization, mechanization, "technological unemployment" and an excessive birthrate.

Two facts stand forth in this connection that are of prime importance; 1st, that poverty among the masses is not caused by pressure of population upon the means of subsistence or the tillable land area, for the same phenomena develop in the sparsely inhabited England of 1821 as in the densely populated England of 1933; 2nd, that inventions and consequent increase in the rate and mass of wealth produced through the greater efficiency of labor do not relieve or prevent growing poverty among the masses of the population. Wealth increases faster than population. In modern times, food and other means of subsistence have reversed the Malthusian law and have increased in a geometric ratio, that is as the series 2, 4, 8, 16, 32 etc., while population has increased in an arithmetical ratio; as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 etc. So, instead of benefitting the working masses who produce all this increase of wealth, the opposite result follows and the workers grow relatively poorer and the rich richer.

The point of most importance in this connection is the fact that whatever the rate of technological advance, whether slow, as in the period of earlier capitalism, when water-power, wind-power, horse-power and the early steam-engine were the prime

movers, as from 1735 to 1830; or with highly accelerated development as in the period from 1830 to 1900; or with the tremendous onward sweep of the machine processes that marked the period from 1900 to 1933; or, on the other hand, with the comparatively static condition of the 7,000 years that preceded the first of these periods, when practically no improvements in mechanical processes occurred, the results to the vast body of workers were the same. The ruling class owned and controlled the means of wealth production. The workers used them upon terms dictated by the owners. That condition was slavery, whether chattel slavery, in which the body of the toiler and skilled workman was owned outright by the patrician; or feudal serfdom, in which medieval lords owned the soil and dictated the terms of its use by feudal exactions; or modern wage-slavery, in which the capitalist master owns the machinery of production essential to life and controls the life of the worker by giving or withholding access to it upon terms dictated by himself and his class.

The evolution of society from each of these periods to its successor was marked by periods of temporary social and political disintegration and revolution and the irruption of a new ruling class previously suppressed and held to be inferior. And in each successive periodic revolution, the bases of privilege and power were broadened and made to include a more numerous class.

However important the tremendous incidence of machinery and new and improved technology may appear in the recent period, it is merely the form under which the fundamental cause of poverty and unemployment effects its results. The actual cause of the recurrent cycles of misery and poverty among the workers lies in the power of a class of parasitic non-workers to shackle the inventive genius of the human

race by claiming and exercising the right to own and control every accession of invention, every new fruit of human genius in the form of new machinery or new processes of production and to appropriate the beneficent results of social and scientific progress exclusively to themselves by owning and controlling every means by which such results may be applied.

Primacy of the Economic Factor in History

The industrial revolution that made power-driven machinery the prevailing method of wealth production began about 1735. We say "prevailing" method, for the reason that when a more efficient way of doing a thing comes into general use, the older and less efficient methods only gradually disappear. They still survive but only as vestigial remains of a dying culture. It is the elimination of waste energy by the more advanced methods that reduces the socially necessary labor and enables the nations developing them to grow more rapidly in population, wealth and power and, therefore, to "prevail" over peoples using more primitive methods. We speak of "socially necessary" labor as that labor which is applied to production in the most intelligent way; that is, which utilizes the most effective tools and methods to accomplish its purpose. A man who would plough with a crooked stick or an ox team hitched to a single-bottom plough would perform more manual labor to cultivate an acre than a man who used a modern tractor and a gang plough. But the extra labor would be no longer "socially" necessary because the modern tractor and gang plough is the tool that has socially survived and become adopted as the prevailing means of cultivation. Those who would persist in using the more primitive tools and methods, would

be doomed to lag behind in the struggle for social survival and ultimately eliminated. It is only the socially necessary means of wealth production and the socially necessary labor power that determine the trends of civilization and the shifting of political power.

We have seen that the period of history that just followed the Napoleonic Wars and the French Revolution culminated about 1821-25 in a series of industrial crises similar to the present. Periodic panics have followed in cycles of from eight to twelve years as in 1837, 1848, 1857, 1873, 1884, 1893, 1907, 1920 and 1929, with minor depressions or war in between. Panics and periods of depression had occurred at various times and in various nations in history before this series but only with the full development of capitalism in the nineteenth century did the industrial cycle become established as a characteristic of the capitalist system. The cause of these periods of economic reaction and depression were but vaguely defined in the earlier periods. They are thoroly understood today however much the scientific squid may try to becloud the clear waters of economic truth with sophistry and obscurantism. They constitute a fatal and inherent defect in the capitalist system which leads directly to inevitable revolutionary change. The development of machine and mass production is merely incidental to the general laws governing capitalism and not the primary cause of panics and depressions. They would occur under a capitalist system of production and distribution of wealth however primitive the technique of manufacture might be. It is only important to point out that with each recurrence of the industrial cycle the periods of panic and depression become more intensified and world-wide in scope as the capitalist system obeying its inherent law of development

becomes more integrated and centralized into a world embracing mechanism.

The present population of the earth is estimated at about 2 billions. It is probably three times as great as that of 1821. Yet the industrial revolution of 1775 to 1821, governed by the same inherent laws of capitalist development, produced a social and industrial crisis as great, relative to the population of the capitalist nations affected as that resulting from technological and mechanical progress in the period from 1890 to 1929. The rate and relative per cent of displacement of men by machines within the capitalistically developed nations were probably not less. The breaking up of established habits, crafts, trades and social customs within those nations was probably as great, relative to their populations, as that taking place in the present revolutionary period. The relative amount of unemployment was probably equal.

The supremely important difference, however, is this: in the world of 1821 there were unsettled continents open for settlement and capitalist exploitation which furnished refuge for the displaced workers and room for expansion for the, then, new capitalist system. America, Australia and Africa furnished an outlet for the displaced human, and the civilized nations that yet lagged behind in production methods and technology provided constantly expanding fields of exploitation for capital. Today there is no such outlet. There are no new lands or continents. The modern machine has invaded them all. The whir of the wheels, belts and looms is heard from Bombay to Liverpool and the electric nerves have made one great social and economic organism of the earth from pole to pole, carrying power and culture in its modern form thruout the social universe. Only the primitive and

obsolete method of class ownership and control remains to block the socialization of the human race.

In expanding, the industrial revolution, marked by the introduction of new inventions and machine processes, has proceeded, not with uniform motion, but with constantly accelerated progress. The more machines the more rapid the rate of invention, for new inventions and ideas do not fall from heaven or come from inspiration, but evolve out of machines and processes in present use as the hands of the workers in contact with them suggest newer and more efficient methods and improvements to the worker's brain. One new machine breeds many.

The power loom threw 800,000 hand-weavers onto the streets of London in the period of 1820-40. Those that survived starvation and the mortality that attends extreme poverty, joined with other displaced handicraftsmen and the evicted peasants and emigrated or were transported as "criminals" to America and the colonies, where they set to work reproducing the civilization and economic system from which they had just been expatriated.

But the displaced workers of today, numbering millions in all lands, cannot escape by emigration or by violating capitalist law and being transported to some penal settlement. For the machines that disinherited them now precede them to the foreign land. It is the machines that now emigrate and invade new territory faster than their human part—the workers. And the emigrant finds the same machines and the same unemployment facing him in all lands where capitalism is the prevailing method of wealth production. There is no escape from the conditions by emigration to a new country. The disease that afflicts society is constitutional and inherent in the capitalist system itself.

Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that it is not the rate of mechanization or technological development that produces the poverty and unemployment. It is not the machines that produce the joblessness and misery. It is not overproduction of wheat that produces a bread famine among the poor. It is not overproduction of cotton and wool that makes men and women ragged and unclad. It is not excess of wealth produced that makes the producers penniless and unable to buy even a portion of their own product. Common sense and the most elementary social logic should enable even a capitalist economist to see that. It is the ownership and control of the land and machinery of production by a social class that lives without working, through the persistency of social laws and customs that have been outgrown by the economic structure of society, that is the cause of the present world-wide unemployment and social misery, even as it caused the more restricted crisis of a century ago. The world could bear it then because there was a way of escaping at least temporarily from it by emigrating and developing new and unaffected areas. It cannot escape by emigration today but must turn upon an obsolete system of class control as it has done in other ages and change it. The prevailing method of private capitalist ownership of the means of production and distribution is in increasing conflict with the biological necessities of the race and when that condition arises there always follow social upheaval and revolutionary change.

II.

Surplus Value—the Source of Thieves' Loot

Under any system in which the means of producing a living are the exclusive property of a limited class, the worker, deprived of such means, purchases the right to work for his living paying for it in surplus labor. The worker's day, economically speaking, is divided into two parts; the first and shorter period during which he works to reproduce the value of his own labor-power, or, in other words, his living; and a second and longer period in which he produces the surplus value which he is forced by necessity to yield to the owner of the land, machinery or other means of producing wealth. The commodities produced during the entire working day, no matter what their kind or character may be, are sold by the employer and thus are transmuted into a price-form, money, and the employer returns the worker's portion to him in this form. It is called wages, but the money-form in which it is paid to the worker merely conceals the commodity-form in which it was originally produced. It is in reality merely part of the total amount of commodities produced by the worker during the whole day's work, and the smaller part; for the greater portion is retained by the employer. The transmutation into the money or price-form also conceals the division of the day's work into its two constituent parts—the necessary labor and the surplus labor. The part of the day's product retained by the capitalist employer is surplus value.

It is the wealth produced in this second period of the working day—surplus value—that constitutes the

sole object of all capital investment. It is the basis of all capitalist values. It is the substance of all so-called earning power of capital. It is the soul of capitalism. It is the sacred cow that is worshipped as a god. It is the incentive of all endeavor by capitalist-minded humans. It is the subject of all sermons and precepts by gowned clerics and bewhiskered philosophers who do homage to the sacred cow: "Servants, obey your masters—work long and hard for him, and great will be your reward—in heaven. On earth you will get just wages—a mere subsistence—while your master takes the rest; but in heaven, after you are dead—ah! the golden glories that await you—ideological reflections of all the product of the unrequited surplus labor which you gave to your master on earth and which he converted into the physical earthly realities that he enjoys—ease, comfort, luxury, peace."

To produce this surplus value and to convert it into the price form of money and credit to the utmost possible expansion is the object of all capitalist endeavor. The more efficient the worker and the more effective the machinery and tools upon which his labor-power is expended, the greater the share of wealth accruing to the owner of the means of production. The worker's share remains fairly constant—just enough to reproduce his labor-power—subsistence for himself and enough more to enable him to breed and support his off-spring—reproductions of himself to replace him when he is worn out and "scrapped." There is always a reserve army of unemployed workers on hand even in the best of times to keep down the wage through competition for the job at the level of a mere subsistence. Indeed, the entire working mechanism of capitalist society—its laws, institutions and political forms as well as its religions and ethical and moral codes are devised

to that end—to maintain a surplus army of propertyless, unemployed workers for the purpose of stabilizing the wages and controlling the workers at a subsistence level. The surplus wealth that may be produced by the extension of the working day or the intensification of the surplus labor, either through speeding up the work or developing the effectiveness of the implements and means of production, is practically unlimited. We may say that while the worker's share of the wealth produced always remains practically at a bare living level, the master's share may be indefinitely increased by any or all of the following means:

1.—By prolonging the working day.

2.—By improving and increasing the efficiency of the machinery and means of production.

3.—By lowering the wages or the worker's share of the day's product.

4.—By intensifying the labor by speeding up the worker.

5.—By expanding the market or raising the price of the product without raising wages.

It will be noticed that by any or all of these means the part of the product of the day's work remaining in the hands of the employer is increased while the worker's share remains unchanged. That is the peculiar quality of the surplus value upon which our capitalist system rests and which so endears it to the gamblers in the wealth produced by others, called capitalists—the unproductive gentry who "toil not neither do they spin," yet Solomon in all his glory was a poor skate compared to one of these latter-day parasites.

III.

Economic Determinism

Thus we come to the crux of the question around which the entire organization of capitalist society is orbited—the expropriation of surplus value from wage-workers. To do this requires two fundamental things essential to the existence of the capitalist class; first, to educate and force the exploited slave into mental, moral and physical subjection to his condition; and, second, to take and maintain possession of all means, and all improvements and advances in the machinery and technology of wealth production.

John Stuart Mill said, "It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being." And that is quite natural when we consider the division of society into its two classes—those who do all the work and are barred from participation in the fruits of progress by the requirement that they shall have no share other than a living in all the accruals of invention and scientific progress that flow from their labors as naturally as clouds rise from the sea; and that other class that does no labor but takes and retains possession of all the social product. Between these two classes there never has been and never can be any other than incessant struggle until the workers organize as a class and take possession of the means of production and the power that flows from such possession and banish class rule forever from the earth.

The time for and the necessity of such action by the workers is determined historically by the development of the economic structure of society; that is the

evolution from individual methods of production by handicraft to the vast integrations of mass production by machinery and the world-wide markets of today. Production, formerly individual, has become socialized; methods of ownership, control and distribution remain individualistic. This is an anachronism that is at war with natural evolution, producing the social stress and strife that can end only when socialized production becomes one with collective workers' ownership and control.

That the freedom of the workers from class oppression and exploitation depends upon the development and control of the means of wealth production was clearly seen over 300 years before the Christian Era by Aristotle. He said: "If the weavers' shuttles were to weave of themselves, then there would be no need of apprentices for the master workers, or of slaves for the lords." So we arrive at that other great law of human progress first set forth by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the law of economic determinism and the economic interpretation of history. It reveals that in every historical epoch, the manner in which the people of that epoch produced and distributed the wealth was the factor that determined the character of the laws, institutions, moral codes and ideas of the period. This must necessarily be true because human life, like all other forms of life, depends upon production of the means of life. The implements and instrumentalities that men use in making a living have at all times played the most powerful part in shaping the destinies of the human race; and control of the means of wealth production has always determined the form of social and political institutions. When man emerged from his primitive backgrounds and asserted his superiority over other primates it was as a tool-using animal.

It may be said with the full support of history that

the degree of individual freedom existing among various peoples and nations has always been proportioned to the degree of control they retained over the lands, tools and implements with which they made their living. For economic security is the foundation of liberty. Whosoever controls the means of wealth production of a nation, holds power over that nation. All power is economic at base.

The shifting of centers of political power in the rivalries of nations has always been preceded by a shifting of control of the prevailing wealth-creating agencies. And within the nations the possession of control over the means of wealth production by one class has made it dominant over the rest of the nation, producing the class struggle. The masses, denied free access to land and tools, are at the mercy of the class that controls these necessary means of life. No laws or "bills of right" can secure any sort of rights to a class that has no organized power of control over its means of making a living.

We may say, therefore, that the history of human progress has been a history of the development of tools in the broad sense of the word, meaning all means of creating wealth, marked by the struggles for their control as wealth-creating agencies. All political and social institutions; all established forms of thought in the religious and political field; all moral codes; all social habits and customs are conditioned by the prevailing methods of wealth production and the control of its implements and agencies. The laws and moral codes of any era are those formulated or interpreted by the owners of the wealth-creating means for the purpose of protecting and conserving their exclusive class control. But inventions change and advance faster than human habits and laws, causing both laws and moral codes to break down whenever the newer methods of producing wealth have

come into conflict with laws and customs. We are now passing thru such a period of revolutionary change.

IV.

The Uncontrolled Economic Cycle

Control of the machinery of wealth production for the purpose of creating surplus value is, therefore, the actuating motive of all capitalistic enterprise. It requires for its practice and perpetuation both a constant expansion and improvement of the machinery and modes of production. Among savage and primitive peoples the crude methods of production precluded the taking of surplus value. Life was largely a constant struggle with nature. With primitive methods of handicraft in a later period, the portion of the day's work devoted to producing the worker's living was necessarily longer than with the improved machines and largely automatic processes of today. As a consequence the relative portion of the day's work given to producing surplus value for the masters has advanced with the advance of the machine processes. The worker's portion of the day's product being controlled at a level that barely sufficed to enable him to live and the lengthening of the working day being limited by human habit, endurance and a tendency to resist change in established habits by the workers themselves, the natural method of increasing the employer's share of the product was to improve the efficiency of the machinery and thereby transfer as much as possible of the skill and strength of the worker to the machine by reducing them to simple

mechanical processes. The worker ceased to be a skilled craftsman whose efficiency existed in his proficiency and mastery of a few simple tools. He increasingly became an unskilled laborer tending a machine which in turn became his master. He produced more and more commodities in a given time with each improvement in machinery and methods, but the increase belonged to his master as owner of the machines, while the worker's share declined in relative proportion. The surplus value produced for the capitalist thus increasingly exceeded the wages of the worker. It is by this process that there accumulates in the possession of the capitalist an excess that must be sold abroad, for the worker's purchasing power does not increase proportionately.

The resulting competition between capitalists for markets for this excess of commodities, and the money and credit symbols into which the commodities are transformed in the market, stimulates the capitalist to cheapen production costs by utilizing every possible mechanical means to replace the worker with further mechanical improvements; for every increase in productivity of a given amount of labor power with lessened cost, enables the capitalist to undersell his competitor and capture the market. It also produces a constant increase in the amount of surplus value which cannot be used in the industry itself but must be invested profitably somewhere. This breeds international competition for markets and foreign fields of investment which results in wars. It produces another and more cumulative effect in that the constant seeking for a foreign field of investment for the accumulated surplus value converted into new capital, rapidly changes raw material producing regions that were once customers into industrially developed regions which become rivals for markets and rival producers of surplus value.

Thus the markets narrow relatively as industrial expansion proceeds with an increasing surfeit of unsalable commodities and capital that cannot find profitable investment. The struggle for survival between capitalists leads to a mad race for increased production at lower costs, over-development of plants and machinery, a rapid fall in prices in the competition for markets, ending in a final panic and wholesale shut-downs, bankruptcy and unemployment.

These periods of crisis and panic followed by stagnation increase in frequency, scope and intensity as the area open for expansion is thus fully developed, and as machine production of commodities takes the place of raw material production in the newly developed regions. The agricultural nations that formerly exchanged raw material for manufactured goods rapidly become industrialized, producing their own manufactured goods and creating their own capital. The ever-narrowing field of exploitation and consequent increasing competition for the markets thus reach a final stage in which further expansion is impossible and the era of capitalism ends as it has ended in the years 1929-33 in an impasse, where it collapses in a final catastrophe of world-wide stagnation and revolution.

That is the condition now presented. That is what has produced the world revolution now taking place, in which the old parliamentary systems, the old methods of uncontrolled competition and the old ways of doing things have disappeared forever from Russia, Germany, Italy, France and the United States, to give place to dictatorships, in which the state is used by the ruling class to stabilize and control production and markets in preservation or attempted preservation of an obsolete social and economic structure. The era of capitalism is passing into a transition stage, marked by collapse of credit and world-wide

stagnation and unemployment. Markets and fields of exploitation have disappeared in proportion as production has increased internationally through advancing technology; and capitalism can, therefore, no longer expand. It is nearing an end, however slow may be the strangulation of its life breath—the production and expansion of surplus value.

Previous crises and panics have passed through phases from depression to recovery by developing new fields of investment and new markets. That of 1837 ended in the Mexican War and the conquest of Texas and California. The impoverished victims of the aftermath of the panic of 1837 and the minor depression of 1848 poured into these newly opened territories and pioneered them for exploitation by adventurers and their kindred, the capitalists. The panic of 1857 was absorbed by the Civil War era of inflation and the homestead act provided an outlet for the jobless soldiers who were demobilized. An era of railroad building and speculation followed. The panic of 1873 ended in the development of the Northwest, the building of the Northern Pacific and a period of westward emigration. The panic of 1893 was followed by the Spanish-American War, the Klondike gold rush and the beginnings of American imperial expansion. The year 1913 saw another panic developing but the World War quickly developed the usual features of a war period—vast inflation of prices and the absorption of redundant man-power. The entire world went into an orgy of credit flotations. A crisis appeared in 1920 but it was deferred by tapping a new field of credit-installment sales of autos, electric devices and every kind of gadget imaginable. The day of reckoning was delayed in an interregnum of the wildest speculation in history which came to the point of collapse in 1929. The panic was followed by the present depression—the most world-devastating and long-continued of the

entire series of major panics. The whole world is bankrupt. There are no new worlds for the Alexander of surplus value to conquer—no new continents, no undeveloped markets. The world bandits of capitalism have ravaged the earth and are now wrangling over the spoils and consuming the spoils in the process of wrangling. The war that usually follows a world depression is already on the horizon in various directions and the ogre of capitalism is about to drown itself in its own blood.

V.

The Part Played by Machine Development

We perceive, then, the part that mechanical development and advancing technology play in producing crises and unemployment. We see, too, that these crises are periodic and recur at all stages of capitalistic evolution from the era of handicraft to the present. These periods of recurrence are called the "Business Cycle" by Roger Babson and others. They have been analyzed by capitalist economists from every possible viewpoint. Wesley C. Mitchell, Irving Fisher, Paul Douglas, Roger Babson and innumerable others have gathered the most exhaustive data and assigned the most various reasons for the cyclical slump into depression from peaks of prosperity. Psychology and astrology have been seriously involved as explanations of the phenomena. Prof. Irving Fisher is inclined to think that astronomical causes such as spots on the sun, periodic diminution of solar heat radiation and the conjunction of the earth and other planets are factors in causing the panics. The one per-

fectly obvious reason for the cyclical slump is forbidden—surplus value in the form of debt burdens laid upon industry, such as over issues of speculative capital and excessive bond issues based upon speculative productive power of the workers in industry.

The cumulative character of investment capital drawn from surplus value must, of necessity, make these speculative crises more and more severe and more world-wide in scope. The only thing to consider in this present, the world's worst and longest period of stagnation and depression caused by the capitalist system, is whether or not it is the inevitable, final collapse from which there can be no recovery under capitalism. And while we are trying to answer this question, it is well that we reiterate our original statement that it is not the technological and mechanical advance that produces the crisis and that must ultimately end in abandonment of the entire system of uncontrolled private ownership of industry and the ungoverned capitalist mob rule of the economic structure by which the entire world makes its living through labor. The advancing machine processes are no more to blame than advancing education, advancing science, advancing progress in general. It is the social relations that are to be adjusted to the changing technology, and not the technology that is to be adjusted to the established and obsolete social relations. As H. M. Hyndman has said, "Facts move faster than human minds." The human mind must catch up with the facts. And in this connection let us quote the statement of Karl Marx (Vol. 1, "Capital", Swan Sonnenschein Edition):

"Capital is not a thing, but a social relation between persons established by the instrumentality of things."

The "things" in this reference are the implements and means of producing wealth, owned by the cap-

italist class. The "social relation" is that of capitalist and wage slave. This social relation is established by means of surplus value—the product of unpaid labor which is withheld from the worker by the capitalist through the division of the day's work into necessary labor and unnecessary or surplus labor.

The social relation between the capitalist and the wage slave existed a long time before the accumulation of capital was sufficient to offer means, incentive and stimulation to the general improvement of the tools of production. It began to exist when the master-craftsman of the middle ages engaged the services of journeymen and apprentices. Through the accumulation of wealth produced by the handicraft of his "help" and the sale of the commodities produced, the master craftsmen became separated economically from his journeymen. From guild-master to merchant and manufacturer was a step and it was from the rapid accumulation of manufacturing wealth that surplus value became both a means and an incentive to the invention and introduction of power-driven machinery. We thus see that the relation of capital to labor antedated machinery and was its genesis, not its result.

But lest we give the capitalist undue credit for stimulating progress in the arts and sciences, it is well to differentiate right here between "capitalism" and the "capitalist". It was not the capitalist who invented all the vast complex of mechanical devices that make up the modern technology of industry. Inventions are social growths. Most inventions arise from the use of the machines by workers. Most of the world's greatest inventors have died poor—stripped of the fruits of their genius and patient labors by capitalist promoters. The intricate character of modern machinery represents the aggregate of small contributions and accretions from the hands and brains of thousands of ob-

scure workers and inventors who died in their obscurity while the clever promoter capitalized the invention or process and reaped a harvest of surplus value from the exploitation of both the inventor and the workers who produced the increased volume of wealth. The great capitalists are strange combinations of gambler, adventurer, huckster and politician; they are neither scientists nor inventors. The Rockefellers, Morgans, Insulls, Kruegers, Weyerhaeusers, Carnegies, Schwabs, and their like never contributed a single valuable idea or discovery to society. It is not the Marconis, De Forrests, Steinmetzs and Michaelsons that today dominate the financial world and reap the harvest from their benefits to mankind.

Not even as organizers of industry are the capitalists either original or able. Their failure as administrators is clearly shown by the haphazard and wasteful manner in which they have manipulated the banks, the railroads and the natural resources of the country. They accumulate their vast holdings as frequently by wrecking and mal-administering industry as by promoting it. In every national crisis of war or depression, the first step toward efficiency is to undo the evil done by their greed and incompetency as stewards of the public weal. The government took over the railroads during the war to reorganize them into a state of efficiency. It called in boards of technical experts to produce results. It is necessary in the present panic to consult the "brain trust" before the politician and capitalist can act intelligently.

In the beginnings of capitalism the rate of accumulation of surplus value was necessarily slow, being generated from the primitive processes of handicraft. It acquired momentum like a snowball rolled down hill as the general demand for commodities increased. Trade developed rapidly between the nations,

the producers of raw material in undeveloped nations exchanging their product for the manufactured product. Manufacture succeeded handicraft and the mechanical development increased in speed throughout the capitalistic nations. The power-driven factory succeeded hand-manufacture. Revolution followed when the agrarian landlords attempted to stay the tide of wealth and power that swept into the hands of the previously despised trading and manufacturing classes by the vast accumulations of capital and commodities. The feudal system collapsed and the feudal aristocracy was displaced by a hitherto unprivileged class—the bourgeoisie.

It should be clear from what has preceded that the existence of the capitalistic "social relation" essential to the existence of the capitalist system depends upon the accumulation of surplus value. And this accumulation depends in turn upon the co-existence of undeveloped, non-industrial raw-material producing regions with manufacturing regions, each exchanging its products for those of the other. The surplus value which is the source of capitalist accumulation arises from the conversion of the raw material or the natural resource into the manufactured product or usable commodity through the instrumentality of labor applied to machinery and the natural resources. It is the value transferred from human labor to the raw material in the process of manufacture or conversion into commodities that creates the "profit" of the capitalist. It is derived solely from the exploitation of unpaid labor. The paid-for portion of the day's work produces no profit. Quite naturally, the raw-material producing nations prefer to develop their own manufacturing resources and thus save this profit for themselves. So capital is borrowed from the accumulations of surplus value in the manufacturing nations and used to de-

velop the industries of the less developed regions. This, as has been shown, constantly reduces the fields open for exploitation, narrows the market and ultimately renders the taking of surplus value impossible; for, although surplus value arises from production only, it cannot be converted into either capital or revenue until it has passed into the money-form through sale. It follows that capitalism can exist only as long as it has open markets and regions undeveloped capitalistically in which to expand, for the condition of profit-taking requires that the worker who produces the values shall always produce more for the capitalist than he receives in wages or purchasing power. A stabilized exchange between the producers or workers and their exploiters is, therefore, impossible. Machinery and technology are the means through which surplus value is increased at the expense of the worker and thereby hasten the ultimate collapse of the capitalist system.

VI.

The Modern Machine Era

From the first crude machines that inaugurated the industrial revolution to the "one-billion wild horses" that represent the accumulated horse-power of today is a far cry. The mechanical marvels of the eighteenth century, the spinning jenny of Hargraves with its eight spindles, the spinning mule of Crompton, the power loom of Arkwright, the 50-horsepower engines of Watt and Bolton, the crude locomotive of Stephenson, the clumsy steamboats of Symington and Fulton, would evoke a smile if placed beside the power-

monsters that now send their throbbing energy pulsing from gigantic power-plants to our industrial centers, and fill the skies, the seas and the submarine depths with their rush and clamor. But against a background of handicraft and peasant production these primitive beginnings of modern machine production appeared marvelous enough.

The progress since has not been uniform in tempo. Every war period and every period of emigrant pioneering on an extensive scale has temporarily reduced the army of the unemployed and forced the masters to raise wages by lessening the competition for the jobs. For the worker sells his labor-power in the same manner that the capitalist sells the product of labor-power—as a commodity. The supply, if uncontrolled by organization of the workers, regulates the price of labor-power—the wages.

It is wars, emigration and "prosperity peaks" that create an increased demand for machinery to take the place of the manual worker. The withdrawal of men from the labor-power market in capitalist wars for markets and new fields of exploitation relieves the pressure of want and impending starvation from the remaining workers and renders them temporarily more independent in their demands for a greater share in the money-form of the commodities which they produce. Machines and automatic processes are then introduced to take the place of manual workers and again build up the army of unemployed. The supply of available labor power is thus increased and competition for the jobs again reduces the workers to docility. Thus, the Napoleonic Wars, lasting nearly twenty years from 1796 to 1815 were marked by an immense advance in technology. The period of emigration and colonization that followed the demobilization of the armies, acted as a similar stimulation to invention. And through the crises and panics

that followed as a result of each successive wave of increased production, the machine marched on to its final triumph when the recent World War accelerated the progress of mechanization until the involvement of the entire world in one vast industrial organism precipitated the panic of 1929-33.

And now we shall see what this vast accumulation of surplus value in the form of machines, technological wonders, credits, debts, investments and unsalable commodities, with its consequent unemployment, doles and bread-lines consists of at this revolutionary apex of the machine age.

Not very long ago, Dr. Chas. A. Prosser of Dunwoodie Institute, Minneapolis, who had been chairman of President Hoover's National Unemployment Committee, said:

"Prosperity with industry humming will with certainty encourage new inventions to displace continually more and more workers. That is the reason that prosperity will not of itself solve the unemployment problem.

"In 1899, 4,713,000 workers turned out products to the value of $11,500,000,000. In 1929, 8,550,000 workers made products valued at $68,500,000,000. That is, less than twice as many workers produced six times the value in products. If there had been the same value production per worker in 1929 as in 1899, it would have taken 20,000,000 more workers to turn out these products and merchandise."

The above figures refer to the manufacturing industries alone. In transportation, mining and agriculture the same rate of displacement of manual labor by machines and new processes has taken place. The approximately 250,000 miles of railroads in the United States employed 2,075,886 people in 1920. In 1931 the total number of employes had dwindled to 1,282,825. In 1933 a further decrease was recorded

and the railroads now employ slightly less than a million. A large number of these could be dispensed with if effective reorganization of the working forces took place. Wayne W. Parrish estimates that the entire transportation industry could be carried on with not over 600,000 employes.

The principal decrease in the number of necessary workers in transportation is due to lengthening of division points, double-headers, heavier tractors hauling longer trains, larger and more durable freight cars made of steel instead of wood and the electrification of many roads. The average capacity of freight cars in 1903 was 29.4 tons; in 1910, 35.9 tons; in 1915, 39.7 tons; in 1920, 42.4 tons; in 1925, 44.8 tons, and in 1931, 47 tons. And the tendency toward displacement of men in the industry is likely to continue indefinitely.

The coal mining industry has been permanently affected by the introduction of new fuels such as petroleum and gas, the development of hydro-electric plants and the use of more economical fuel consumers. The state of the industry is revealed in a very able report, an epitome of which was published in the **New Republic** for August 30, 1933, by Dr. Alexander Sachs of the Division of Research and Planning of the NRA. He reported that the total displacement of coal by other fuels and by new methods of economy in fuel consumption, amounted to 33 per cent reduction in all industrial and railroad uses since the World War. Had it not been for this saving in fuel efficiency according to Dr. Sachs American business would have used 210 million more tons of coal in 1929 than it did. Dr. Sachs says further:

"The effect of disorganization has been particularly severe upon employment. In 1923 the industry employed 704,793 wage earners, while in 1931 the figure

was 450,213. In 1932 the total employment was 379,-565. The total reduction since the peak year, 1923, has amounted to about 45 per cent. But even that does not represent adequately the loss of employment. It is man-hours and man-days that tell the story. Not only has the number employed been drastically reduced, but the working time has also been curtailed. For a period of thirty-two years ending in 1921, bituminous mines worked on an average of 213 days a year. In no year during that period did the mines as a whole average as much as 250 days. Since 1921, the situation has become much worse, the nine-year period, 1922 to 1930, showing an average working time of 189 days. In 1931, the working time was 160 days, and in 1932, 145 days."

Mine power is now generally electrified. The mine mule has been largely displaced by the electric locomotive. The proportion of coal undercut by machine has increased from 56 per cent in 1918 to 80 per cent in 1932. The first machines to replace hand-shovelers were introduced in 1922. In 1932 a total of 1,880,000 tons were loaded by machines. In 1929 this had increased in the bituminous mines to 47,500,000 tons. Mechanical loading has been introduced chiefly in the union fields where wages were highest in order to save labor costs. In strip mining the power shovel has stimulated production from 1,300,000 tons in 1914 to over 20,000,000 tons in 1932. The increased exploitation of the worker by the machine process is revealed by the fact that the production per worker has risen from 3.8 tons in 1918 to 5.4 tons in 1932, an increase of 42 per cent since the World War. Wages have, on the contrary, declined. Newell G. Alford estimates that in the last ten years the number of men displaced by mechanical loading alone was about 50,000. Most of this permanent disappearance of jobs has occurred

in the comparatively high-wage fields of the Middle West and the Rocky Mountains.

In the agricultural industry the pioneer American farmer has found it increasingly difficult to survive in competition with newer methods and machines. Up to 1855, the year that James Oliver patented his Oliver Chilled Plow, the American and European farmer had improved but little upon the ancient Roman method of spading the soil, an operation that required 96 man-hours to till one acre. The new plow greatly increased agricultural efficiency. Then came the revolution in tools and the 20-horse hitch with six 14-inch bottoms, which plowed from 12 to 15 acres per day. Today we have on the large farms of the west the tractor-drawn, 60-disc or duckfoot plow which reduces the man-hours per acre to the decimal fraction of an hour, .088, or about five minutes to the acre. Our new rate of tilling the soil is more than 1000 times that of the primitive farmer. The change is best illustrated by comparative figures showing the number of men that would be required under the different methods to till the soil for the production of the 1928-29 yield of wheat in the United States. Here are the figures:

By the ancient method of spading	6,000,000 men
With ox-drawn plows	1,000,000 "
With Oliver single-bottom plow of 1855	500,000 "
With modern 60-disc tractor plow	4,000 "

To return again to manufacturing, we may consider the steel industry. One great corporation, the U. S. Steel Corporation, practically dominates this industry. It is the largest single employer of labor in the world. In 1900, one man working seven full days of ten hours each, or seventy hours, produced one ton of steel. By 1929, with improved technology, one man produced a ton of steel in thirteen hours. In 1900 the out-

put of steel in the United States was 11,000,000 tons, requiring 600,000,000 man-hours of labor. In 1929 the production had increased to 58,000,000 tons, but the man-hours required had increased to only 770,-000,000. In other words, while total production of steel was increasing 427 per cent, the labor-time required to produce it increased only 22 per cent. Production of steel in 1933 is far below these figures because of the depression, and, therefore, not comparable, but it is known that the most advanced production methods have not yet permeated the industry and the trend is inevitable toward further displacement of men. This trend is seen in the citation of the fact that in 1929, the year of peak production in steel and iron, the number of workers were approximately the same as in 1887, although the output of steel had increased to 9.3 times that of 1887.

Nor do new industries absorb the displaced workers. The newest large-scale industry is automobile manufacturing. Mass production in this industry is only twelve years old. The maximum production was reached in 1925-6 with 8,000,000 cars. But in 1925 it employed 47,000 fewer men than in 1924, and in 1926 it operated with 69,000 fewer than in 1925. In 1909 it required 303 man-hours to make one car; in 1929 the time had been reduced to 92 man-hours and in 1932 and 1933 the time is still less.

The curve of technological development is accelerating in all fields of productive industry. To review even the most recent advance would require volumes. We can only summarize in the briefest way a few of the outstanding achievements in invention that make up the trend toward increased production with fewer workers:

An ensilage harvesting machine cuts cornstalks in the field and delivers them to the silo without the handling of the stalks by a single human worker.

An automatic machine produces 73,000 electric light bulbs every 24 hours, displacing 2,000 hand operators for each machine installed.

A machine digger which operates with 37 laborers and does the work formerly requiring 7,000 pick and shovel men.

A tabulating machine does the work of 100 skilled actuaries.

The U. S. Department of Commerce reports that combines in one wheat harvesting area have cut the number of farm laborers required from 50,000 to 20,000.

An airplane driven by Roscoe Turner speeds from New York to Los Angeles on July 1, 1933 in 11½ hours between midnight and noon at an average speed of 219 miles per hour. It is reported that this record has been beaten in more recent flight.

An Italian aviator, F. Agello, last summer attained a speed of 424 miles per hour in a plane driven by a 2900 horsepower motor making 3200 revolutions per minute.

A brickmaking machine operated by one man turns out 40,000 bricks per hour. The former output was 55 bricks per hour. The increase amounts to 720 times the former production.

In loading pig iron, two men can now do the work formerly done by 128 men.

And so on to infinity. The iron chink in fish-packing; dial phones, automatic cigar-making machines, automatic power stations, automatic stokers, automatic knitting machines, bookkeeping machines, paint sprayers, mechanical cotton-pickers, telephonic typewriters, the electric eye, a sort of mechanical brain of endless applications in industry, and so forth.

VII.

The One Way Out—Industrial Unionism

All of these marvelously complex machines, methods and technology are the instrumentalities through which capitalism accomplishes its purpose. That purpose is not the welfare of the many nor the social good of the masses. It is the exploitation of the working and producing part of the population for the enrichment of a class. It is an organized system based upon this exploitation for profit making in the interest of a class. The machines are merely the means through which the social relation of owner and wage-slave is maintained.

Capitalism is organized for a class purpose. It accomplishes its purpose through this special form of organization. All machines, inventions, processes and scientific accretions of knowledge are made subservient to this organization. The corporate form is the characteristic of capitalism. Before a new invention or a new project can be put in operation it is subjected to organization. It is capitalized. That is, its earning power—its power to extract surplus value from workers—is estimated in advance and a capital value placed upon this prospective earning power. That prospective value is called capital stock, common stock, preferred stock, or it is bond issue or some other form of debt laid upon the workers in advance of production. Every worker must assume his share of this debt when he takes a job. So every worker is born in debt. If he produces enough to pay

the interest on the debt, he is retained on the job. If he can't he is fired. If his work produces more than a normal rate of interest on the debt, the debt is enlarged by the issuance of more stock, bonds, debentures, etc. If the debt burden becomes greater than the productive power of the workers, frantic efforts are made to improve the instruments, machines, processes and conditions of profit taking. If that fails, the "business" shuts down or goes bankrupt. If the machines cannot pay a profit, they are junked along with their human parts—the workers.

It is the organized social relationship of owner and wage slave that produces surplus value. It is this relationship that produces the surplus value, no matter what machines or technology are used in the process. And it is against this social relationship that the workers must struggle to economic and social emancipation. Capitalism is organized to maintain this relationship. If machines become overbuilt or overcapitalized both they and the unsalable commodity production that flows from their use as instrumentalities of surplus value will be restricted by the capitalist class. You may call it "sabotage" or "controlled economy" or what you will, the result is the same. Just now the overcapitalization and the redundant machines as well as the extra land areas under capitalized operation are being subjected to NRA and its "codes". The redundant capital invested in machines and lands will be lost to the owners but others will profit and the social relation which is the soul of capital will be preserved.

It becomes apparent, therefore, that no form of organized resistance to this system of exploitation that the workers can make will be of any avail if it recognizes the legitimacy of the relation of capitalist owner and wage slave. Craft unionism, which is merely a form of labor brokerage in which the re-

actionary officials of the craft unions bargain with the masters for a brokerage on the sale of wage slaves or their services, is manifestly useful only to perpetuate the exploitation. Craft unionism recognizes the right of the capitalist to exploit labor. It prospers when there is a large turnover of labor power. It declines when the cyclical over-production of surplus value precipitates a panic. It is increasingly helpless to protect the worker as the rate of surplus value increases with improved technology. Craft unionism is the only thing in the labor world that has been rendered obsolete by the progress of mechanization. Political action has never been anything under capitalism but an instrument of demagogy and social deception for the purpose of maintaining the exploiting class in power.

In the readjustment of the social relationship between organized capital and the subjected wage-working class that is now taking place the function of the workers as the sole producers of wealth becomes more clearly apparent as mechanization increases. The individual worker may seem to have become of less importance with the growth of the machine processes. But only as an individual. The more complex the economic structure becomes, the more organic becomes its processes. That is, the more highly organized and interdependent become its working parts. But whatever mechanical agencies may be used, it is living labor that gives life and power to the machine processes. The working class becomes more highly organized for production under the machine processes; it must also become more highly organized for resistance to class exploitation. The individual unit, the craft unit, the district or regional unit of organized labor passes with the individual processes but the industrial form of organization becomes all the more necessary with the advancing technology.

The source of all power is still at the point of production—on the job—where all wealth is produced. The capitalist class has long since abandoned isolation and has organized as a class to control production. The working class must do the same. Its only refuge from economic and social oppression to the level of absolute slavery is in industrial unionism. That is the basis of the Industrial Workers of the World and its form of organization.

The objection is raised that you cannot organize the unemployed. The answer is that you cannot organize unemployed capital. The social disintegration that takes place in periods of depression is destructive alike to both. But the fact remains that organized society must depend upon economic production for its existence and its wealth; and the unit of production is still the worker—not the machine. When the worker is laid off, the machines stop, production stops, consumption stops and investments begin a rapid process of dissolution. Contrawise, when production is resumed, it is the worker that pours the first life-blood and vitality back into industry and the exchange of commodities that brings back capitalist prosperity.

The new technology points only to better forms of organization among the workers. The hours must be shortened; the wages raised; the conversion of wealth taken from labor in surplus value into redundant capital and the capitalization of prospective earning power must be checked by the only class that has an interest in checking it—the workers in industry. The workers in industry must be converted into an effective organized power to exercise control over the machinery of production. This can be done only through industrial unionism as advocated by the I. W. W.

With such a power built up through organization in industrial form, the workers on the job will be

able to convert the reserve army of the unemployed into an employed army of organized workers by shortening the working day and developing unity of action for the carrying on of industry when the rapidly approaching debacle of capitalism reaches its final destructive crisis. The objection that the unemployed cannot be organized is no more cogent now than in periods of prosperity; for the organism of capitalist production has always and automatically produced and maintained such a reserve of unemployed workers. Their increase in numbers during the later and more disastrous panics only points to the growing importance and necessity of correct organization on the job—the source of all wealth, all capital, and all power. The pressure of the mass of unemployed behind the forces of organized workers will, if correct organization be had at the point of production, only increase the power of the organized industrial workers, for it will make the periodic panics more dangerous to the ruling class. Even in the present depression which caught the workers unorganized or organized only in obsolete and ineffective craft or district forms, the capitalist class has seen the necessity of removing this menace to their existence as a class by shortening the working day and the working week. This force will be directed under industrial union organization into a more effective power for working class control of industry and the ultimate destiny of the workers, absolute industrial democracy, will be attained.

In the meantime the vast chaos in international capitalism can only increase with the increase in integration and mechanization. There is no absolute cure for unemployment in a system based upon surplus value. There is no way to reorganize society on a rational basis in conformity to the already revolutionized industrial processes save through control of industry by

the workers and the elimination of the price system based upon surplus value. And there is only one form of social and economic organization that shows the way to this result—industrial democracy—and that is the Industrial Workers of the World. Organization by industries, without regard to craft skill or alignment; without regard to race, color, creed or nationality. International integration of all labor's power into One Big Union, not only to produce power for carrying on the every day struggle with the capitalist class, which cannot be avoided, but to carry on production in an intelligent and organized manner, for the purpose of feeding, clothing and providing shelter for the masses in that rapidly approaching time when capitalism shall have finally proven itself impossible and shall be no more. The I. W. W., born in 1905, is the reflex and outgrowth of modern industry. It is not a visionary utopian plan but the logical line of action developed and indicated by modern industry for the preservation of society. It is the germ of the new society developed within the womb of the old. The worker who reads its literature and preamble is intelligently prepared to take his part in that inevitable struggle between the classes for control of industry which rapidly approaches. It is far better to be thus prepared to act intelligently than to be precipitated into the final chaos of capitalism's collapse, just as the workers have been precipitated into the present hell of unemployment, misery and death, without warning and without knowledge or organized power to help themselves.

The worker who reads the literature of the I. W. W. and organizes into industrial union form under the banner of the I. W. W., not only takes the best course for the immediate relief of unemployment, but insures the formation of that organized nucleus around which

the workers must rally in the chaos which capitalism must inevitably produce. Production for use and not for profit is the ultimate evolutionary phase of advancing machine production. The I. W. W. alone shows the way to that evolutionary outcome and prepares the worker for it. Meanwhile it will, if supported loyally by the workers, provide a means in time of industrial peace as well as during times of industrial struggle for the growth and preservation of working class power.



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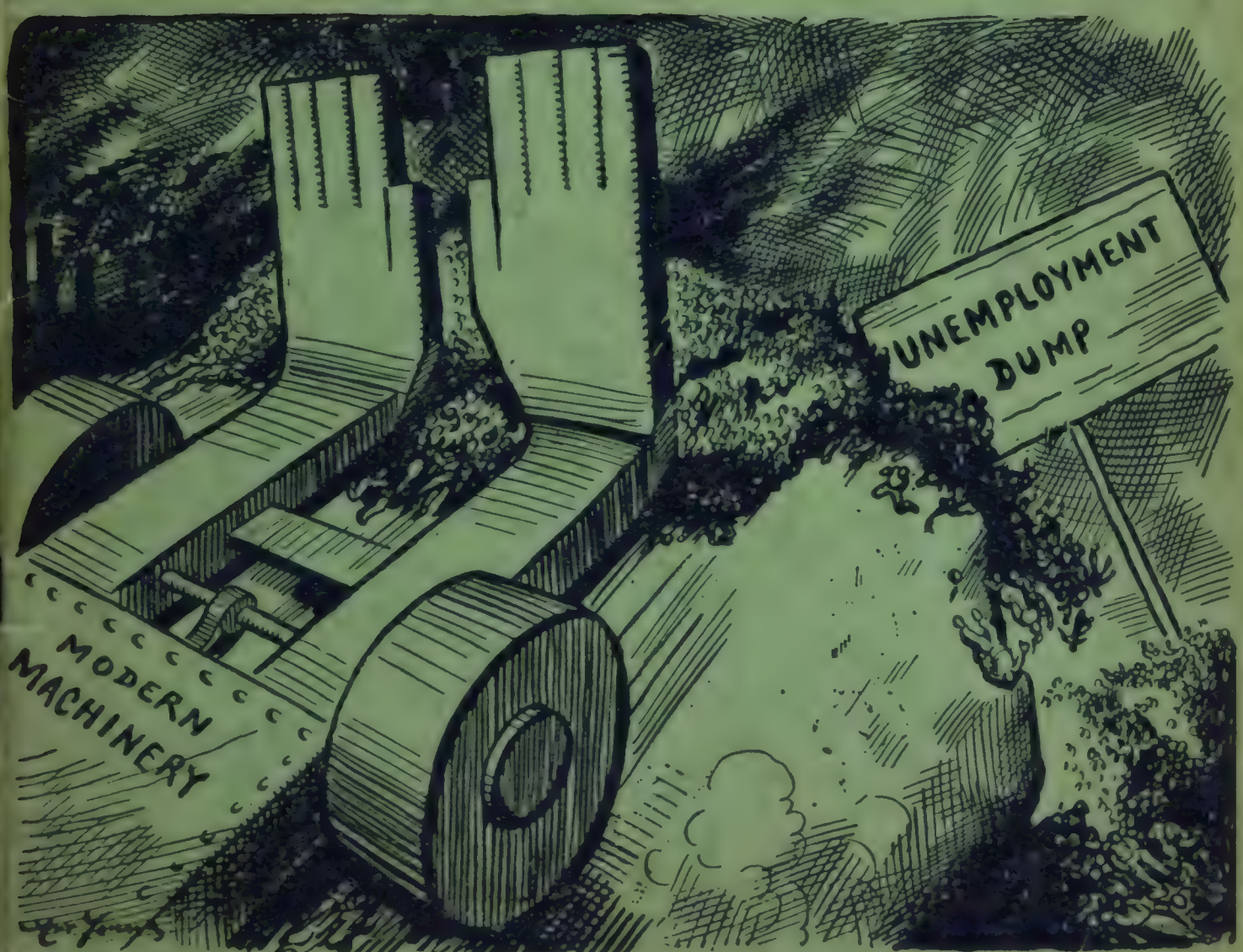
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Unemployment and the Machine

CHAPTER ONE

It is necessary first to have a maintenance and then to practice virtue.—ARISTOTLE.

UNEMPLOYMENT—A CHALLENGE TO SOCIETY

TO the economist, unemployment is merely a problem to be considered calmly, coldly, as one would a mathematical formula, reducing it to statistics, and these statistics often contradictory, and far from the certainty of mathematical science. Unfortunately, to the worker, unemployment is more than a problem. It is a grim reality, a terrible nightmare of hunger, natural wants unsatisfied, desires thwarted and life lived below even the animal scale. To him unemployment is a spectre that dogs his steps, haunts his dreams and makes a horror of his working hours. For him unemployment chills the fervor of love and changes it to hate by the ashes of cold fires. It breaks up his home, and drives him into the cold of winter and to a colder charity with its loss of the priceless gift of self-respect.

The problem of the economist is to the worker the actuality of listening to his children crying for bread in countries that boast of their enormous wealth; of the beauty of motherhood quenched in tears; the joys of childhood obliterated in the pangs of hunger.

The emblem of unemployment is the outstretched hand of want—a hand that is capable of producing enough and to spare, denied its function as creator, to find it in appealing for food from those who are not its producers.

Unemployment is the negation of the beauty of life, the denial of civilization and culture to millions. It is even the refusal of the merely animal requirements of vast numbers of human beings. Man may boast of his long upward climb from the brute and the barbarian, that he is the heir of all the ages, but how meaningless this is to the millions to whom this climb has been to the frigid heights where hunger, crushed hopes and unrealized dreams are their lot! How useless it is to show the long, arduous, æon-long steps by which man has climbed upward from the jungles, while in the short span of a lifetime, millions are retracing their steps through unemployment back to the "jungles" of the division points—jungles more miserable and more horrible than those in which man had his genesis, because unnecessary.

How useless it is to speak to the unemployed of his being created in God's own image, when on every hand he sees that image effaced in the mad animal struggle for food. May he not ask, and logically:

"Is that ragged body, that woe-begone face with the terrible downward-drooping lines of the struggle and the wan look of hunger in your bread lines—is that man, ragged, crushed, that human shell, from which all has been sucked dry, in which all ambition has been destroyed, in which all hope is dead, the image of your God?"

Poets may weave words into magic about the beauty, the nobility of life and the advancement of mankind, but the worker is continually faced with the cold prose of having to go back to the nomad life—a great reversion in the history of the race—to having to wander, gaunt, hungry, friendless, ill-clad amid the scenes of wealth and trade, surrounded on every hand by the things which his class has produced, begging to share in that industry, to add to that wealth, and as John A. Hobson has said, "Asking in return not the comforts of luxuries of civilized life, but the rough food and shelter for himself and family, which would have been practically secure to him in the rudest form of savage society."

We may boast of home and family as the units of civilization, but to the thinker must come the picture as to the worker often comes the reality of seeing homes, if at all, only through half-closed blinds. We can imagine the unemployed, with that quenchless longing for home, wife and children which is the heritage of the race—a hunger older than the race itself—see-

ing through half-closed blinds, the children playing by the fireplace, the face of the mother glorified in the glow of the firelight, and listening, a pariah and outcast, to earth's greatest music, the care-free laughter of children, while he himself is as much as the first man a prey to the elements. But, unlike the savage, he has education to add to his misery and to make his lot more dismal. Looking and listening to a heaven which he may not share, confronting a civilization which with the strength of his body and his brain he helped to build, but which denies him everything that makes life worth living or bearable, is it to be wondered at that he contrasts his life with that of the rich, that he should see the laughter of these children bought with the terrible price of the labor of the "child-slaves" of modern industry, who, because they are cheap—nothing is so cheap as the lives of children—have replaced him in the industries.

We shudder at the cruelties of Nero, at the tortures of the inquisitions, at the persecutions of the past which have sought to confine progress in thumb screws, to torture it with the rack, to burn it with fire, to dismember it with the headman's axe. Often we shrug at unemployment, the outstanding crime and cause of crime of our century. Yet it is something that must be faced and solved before pretensions of Christianity can be other than a refined veneer of hypocrisy or unforgivable blindness to facts; before civilization for the millions can be other than a vast machine for coining the blood and labor of the workers into gold; and before talk of the growing progress of humanity has more meaning than the mumbling of an idiot. If humanity is not going forward to the abolition of the poverty and misery caused by unemployment, then the evolution of humanity is a meaningless thing, and man's conquest over nature a farce-tragedy played on the scene of our planet for the amusement of demons.

If Professor Frederick Harrison were living today, he would strengthen a statement he made before an Industrial Remuneration Conference in England:

> "To me at least it would be enough to condemn our modern society as hardly an advance on slavery or serfdom, if the permanent conditions of industry were to be that which we now behold; that 90 per cent of the actual producers of wealth have no home they can call their own beyond the end of the week; have no bit of soil, or so much as a room that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind except so much as will go into a cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages which barely suffice to keep them in strength; are housed for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution that a month of bad trade, sickness or unexpected loss leaves them face to face with hunger and pauperism."

Referring to the increased mass of wretchedness in the great cities, Professor Huxley, the great scientist, after living in the East End of London as a medical officer and observing conditions which have since been accentuated, for reasons that will later become evident, said:

> "It is a condition in which food, warmth, and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state, cannot be obtained; in which men, women and children are forced to crowd into dens where decency is abolished, and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment; in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness; in which the pains accumulate at compound interest in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development and moral degradation; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded with a pauper's grave. When the organization of society, instead of mitigating this tendency, tends to continue and intensify it, when a given social order plainly makes for evil and not for good, men naturally enough begin to think it high time to try a fresh experiment. I take it to be a mere plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a large mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass, who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it."

It is human nature to minimize those things which are disagreeable, or even to close one's mind to them entirely. It is far easier to notice evils in the past history of man than those that exist now. Cain's cry, "Am I my brother's keeper," has a basis in human nature. Social evils persist mainly because of these facts. But we must recognize that unemployment is not a temporary manifestation, an unusual condition. Unemployment is always with us, it will not solve itself. It cannot be disregarded, but must be faced and solved before man can live in dignity, and humanity as a whole be able to reap the fruits of industrial progress.

Although there are not the data on unemployment that there would be if it were a disease that destroyed hogs as does hog cholera, cattle as does the hoof and mouth disease, fruit trees as does the San Jose scale, or cotton as does the boll weevil, yet the statistics that do exist are conclusive that unemployment is normal, not subnormal, increasing not diminishing.

In January of 1921, writing in the "Review of Economic Statistics," Edmund E. Day said that in periods of prosperity unemployment affected ten per cent of the active supply of labor in the United States.

In 1910, one hundred and seventy-nine unions in the state of New York reported on unemployment among their membership, and it was found that unemployment decreased their working time 20 per cent.

The preceding year, the Federal Immigration Commission tabulated the data in regard to 27,909 representative workers and found that 28 per cent of the possible earnings of these men had been lost through unemployment.

In 1919, the Census Bureau made an effort to discover the amount of unemployment, and found that in mechanical and manufacturing pursuits, 48.4 per cent of the workers had lost from one to three months during the year; 35.7 per cent had lost from four to six months, and 15.9 per cent had lost from seven to twelve months.

Unemployment In The Mining Industry

The Geological Survey shows that the time lost through unemployment in 1913, one of the four most productive years in the coal mining industry, was 117 days in Illinois, 116 in Indiana, 119 in Missouri, and 111 in Iowa. This was entirely due to the closing down of the mines or to part-time work, and takes no consideration of the army of miners who could not get work, yet it is equivalent to nearly 35 per cent of the coal miners being permanently unemployed.

During the busy time in the mining industry of the United States and Canada, in the winter of 1923-24, the miners in many of the districts of the United Mine Workers of America, were working one, two or three days a week. If the coal mines of the United States and Canada worked steadily and employed all the miners instead of part of them, **the entire mining of coal on this continent could be done on the basis of a four-hour day.**

In 1915, 435,418 families were visited by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States, and 11.6 per cent of all the wage workers visited were out of work. They found that 20 per cent of the workers of Duluth, Minnesota and of Portland, Oregon were unemployed. This was by no means a maximum for that year, for in Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, 32.3 per cent of the workers were unemployed, and in Milwaukee, 29.9 per cent of the workers were unemployed.

The years of 1910 to 1914 were not periods of depression, yet the representative trades of the state of New York averaged loss of time due to unemployment, as follows: For the building and stone cutting industry, 85 days per year; in the clothing and textile industry, 100 days a year, while in the public employment of the state, the loss of time for all reasons was one per cent of the working time. Masons, millwrights, bricklayers,

pavers, rammermen and stage hands had suffered a 40 to 60 per cent unemployment.

In 1915, in the city of New York with six of the hundred and ten million population of the United States and Canada, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in a survey estimated that there were 420,000 unemployed in that city. And this was in a year when the war was beginning to speed up industry. If the percentage of unemployment to the population for the United States and Canada in the same period had been equal to the unemployment in the city of New York, the unemployed army would be nearly eight million. Excluding certain employments, the Department of Labor of the United States has at various times admitted that five million were unemployed.

During the summer of 1924, there was another of those depressions which occur in shorter cycles with the development of modern industry. We found the press filled with information that workers were being forced off the job by the millions, and the government reports showed a glutted labor market. The estimates ranged as high as that one of every six workers was unemployed. Those whose interest it is to minimize unemployment said this was too high an estimate. Then, in October of 1924, the Russell Sage Foundation brought in the result of a five years' investigation of unemployment in the United States, which said as follows:

> "Ten to twelve per cent of all the workers in the United States, several millions of men and women are out of work all the time. Widespread unemployment is now a constant phenomenon with far-reaching economic, physiological and moral bearings."

Here we have on the basis of this report, an average unemployment for five years of one in ten to one in eight workers. This itself is staggering to the imagination of one who knows the significance of unemployment.

The statistics I have given are by no means exhaustive, nor are the conditions which they cover always the same. Only a suggestion of the enormity of the problem has been given. There are no statistics for world unemployment, nor would these be reliable if they did exist. But while original, I believe that the study of the world war will give perhaps a better indication of unemployment as a world problem than any other method now possible.

During the world war, sixty-three millions of the workers were taken out of production to go into the war. One and a half man in industry was required for each man at the front, to

supply him with guns, air-ships, machine guns, bombs, munitions, cannon, submarines, poison gas and all those vast quantities of the products of human labor that were consumed. One must also take into consideration the enormous waste of the products of labor during the war. In the United States alone the labor of millions of workers went into the making of wooden ships, munition plants that furnished no ammunition, into "flaming coffins," although at the end of the war the United States had but two fighting planes of their own manufacture at the front.

It must also be realized that here we are not dealing with that war cost which is staggering the world at the present time, but with a production cost that could not be put off, as the products of human labor must be produced before they can be consumed.

The figures I have given show that some 157 millions of the world's workers were taken out of the normal production of peace during the war years. Yet with these 157 millions no longer working in the normal peace production, in the manufacture that peace demands,—unemployed so far as such production was concerned—one would imagine that the balance of the workers would be working at full capacity, that every worker would be employed, and especially when with the war went, in many cases, a decrease in the working hours. Yet we find that there was unemployment, that even with 157 million workers withdrawn from normal peace production, other millions were not working because even then there was not sufficient work for those who remained. Not only this, but U. S. Secretary of Labor Davis, in accounting for the post-war unemployment, said:

> "Some industries were so overdeveloped during the war that nothing can be done to warrant their full-time operation in peace-time production, since such production could not possibly be marketed either at home or abroad."

He then cited the bituminous coal industry where only half of the possible production can be used, and goes on:

> "We can produce in seven months all the iron and steel needed for a year, and if all the plants were made as efficient as our best plants, our steel and iron requirements could be produced with one-third of the men now employed."
>
> "In the window glass industry" (never to any great extent a war industry) "the hand blowing factories in seventeen weeks out of the year, can produce all the window glass that can be sold; but if the machine window glass factories were to decide to operate at full capacity 80 per cent of the time there would be no hand blown window glass factories."

The Secretary of Labor gives example after example to the same effect. We thus see that with 157 million of the world's

workers taken out of normal peace production, those who remained were not only able to handle the normal demand but also to create new machines and new factories beyond any other period in the history of world industrialism.

The war is over, but deducting the five million who died as the result of this vast and ineffective adventure for world markets, there are now in the world 152 million or more workers who could be blotted off the earth without affecting in the least present day production, and who remain merely further to cumber the earth and to add to its misery of unemployment. That some of these are working at the present time means nothing to the immensity of the problem, for those whose jobs they took are then unemployed, and the vastness of the problem remains unchanged.

152,000,000 Superfluous Workers

We are often told of the efficiency of the present industrial system. Efficiency! Yet here is a flood of misery, poverty and tears presented by an army greater than the entire population of the North American continent. These millions are denied the right to work—a right which never existed for the workers—although with the energy stored up in their bodies and their brains they are capable of redeeming the world forever from the spectre of hunger. Here is an army that could drain the morasses, an army that could tunnel the mountains, an army that could reclaim the deserts putting homes instead of cactus, an army that could build new and mightier cities that would be strangers to poverty, an army that could be marshalled against the slums and the breeding places of disease—and all that the boasted efficiency does is to keep them unemployed, to deny them the expression of their creative powers.

Is This Industrial Efficiency?

There are those who cannot understand any problem unless it is presented in dollars and cents. Man the composite of many instincts and passions, with all his desires and dreams, is incomprehensible to them except as a machine for making dollars. For them unemployment must be presented by the only standard of measurement they fully comprehend.

A Loss Of Enormous Wealth

According to the National City Bank of New York, the bank

of "In God we Trust and John D. Rockefeller is his prophet," the total wealth produced by that part of the workers who were employed in the United States was sixty-two and one-half billion dollars. The estimate of the Treasury Department of the United States was sixty billion. But both authorities were agreed that of this sum ten billion was the amount paid to labor as wages. That is, the worker gets one dollar in wages out of every six dollars' worth of wealth he creates.

We will suppose that this ratio of wealth produced to wages is the same for all the world's workers, and that the average wage is one dollar, sixty-six and two-thirds cents a day. Under these conditions each man working would be capable of producing ten dollars a day. Then the loss due to the employment of 152 million workers would be one billion, five hundred and twenty million dollars a day, or nine billion, one hundred and twenty million dollars each working week of 6 days. This amount would build one million, eight hundred and twenty-four thousand working class homes, costing five thousand dollars each, every week. Writing of five thousand dollar homes for workers may be objectionable in view of the actual conditions. I leave to readers of a statistical and mathematical turn of mind to arrive at how many of the hovels which are now the homes of the majority of the workers who have homes, could be built with the amount, merely insisting that a social system which throws away over nine billion dollars a week through unemployment should first furnish each worker with a five thousand dollar home.

Unemployment More Costly and Horrible Than War

If the setting of the sun did not occur oftener than eclipses, the eclipses would be considered less wonderful and awe-inspiring. But sunsets are usual, hence little noticed. Unemployment bears the same relationship to war that a sunset does to an eclipse. Kirby Page in his work on the world war gives the total cost of that murderous frenzy as three hundred and thirty-seven billion dollars. **It took four years to waste this amount in war, and that war the greatest in the history of the world. Unemployment costs the world more than this amount every thirty-seven weeks.** Unemployment not only costs more in money, but also in human lives. War often kills swiftly and mercifully, unemployment lingers over the tortures of its victims. Unemployment exceeds war in wastefulness, uselessness and horror!

Is it not evident that what the world needs is not charity but common sense instead of the idiocy of unemployment? Is it not evident that the victory over nature which man has achieved has not, and can not, add to the sum of human happiness so long as the victory over the creations of man remains unwon? Is it not evident that unemployment must be solved if man is going anywhere?

Millions of Ragged, Living Question Marks

Their heads bowed with the misery and dejection of their lives, their backs bent with the killing toil of industry, their stomachs deflated by hunger, their knees bent forward under the distortions of toil at the machine, the unemployed present millions of ragged, living question marks to society.

They are human question marks, but they are more than that. They are more than machines. Each of them is a living, striving human being. Here is their promise and their menace. In their bodies, contorted, warped though they may be, is Hunger, breeder of Revolutions, and Thought, architect of the New. Today they are inarticulate, unorganized, static. Tomorrow they may be articulate against the many outrages they have suffered, organized and dynamic with their power as builders, now denied them, finding an outlet in the building of a new and social system. This is more than a possibility, it is a probability.

It is a probability, for where are the systems of the past, with all their outward glitter, their ambitions to live forever although based on the outrage, robbery and repression of the producers? Ask the jackal that slinks over the scenes of the departed glories of the Assyrian and Medo-Persian empires; ask the foxes that nest on the ruins of Babylon of the wonders of her hanging gardens; ask the Sphinx as with an inscrutable smile it looks over the sands of Egypt, where are the Ptolemies; ask the debris that is all remaining of Phoenicia and of Carthage; ask the dust that mantles the slave systems of Greece and Rome; ask Nicholas, Czar of all the Russias but yesterday, and then ask our present society if it too must solve the problem of unemployment or perish!

CHAPTER TWO

Rayformers, Hinnissy, is in favor iv suppressin' iverything, but rale pollyticians belive in suppressin' nawthin' but ividence.
—MR. DOOLEY.

WRITERS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

A SCIENCE of living in this world would be more important than a science of other worlds. Yet man has plotted the worlds that fill the immensity of space, learned their composition, determined their distances and their movements. With cold precision we can ascertain when a comet is next to be visible to our world, but not when the next panic is to occur.

When we deal with astronomy we find ascertained, correlated facts, but the writings of many of the economists are a mass of conjectures, far-fetched theories or vague inferences, with the basic facts of our industrial life safely disregarded. This condition can be understood when we realize that no professor of astronomy is ever discharged for any theory he may hold. He is free to give every fact he has in regard to interstellar space. He is free to be a scientist. But professors of economics are themselves thrown into the army of the unemployed if their findings do not conform with the interests of those who control society. In this department, instead of having society conform with the findings of science, science is made to conform with the present society. A professor of astronomy must be a scientist, but the professor of economics can only be as scientific as the ruling opinions and his masters will permit him to be. In the history of American institutions of education there have been teachers of economics and sociology who have made the mistake of believing that the search for truth is the object of science, and as a result they have been forced to cease studying unemployment as an abstraction to study it as an experience.

Being better economists than they dare to show in their writings, they often know who supplies their bread and butter and on what conditions. This is perhaps the reason that although in my youth I looked for humor in the pages of the world's laugh-makers, I now find more humor in the writings of many of the economists.

In regard to unemployment, most of the economists are in the situation of the Encyclopedia Britannica, which devotes merely a few paragraphs, worthy of a lingual tight rope performer, to this immense subject. This authority gives three cures for unemployment, one of which they admit is temporary, the other two being permanent. The temporary cure is charity, and the permanent cures are employment offices and unemployed insurance.

Charity Not A Cure For Unemployment

Charity is a cure for the unemployment of a few. It takes a few out of the ranks of the unemployed for a new industry—the industry of exploiting unemployment without doing anything to touch this vast industrial evil. According to statistics ninety cents out of each dollar collected for charity goes to this new industry. But except in this ironic sense, charity is not a cure for unemployment. What charity does at best is to maintain some of the unemployed in that shadow land between life and death through adding the insult of charity to the degradation of unemployment. Sometimes religion is added to charity, and together they add hypocrisy. Unemployed men are converted into Baptists for breakfast, converted as Methodists for a dinner of soup, and converted as Presbyterians for the light supper that is given as a reward for conversion in some mission. Any cure for unemployment must come through decreasing the number of unemployed, and charity has no such effect.

Employment offices are not a cure for unemployment. They can—and often do—send workers to jobs that do not exist. But they cannot make jobs. If unemployment was caused by a scarcity of men instead of a scarcity of jobs, employment offices might be of benefit.

Unemployed insurance is not a cure for unemployment, or there would be no one unemployed in England at the present time. Such insurance may have its necessity, but to think that unemployment insurance would decrease unemployment would be as naive as to think that life insurance assured against death.

I looked into the **Americana,** and could find no mention of unemployment. Perhaps the reason was that UNEM comes just before UNIT alphabetically, and to give the statistics of UNEMployment would take the edge off the praise of the vast industrial development and growth of wealth of the UNITed States which filled many pages. Readers might be inclined to

ask themselves questions in regard to the increase in unemployment on the one hand and of wealth on the other, and to wonder if this is really progress and civilization at their highest.

What are the causes of unemployment and of those periods of depression in which unemployment is greatest? In "Crises and Depressions," Theodore E. Burton writes:

> "Some writers ascribe these cycles (of depressions) to physical causes, notably to spots on the sun Professor Jevons has been regarded as the most prominent advocate of the sun-spot theory."

Only a professor could handle successfully the long chain of inferences between spots on the sun and a patch on the trousers and a vacant spot in the stomach of a lumberjack in Bangor, Maine, or Seattle, Washington. Such logic is beyond the powers of a worker. Aristotle, himself the father of the science of logic, would stagger under the strain. But this at least has the advantage that it shows nothing can be done to cure unemployment, that no one is to blame for it—but God.

> D. A. Wells says: "All investigators seem to be agreed that depressions of industry in recent years, have been experienced with the greatest severity in those countries where machinery has been most largely adopted; and least, or not at all, in those countries and occupations where hand labor and its products have not been materially interfered with or supplanted."

From these two quotations, one arrives at the conclusion that there are more spots on the sun in the countries where machinery has most developed, and that the sun they have in China, India, Turkey and Mexico is remarkably free from sun spots. We leave this inference to be argued over by the professor of astronomy and the professor of economics.

Causes Given For Unemployment

In one of his reports for the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the state of Massachusetts, the late Carroll D. Wright gives nearly five pages of alleged reasons for depressions suggested to agents of that bureau or to a committee of the U. S. Congress. Among these are:

"Withholding the franchise from women.
"Faulty laws relative to the guardianship of children.
"Want of training of girls for future duties.
"The custom of free railroad passes.
"High telegraph rates.
"The use of tobacco.
"The use of intoxicating liquors."

It is not evident whether the last still holds, now that bartenders have become bootleggers, that the saloon is replaced

by a pig without vision, and officers of the law as blind as the pig itself. To these reasons could be added with equal logic, the Einstein theory, the domestication of guinea pigs, bobbed hair, the "holy rollers," Tea Pot Dome, and that Paul Bunyan and his blue ox are doing all the work.

The causes for depressions given to the labor bureaus prove if nothing else that "Every absurdity has its champion to defend it, for error is always talkative." The causes of unemployment given by labor bureaus are often equally, although sometimes not so evidently, frivolous. The professor of the sun-spot theory blamed God for unemployment. Many of the other writers blame another creator, Labor. We are told for instance that strikes are a cause of unemployment. Tons of drivel have been written on this alone. It is a favorite theme with many of the economists, misled themselves—or willing to mislead.

Strikes Do Not Cause Unemployment

Strikes do not cause unemployment. We will suppose that workers go on strike in an industry where there is a layoff during the summer months, such as for instance, the lumber industry. Of course, they would not go on strike in the period when unemployment would naturally occur. We will say that they strike in January. The strike lasts for two months. They are idle for two months, and from this the conclusion is reached that the strike adds to unemployment. But the time the workers lost in this way is made up for during the slack season in the strike area, or the work of making up the total demand of lumber is done in some other part of the lumber industry. By striking, workers merely choose when they shall be unemployed, and when they win they work at higher wages. Where the workers lose, scabs are used to replace them. Scabs are not as efficient as the workers they replace so that it will take more of them to do the work. Unemployment resulting from the workers being on strike is made up for by the same workers supplying the market during the slack season, by the work being done in some other territory by an equal number of workers, or by scabs. In no case is the number of workers unemployed during the year increased.

If there were an industry in the United States or Canada where all the workers were employed steadily throughout the year, and into which with an increased demand unemployed workers would not come, it might be said that strikes cause un-

employment. But the fact that there are millions of unemployed during the year, and every year, negates unemployment being increased through strikes.

Sickness and death take their awful toll of the workers. A large percentage of the sickness and most of the deaths at an age when the other groups in society are in the prime of manhood, are preventable.

Sickness Does Not Cause Unemployment

Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, considering only the money aspect of this said: ". . .the loss every year through preventable deaths and sickness amounts to nearly three billion dollars."

Doctor Thomas Darlington, Secretary of the Welfare Committee of the American Iron and Steel Institute, which made an investigation in a number of industrial towns, commenting on the findings, said:

> "A study of the causes of death shows that, in general, but four per cent die from old age, four per cent more die of violence, and 92 per cent die of disease. Of this last group nearly one-half are due to diseases of environment, that is to diseases that are wholly preventable."

To quote from W. Jett Lauck and Edgar Sydensticker ("Conditions of Labor in American Industries"—Funk and Wagnalls):

> "In a recent address, President E. E. Rittenhouse of the Life Extension Institute, asserted that the mortality records indicated a marked decline in the powers of the American worker to withstand the conditions of modern life. This was manifest in the extraordinary increase in the death rate from the breaking down of the heart, arteries, kidneys, and the nervous and digestive systems, which diseases, he stated, are reaching down into middle life and apparently increasing there and at all ages. Of the 410,000 lives annually destroyed by these 'old age' diseases, he pointed out, 60,000 occur under the age of forty; 105,000 occur between the ages of forty and sixty; 245,000 occur above the age of sixty. Virtually all these diseases, as Mr. Rittenhouse remarked, should come in the group above sixty years, and these slowly developed afflictions are not only reducing the working, productive period of life, but also lower the capacity of the individual, and are responsible in large measure for accidents, damaged machines, spoiled goods and other costly errors. The records show, he stated, that in thirty years the mortality from these diseases has nearly doubled."

An investigation of the infant mortality in Johnstown, Pa., conducted by the Children's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, showed that the infant mortality of that city, when divided by wards, was from 50 to 200 per thousand. In the distinctly working class sections the death rate was found to be from 156 to 271. This was in 1915. Four times as many children of workers per thousand die as of the children of the rich.

Murder Of The Innocent

An investigation of three working class districts in Cleveland, one typical of the best conditions, one of average conditions and the third of the worst conditions, found that the deaths at all ages due to tuberculosis per thousand were five in the best districts where workers live and thirty-five in the worst.

All insurance companies make employment one of the variables, the others being age and sex. No insurance company would insure a worker at the same rate as a banker or a judge of the same age. They have sufficient reason for this. The Prudential Insurance Company prepared a table of the deaths due to tuberculosis, which is often taken as the index of the results of occupation on the worker, and found that, at all ages over 15, the death rate for farmers from this disease was 9.9 per thousand, for tailors, the next highest, it was 15.2 per thousand, and that it moved upwards in an ascending ratio of deaths to clerks with 35.5 per thousand and printers with 37.7 deaths per thousand.

Bankers, lawyers, preachers, politicians and others are not given in the table although these classes are often hale and hearty at seventy, while workers are wizened, sucked dry of vitality and life at half that age.

Doctor A. J. Lanza, who made several investigations of the shovelers in the zinc mines at Joplin, Missouri, for the Department of Labor, found the following condition in these mines which are infamous for their lack of all labor organization:

> "They had shoveled from two to six years; some had started when they were eighteen or nineteen years of age. Now they can shovel only 35 to 40 cans, where formerly they could shovel 60 to 70 cans and upwards. Hard work had broken these men down so that at the age of twenty-two to thirty they were already on the down-grade."

These facts, and others which could be mentioned, are important to show the results of unemployment, and its corollary, a ruthless speed-up system of which the workers are the victims while they are employed. But such facts do not show, as is generally supposed, that sickness is a cause of unemployment, no matter how evident this may be to the worker who is unemployed and sick. The individuals who form part of the army of the unemployed are there due to sickness, but sickness does not affect the number of that army. A worker can truthfully state that he is unemployed because he is sick, only when he is sure that he would not be unemployed if he were well.

What occurs when a worker takes sick? He quits work, and another worker takes his job. The number of the unem-

ployed is neither increased nor decreased because two workers exchanged position. Sickness does not in the least affect the data on unemployment so long as there are workers who are in good health, or working health, to take the places of those who are incapacitated for work due to ill-health. And this is always true, for never in the history of any country have the unemployed been solely those who are physically incapacitated for work.

In fact, if there were not enough workers who are well to man the industries, those who are less sick would be called upon. Then sickness would increase the number of men on the job and decrease unemployment, because for a standard production more men would be required owing to the decreased average production per worker.

Greater Efficiency Would Increase Unemployment

There are another class who blame unemployment on the workers. They say that the reason so many are unemployed is that the workers are not sufficiently efficient. This argument is common, and is heard presented in many different ways; ignorance of economic facts rings continual changes on the theme.

To show the absurdity of this, let us imagine that all the workers in the industrial life of the United States and Canada became twice as efficient as they are at the present time. While we are imagining impossibilities, let us also suppose that this does not kill them twice as fast as the present efficiency is killing them, for if it did, then an efficiency that kills would decrease unemployment. Death is the only cure that is at the present time being applied to the problem of unemployment.

With the efficiency of each worker doubled, it is evident that one man could do the work which now requires the labor of two men. Then the result would be that the workers now in industry would produce twice as much as is now being produced. But there would be no market for half of this production. Under the present conditions all for which there is a market is produced, so this would be impossible. The only result of a doubling of the efficiency of each worker would be that only half of those now employed would be required in industry. This cure for unemployment would automatically increase the present army of the unemployed by adding half of the workers now on the job. Yet there are economists who give this absurdity as a solution for unemployment.

The ghastly fact of industry at the present time is that **every increase in the efficiency of the workers means an increase in the number of unemployed, while every decrease in efficiency means a corresponding decrease in unemployment.** This law of unemployment is not to be escaped, although many of the economists do escape it either through lack of knowledge or through knowledge that if they did not escape the logical inferences from the industrial facts, they could not escape the wrath of the employers.

The Salvation Army Cure for Unemployment

In "Darkest England," the Salvation Army grappled with unemployment, but unfortunately a solution did not come through divine inspiration. The cure given in this work was applied. It began as one would suspect with begging money for the benefit of the unemployed. Then they formed colonies of the unemployed and in these matches, firewood, furniture, shoes and products of mechanical arts of various natures were produced. The wages were paid in soup and lodgings, and naturally the commodities so produced were placed on the market at a lower price than the products of purely commercial enterprises. The matchmaker in normal industry was put into the army of the unemployed due to competition. The furniture maker paid wages in normal industry became unemployed, so that another furniture worker with a soup standard of living could produce for the Salvation Army. The total result of this effort to mingle religion and economics was not to decrease the number of the unemployed, but to lower the standards of living of those who were on the job. The cure did not affect unemployment, but it did aid to degrade those who were producers below even a sweating standard of living. Yet one finds this cure often advocated, although it means getting the unemployed to scab on their fellow workers on the job in the name of charity and religion, although it is utterly foreign to both.

"Back to the Land" is another alleged cure for unemployment. In my files is a letter from a man with a college education, and acquainted with some of the economists, who writes:

"There may be a necessity for unemployment in the older countries of Europe, but there is none in the Dominion of Canada with its enormous reaches of land."

It is undeniable that Canada, with an area greater than the United States, has an enormous reach. It reaches to the North

Pole, but it must not from this be concluded that a worker should homestead there, although there is a pole available for raising beans for food, and to follow the Boston precedent, which could be topped with a scarlet runner for beauty. It is true that the North Pole would have advantages for a farmer hiring harvest workers by the day, as a day six months long would have its appeal to the average grain raiser. But what are the facts?

There are now thousands of the farmers who wish they had talked "back to the land" like the economists instead of going. Ask the farmer with one hundred and sixty acres of cleared land what he thinks of "Back to the Farm." He is an expert on this subject, and he will truthfully say that there are too many now on the land; that they are producing so much that the market is glutted, with the result that prices are below the cost of production. They say that the only profits in wheat, for instance, are made by the gentlemen farmers who buy and sell wheat on the grain exchanges without raising one grain of it. Ask the farmers, and it will be found that they have developed a range and ability in the use of cuss words that would make a mule-skinner blush. They will tell stories of the difficulties of the farmers that would bring tears to the eyes of a rattlesnake.

The economists say "back to the land," but the census of the United States and Canada shows that the workers are coming back from the land, because experience has shown them that they cannot make a living there. The workers have ceased to dream of palaces in the wilderness, when they know that those with cleared and improved land are not able to make a living. As workers express it, "The homestead law of Canada is the government betting one hundred and sixty acres of land against five dollars that a worker cannot remain on the land for three years and make a living."

Restrictive Immigration, and Emigration

Another cure, and the last with which we shall deal here, is one that is advocated by those who pin their faith to passing a law as the cure for all social and industrial ills. We are saved more by the ignorance of legislators than we gain through their knowledge. If our legislators had heard of Professor Jevons or his theory, they would be consistent with their usual practice by passing a law against sun-spots. This cure is restrictive immi-

gration as it is displayed in some countries, and encouraging the workers to emigrate as it is displayed on the other side of the shield.

That the limiting of the number of workers in any country has the effect of decreasing the number of unemployed in that country is undeniable. But it has no effect on unemployment as a world phenomenon. Encouraging workers to leave one country where there is unemployment to go to another where there is unemployment is equally ineffective in curing unemployment.

Neither the causes nor the cures for unemployment are to be found in the heavens above us, through astronomy or prayer; in the shortcomings of the workers as the bosses see them in their ingratitude; in the depravity of humanity as a few social philosophers see it; but in the nature of modern industry, in the present mode of production under which labor produces wealth— not in the embellishments of modern society, but in its fundamentals.



THE GIFT WITH A STRING TO IT
"Charity Does Not Cure Unemployment"

CHAPTER THREE

"The rapid and continuous growth of the machine is at once the outward visible sign and the material agent of the great revolution which has changed the whole face of the industrial world during the last century."—JOHN A HOBSON.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION OF THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS

WRITERS call the last hundred years the century of industrial revolution. While it is true that some of the last hundred years were in embryo in the latter end of the century that preceded, and looking backwards can be clearly noticed as early as 1760, yet those developments which dwarf the previous industrial evolution of mankind are considered to have their beginning between the years of 1820 and 1830, when the industrial importance of science and invention was first fully recognized, and the use of the machine had left the realm of thought for that of application.

During the half million years that man had been on this planet prior to the last hundred years, the development of man had been in the change, improvement and extension of the tools used by the barbarians. But since the second decade of the last century the revolution from the tool to the machine has been going on with accelerated pace, and is more manifest now than ever before. This revolution represents a change greater than anything that has occurred since man came down from the trees and began his struggle against a hostile nature for food, for clothing and for shelter.

There was less change from the stone axe of the barbarian to the tools of one hundred years ago, than there is between these and the gigantic machines of the present time. There was less change from the crooked stick of the primitive half-man in the jungle to the sickle, cradle and fanning mill than there was from these to the gasoline tractor, the threshing machine and the combined harvester, although agriculture from its very nature is the least developed of all the means of life. There was less change from the savage with his stone axe and live coals, from his fire burning down a tree to the hand logging, the

cutting of these logs into boards with the pit saw or the wheezy water-mill, than there is between these and the "Flying Machine" carrying the logs under the impulse of steam on overhead wires to the landing, or the steam loader lifting these logs as if they were toothpicks onto the cars, and the modern sawmill with a capacity of a million feet a day, with its gang saws traveling at railway speed through the logs, turning them with steam niggers, and automatically throwing boards in a continual stream on live rollers to carry them to planers, edgers and other machinery which now does with a whiz the work that took long hours of the time of the skilled craftsman with the hand tool.

During the past one hundred years man has increased his powers and multiplied his possibilities many fold. The hand of man, with the mechanical development of the last century has extended itself until it reaches across the continents. It has been supplemented with machines that multiply its powers sometimes a millionfold. The human hand, the most wonderful instrument in all nature, has been developed into cranes that lift a hundred tons as a child might lift a pebble; into shovels that lift two yards of rock or earth faster than the man of one hundred years ago could lift a shovelful; into hammers that hit with a force of fifty tons faster than the man of one hundred years ago could swing a sledge.

Man came out of the trees with but one means of locomotion, his legs, which were weak in comparison with those of many of the other animals. During his half million years, previous to the last one hundred, he had improved on this by the domestication of the ox and the horse, by the stage coach and the building of roads. This was progress, but how small it was in comparison with the seven-leagued boots of steam, electricity and the internal explosion engine!

The hand, man's primitive implement of labor, and the feet, man's primitive means of locomotion, have extended themselves into the locomotive, which F. Paul Goode has computed is able to do in a day an amount of work that is equivalent to the combined efforts of one million workers—a computation which must now be further extended due to the substitution of electricity for steam in this realm of transportation. Man's hands and feet have grown into the airship, on pinions of gasoline defying the elements as it races the sun across the heavens. They have become through the magic of the machine, a world force that reclaims the deserts; that burrows under mountains,

rivers and cities with new arteries of trade; bridges great streams with airy fabrications of steel; goes down into the vitals of the earth, there pressing water and air to do its bidding, to bring its riches to the surface; harnesses the fume and fury of Niagaras into lighting cities and turning the wheels of industries hundreds of miles away.

The voice of man, once lost in the dimness of the jungles, its gibbering echoes awed into silence in the caves, through the magic of the radio, the telephone, the telegraph and the printing press, conquers time and annihilates space. That evanescent voice, once the emblem of all that was transitory, is now made permanent, as permanent as any of the creations of man. It is embalmed on a disc for all the future, with not an accent changed, not an inflection lost.

And all of these with the exception of the printing press are the products of the last one hundred years. And can not the printing press as we know it today also be considered the product of the wonder century? Is it not true that the steps from the first articulation of words by the ape-men in the jungles to the hand setting with the crude type of one hundred years ago, when the best printing press in the world, that owned by the "London Times," was able to turn out 550 copies of a four-page paper an hour, were small in comparison with the development from that method of printing to the printing press of the present time which rains 250,000 copies of a sixteen-page paper in two colors, folded and counted on the conveyors to the mailing room? The monotype, the linotype, engraving with sensitized plates through machinery and acids, the printing from type that never touches paper, are a greater revolution in this means of human communication than all that occurred in the previous history of mankind.

From the time when the first savage burned out the inside of a tree into a canoe to the beginning of the century of the Industrial Revolution, water transportation had developed the wooden ship, depending on the winds and tides, weathering the storms of Tierra del Fuego and the Cape of Good Hope, instead of cutting out the voyage around a continent through Panama and Suez. Then less than one hundred years ago, the hand of labor, armed with the machine, took hold of this means of transportation. Now ocean greyhounds, under the tireless urge of steam, electricity or gasoline, carry passengers into the teeth of the wind, while from their squat stacks they belch smoke in their victorious defiance of the elements. It is less than

one hundred years since the first steam ship crossed the Atlantic, yet today ocean warehouses ply the channels of trade, equipped with all the labor saving accessories of steam, electricity and hydraulics, undreamed of one hundred years ago. Lighthouses of concrete flash their beacons, while machines tell them their location as unerringly as the landsman can tell where he is from the street signs. Recently a ship crossed the Atlantic with no helmsman at the wheel. Steering the ship was a mightier one than any quartermaster, with hands that are tireless and eyes that are unblinking—electricity. Sailors call this new machine the "Metal Mike," but it could be well named "Industrial Revolution."

One hundred years ago ships were made of wood. "Iron does not float." Now ships are of iron and steel, with a consequent decrease of weight for their tonnage of one-third. At the present time the United States is planning a number of ships much larger than any that have ever appeared on the ocean. These ships are to have a capacity of 70,000 tons, with a speed of thirty knots an hour. They will leave New York on Wednesday and arrive in Southampton on Monday. They will be built like hotels, with a bath in each stateroom. There will be suites with two bedrooms, a sitting room, dining room, a private veranda, two bathrooms and two trunk rooms.

One hundred years ago man crept and crawled on the face of the earth, and ventured on the waters not as master but as the servant of the elements. Now he speeds over the face of the earth and dominates the ocean. The birds have been forced to grant him the supremacy of the air, the fishes the supremacy of the waters. Yet it was about a hundred years ago that the school board of Lancaster, Ohio, asked for the use of the schoolhouse to debate railroads and telegraphs, both of which as yet existed in the realm of thought only, replied:

> "You are welcome to the use of the schoolhouse to debate all proper questions in, but such things as railroads and telegraphs are impossibilities and rank infidelities. There is nothing in the word of God about them. If God had designed that his intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles an hour by steam, he would clearly have foretold it through his holy prophets. It is a device of Satan to lead immortal souls to Hell."

We are living in a world remade, recreated through the productive power of labor during the last century. Each year now sees more changes than long centuries in the previous history of the race. The evolution of the previous centuries was like the slow arduous production of handicraft. The evolution of the

present moves forward with the swiftness, the irresistible power of the machine. And all this is a tribute to the crowning achievements of Labor and human ingenuity in harnessing the forces of nature.

Machinery is King. It dominates our lives from their very beginning to their end, and beyond. Our first yell—given before we know how much there is in the world we are entering to yell over—is not silenced before we are wrapped in clothing prepared by the machine. We are put into a machine-made cradle. We are with our first breaths fed machine-milked, machine-pasteurized, machine-bottled and machine-delivered milk, heated on a machine-made stove, burning machine-produced fuel. With the first dawn of consciousness we begin to distinguish between the universe that is I, and the universe that is not I. And the latter is controlled and dominated by the machine, until the machine that is I—heretofore the result of the past environment of the race or heredity—becomes a part of the present environment of a machine-dominated world.

In a few years we pass through all the phases of the evolution of the race and reach the stage where everything is changed in the environment of the machine and machine production. We go to schools, also machine-made, where we are taught or assimilate the deportment of a machine-produced and machine-controlled civilization, and the knowledge which prepares us to become citizens of a machine-ruled society.

When we enter industry as workers, the environment of the machine, which has unconsciously dominated us in the past, becomes the conscious arbiter of all our activities. Our thoughts are machine—not tool—thoughts. Our living machines of flesh and blood are meshed into the cogs of the machines of steel and iron. Our pace is set by these tireless auxiliaries of production. Our lives are lived under machine control, as though these lives were themselves stamped out by the machine. Our thoughts are based on the messages that come to us from our five senses, our experiences; and these experiences are experiences of the machine. Off the job our recreations are largely machine-made. Our foods are machine products. Our time is not ours. It is measured out to us by machine-made alarm clocks and the shrieks of machine-made whistles. The Seven Ages of man are all ages of machines, ruled directly or indirectly by the machine.

We become sick. We go to machine-produced hospitals. Our sputum is tested by a machine. Our heart beats and respi-

ration are made audible by a machine. Our blood pressure is tested by a machine. Our bones are photographed by a machine. We are given machine-made drugs and machine-made diets. We get well and go back to the machine—which in the larger sense we have never left—or we die, and death ends all. But does it! It does not end the domination of the machine. We are put into machine-made, machine-cut and machine-sewn shrouds. We are put away in a machine-made coffin, with machine-made handles. We are rushed to the graveyard in a machine. We are lowered into the grave by a machine. Our ashes are mixed with the dust by machine-made tools. Over our graves, Affection, hearing the insistent "Come and serve me, your king," of the machine, casts machine-produced roses over the mound, and later perhaps there is a machine-made headstone.

Environment being so potent in moulding the thoughts and feelings of man, in contact from birth with the machine, man indelibly bears its imprint. For this reason the Industrial Revolution is an enormous force which has not only changed the nature of production but man himself. This industrial revolution in the very basis of life is a transformation of our world. It is cosmic in its significance, and its effects now only dimly realized must become a turning point in the stream of life on this planet.

The machine is more than a change in the mode of production. It is a vital and fundamental change in the very life of man. It touches and moulds men in all the relations of life, and if we are to understand the industrial disease of unemployment, we must take the scalpel of facts as we of the working class know them—as experiences, not as abstractions—to probe into the vitals of our present system of machine production and the social reflections of that machine production, in order to trace and understand the cause and cure of the cancerous growths of unemployment that feed on the living tissues of industry.

CHAPTER FOUR

For the first time in the history of civilization, mankind has reached a point where the means of satisfying its needs are in excess of the needs themselves.—PRINCE KROPOTKIN.

UNEMPLOYMENT DUE TO ABILITY TO PRODUCE TOO MUCH

WE have seen that the mode of production of a little more than one hundred years ago was the hand tool. The energy that was laid up in the bodies of men was the sole weapon, the motive power in the struggle against nature. There could in the main be no increase in the amount of wealth that was produced without a corresponding increase in the number of workers, that is of mouths to feed, bodies to clothe and shelter. The limitation on the amount of commodities that could be produced was instinct in the system of production itself. With the machine all this changed. With the harnessing of the forces of nature, as shown in the last chapter, to do the bidding of man, one worker, with only one mouth to feed, one body to clothe and shelter, could produce vastly more.

The transformation brought by the machine is startling. At the beginning of the last century, Lancaster was one of the principal seats of the cotton trade of the world. Yet Mr. Leon Levi calculated that with the modern machine, fifty men could do all the cotton spinning that was done by hand in this entire district one hundred years ago. On the other hand, he computed that to make the yarn spun in England in one year with the machine, by hand, would take the continual labor of one hundred million workers That is, to produce by hand merely one of the present products of English industry would take twice the present population of England if all were of working age, and none in the hive of English industry were drones.

Dealing with the textile industry of the United States, statistics show that a hand spinner could produce four skeins of yarn, but with the development of the machine, in 1835 a child in the same time could produce 1,700 skeins. Thus as the result of the industrial revolution, in 1835 a child was able to perform in this industry the work that would have taken 425 men. In one and one-quarter minutes a child with the machine

could produce what was the day's work of a spinner before the machine era. The same or greater changes have now occurred in the other processes of the textile industry. For instance, once there was a weaver for each loom, and the loom was slow and small. Now one person attends fifteen, twenty, twenty-five, thirty and in rare instances even forty Northrop looms. These looms work so automatically that in textile mills one finds hundreds of them running unattended during the noon hour.

When the labor of fifty men with machines was equivalent to the total production of one of the big centers of the cotton industry, that some of the population should be without clothing could be understood. But what is to be said of the scarcity of clothing for many workers at the present time, when the labor of a child in one and one-quarter minutes is able to do the work of a man for ten hours? The reason is not that the minute and one-quarter working day has been established for the textile industry.

Knitting Stockings for the Soldiers

During the war period women were asked to knit socks for the soldiers, with knitting needles, one of the many idiocies of the war from an industrial point of view. Let us see what these women were competing with. "Here is an automatic knitting machine which with no one near shapes the sock, at the heel substitutes white yarn for blue, which it does again at the toe, narrows it off, cuts the white yarn, lays down the sock, and begins another with blue yarn, completing a pair in ten minutes. One boy keeps twenty of these machines oiled and supplied with yarn, and these twenty machines produce one thousand pairs of socks a day."*

We see around us millions of workers ill-shod. There was a time when this condition had its logical basis in the method of making shoes. When shoes were the product of the individual shoemaker with the hand tool, that some of the population should be without shoes was to be expected. As late as 1852, all shoes were made in this way. The MacKay Sole Sewing Machine, introduced in 1862, now does in one hour what would take the journeyman eighty hours to perform, that is, with the machine, a worker now can do in seven minutes what

* "Our World," By Josiah Strong.

with the hand tool would take the labor of a whole day. At one stroke, with the development of this machine, the Goodyear, the King Heel Shaver and Trimmer, and other machines, and the concentration of the workers into the industrial efficiency of the large factory and the division of labor which it involves, there was no further industrial reason why anyone should be without shoes. But they are, by the millions! Certainly the reason is not that the **seven-minute** working day prevails in the shoe industry. Even the advocacy of the **seven-hour** day would be fought with all employers' power. It would be "rank anarchy"—a crime they would call on the state to punish with the utmost rigor.

In 1923, James L. Davis, U. S. Secretary of Labor, said that the boot and shoe industry of the United States had a productive yearly capacity of 758,000,000 pairs of shoes, and that the number actually produced was less than half of this.

There is abundance of the materials out of which to make shoes and the machinery to shoe the world, the men to use the materials and the machines, but the material is largely unused, the machines are rusting and the workers are unemployed.

There was a time when the jars for home-preserving fruits were made through two distinct processes. The body of the jar was blown, and the neck and shoulders were pressed. Then the two sections had to be annealed together. These processes took time and skill. Then was invented what is known as the "Owens' Machine." The place of the skilled craftsmen, who charged a fee of eight hundred dollars to join their union, is taken by this machine, which produces a jar each second of the entire day.

There is not here the space to deal with all the different machines that have transformed industry. The workers in the various industries know them; they handle them; their pace is set by them. In fact, unfortunately, they are so close to them, they form so much of their environment, that they do not realize their significance and potentialities because of their very nearness.

The following paragraphs taken from "Description of Industry," by Henry C. Adams, LL. D., Professor of Economics at the University of Michigan, are illuminating on the increase in productive power that has come as the result of the industrial revolution:

"Since the significance of machinery consists in the substitution of Nature's power for the muscular force of man, and since the consumption of coal in the boiler of a steam engine is the chief means of effecting this substitution, it follows that the labor required to mine the coal, as compared with the power for work that lies in the coal mined, will show how much the industrial world has gained by doing the work in this round-about way.

"The latent energy in a pound of average coal is something like 12,600 heat units. The pound of coal, if burned in an engine of fair efficiency, delivers for work an amount of energy equal to 982,000 foot pounds. If now, the coal miner is able to mine two tons of coal a day, he gives to industry, as the result of eight hours of work, an amount of available energy equal to 4,480 (the weight of two miners' tons) times 982,000 or 4,390,000,000 foot pounds. This figure must be compared with the energy, measured in foot pounds, which our miner would give in a day if he applied his muscular energy directly to the production of those things that are now produced by machinery, driven by an engine, fed with coal, which as a miner he has dug.

"For this comparison we accept the engineers' formula that one horse power is equal to 33,000 foot pounds, and that a man power is one-twelfth of a horse power. From this it follows that the standard measurement of a man power is 2,750 foot pounds. It should next be noted that the horse power unit is confined to one minute of work. It means the amount of energy which it would take to lift one pound, one foot in one minute. The figures given above for the coal dug by the miner are the result of eight hours of work, from which it follows that the 2,750 foot pounds, which means the amount of energy that a man can deliver in one minute, must be multiplied by 480 to find the amount of energy delivered in an eight-hour day. The multiplication shows this to be 1,320,000 foot pounds.

"We have now the figures to be compared. If the miner of coal works eight hours a day and produces two tons of coal, he creates available power of 4,390,000,000 foot pounds; in doing this work he expends muscular energy to the amount of 1,320,000 foot pounds. The net gain to industry in available energy is the difference between these two figures. The efficiency of the worker, due to the machine, is increased three thousand fold. Three thousand times as much working power gets into work as was the case when the man used tools.

"The above analysis is, perhaps, more graphic than accurate. It takes no account of the sorting, transportation, and otherwise handling the coal, in order to make it available for factory purposes, nor the loss of power if used far from the place where it is generated, but the comparison is sufficiently accurate to support the lesson taught."

It will be noticed that Professor Adams supposes that a miner is able to dig two tons of coal in a day. No mine owner would come to any such supposition on the basis of the number of tons mined for each man in his employ, whether miner or mine worker. The Secretary of Labor of the United States is authority for the fact that the coal mines of the United States have a capacity of one billion tons of coal a year. Dividing this by the total number of mine workers connected with the mining of coal, on the basis of 300 days a year, we find that the daily production per man under such conditions would be five tons a day, instead of two. It will here be noticed that this also provides for the sorting of the coal at the tipple. Now

to make the computation conform with the industrial facts, the three thousand which is given must be multiplied by two and one-half, giving an increase in productive power of 7,500 fold.

Now allowing one-half for the other factors mentioned in the last paragraph of the quotation, and for the very small pro-rata of the labor of building the transportation system, the engines and boilers for the changing of the coal into mechanical energy, we find that the increased efficiency due to the machine is 3,750 fold.

Later in the same work we find the following statement:

> "Some years ago, a computation was made designed to show the increased efficiency of machine work as compared with tool work. The result of this computation applied to the present population of the United States is, that it would take 426 million people to produce with tools what 100 million now produce with machines."

Putting Everyone to Work, But Only on Paper

"One hundred million now produce with machines!" One must admire the ease with which the economists can put everyone to work in a single clause. If they could put everyone to work as easily in industry as they do in books, there would be a solution for unemployment and many of the other evils of our present industrial system. "The people," a political term, do not work in industry. In industry there are not people or citizens—another political term—but wage workers. The people included in the one hundred million are partly children who have not been weaned; old men who are not now producers, if they ever were; millions of women who never worked in industry; millions of idlers, social parasites; those who are in jails and the penitentiaries, or those who should be there; even politicians are "people" and part of the hundred million, but certainly they do not work with machines; they use the oldest of all tools, their mouths, and their product could scarcely be called production in an industrial sense.

The production that years ago would have taken the labor of 426,000,000 is now being done by that part of the twenty-nine or thirty million workers in the United States, who are not unemployed.

In a recent report of the four great electric light and power companies of the state of California, I find that these plants, with only a few thousand workers, generated a power equal to

the energy that could be developed through the continuous labor of fifty million working an eight-hour day. This is merely in one industry in one state, and that a state in which the labor of children of five years of age is utilized. The electrical energy developed in many of the other states and in some of the provinces of the Dominion of Canada is equal to this. But what are the conditions in California, and in these other states and provinces, each of them, due to one of their many industries, with an industrial energy greater than could be developed by all the workers on this continent without machines? The conditions are poverty without the need for poverty, millions hungry, ill-clad, ill-sheltered, although with the modern machine Labor is able to produce on a scale undreamed-of in any other period in the history of industry.

Forty-Three Man-Powers for Each Worker In U. S.

In a statement issued in 1924, Doctor George Otis Smith, the director of the U. S. Geological Survey, said that the machinery used in the United States represents an equipment of over three and one-half horse power for each worker in American industry. This statement was made in a plea for the use of more machinery in line with the program of super-power now being advanced.

We saw that a horse power is equal to twelve man powers, so that for each worker in industry there is the power of 43 other men in the form of machinery. Need one look for spots on the sun, or for any other reason but the industrial revolution when with each man on the job there are 43 mechanical men to do the work? Can anything but the increase of unemployment be looked for so long as the development of the machine and the present mode of machine production continues?

Poverty, hunger and starvation are as old as man. "The poor ye have with you always," is by some taken as a prophecy which they must try to fulfill. In the unequal struggle against a nature which he did not understand, the forces of which were gods to be placated instead of laws to be learned, the savage often starved. The supply of berries, roots and nuts gave out. The animals the savage could kill for food were often missing, while too often those which could kill him for food were

present. Conquest was the law of nature, and one need not wonder that man did not always win in the conflict of primitive life.

When man learned somewhat of the art of hunting with his crude weapons, he was less subjected to starvation. When he learned the domestication of animals to give milk, to work for him, or to serve as his food, he had taken another great step in the conquest of bread, but the fear of starvation was always present as a grim incentive to effort. The crude crops would fail; periods of drought would come, and man went hungry. Then with the development of greater cooperation, the division of labor, and the learning of the laws of nature through experience, the fear of hunger was placed further back in human consciousness—but it was still there as a possibility or an actuality.

In the primitive life of the race, men starved because of lack of sufficient power and knowledge to sustain life under all conditions. But in the entire story of primitive man there is no record of anything so utterly imbecile as anyone starving because he was able to produce too much food, going cold because he was able to produce too much clothing, and unsheltered because he was able to produce too much shelter.

There is hunger among the lower animals at times, but it is not due to the fact that food is plentiful. In the Autumn, when we hear the squirrels chattering in the trees, although I do not understand squirrel language, I am sure that they are not saying to one another: "There are so many nuts this fall; we have so much food put away, that I am afraid we will starve before Spring."

But the workers of the present time can truthfully say that their poverty is not due, as was the case with the savage, to inability to produce sufficiently, but rather that their present poverty is the result of the enormous productive power of the machine. There is a sufficient number of machines, a sufficient understanding of mechanical processes and the laws of nature to create all the food, clothing and shelter that are necessary—and workers to create more machines as they are required to support the entire world not alone in comfort but also in luxury.

The periods when unemployment is greatest are the periods when the granaries, the warehouses, the storehouses are filled

with food, the wholesale houses are filled with clothing, the mill yards are filled with lumber. Workers are unemployed because they produced all the commodities in their particular industry for which there is a market demand. With machine production these can be produced in a shorter time and with a smaller number of workers than ever before. Unlike the squirrels, workers talking to one another may truthfully say: "We have produced so much this Summer that we will be unemployed, and millions of us on the verge of starvation, or beyond, this Winter."

The machine which was logically hailed in the early days of the industrial revolution as the emancipator of humanity from the dreary treadmill of toil, as the potent industrial force which would do away with poverty by making poverty unnecessary, is under present conditions not an emancipator but an enslaver, adding to the sum of human misery, and creating manifold evils which challenge society.

In lines loaded with deepest meaning, Goldsmith said in the "Deserted Village:"

"Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."

Equally dark is the picture suggested by the following tables which are merely partial, showing a decrease in the number of workers with the increase in horse-powers per man. In all industries the number of workers has not decreased, but, where there is an increase, it is not in proportion to the growth in population or the value of their product.

The Census figures show the following during the period from 1900 to 1910, for the United States:

INDUSTRY	Per Cent of decrease in average No. of workers	Per Cent of increase H. P. per wage worker
Agricultural Implements	8.5	25.0
Cars and Street Railways	.1	33.0
Iron and Steel (Blast Furnaces)	2.1	42.2
Petroleum Refining (a)	16.9	41.5
Smelting and Refining Lead	10.8	52.7

(a) For the five-year period, 1904-1909.

I believe those who understand the present industrial system will understand also why there is no such table for the various industries for from 1910 to 1920.

The following is for the State of New York, and covers the same period as the foregoing table:

INDUSTRY	Per cent of decrease in average No. of workers	Per cent of inercase in value of mach., equip.
Men's Furnishing Goods	23.0	17.0
Leather Gloves and Mittens	43.0	17.0
Leathers, Tanned, Curried and Finished	16.0	46.0
Newspapers and Periodicals	1.5	4.0
Lithographing and Engraving	2.7	2.0
Worsted Cloth	(No change)	61.0
Cotton Goods	5.0	24.0

With the facts presented in this chapter before us, is it not evident that the machine is the present cause of unemployment, and that with each development of the machine must come an increase in the army of the pariahs and social outcasts who are being replaced by the mechanical energy of horse powers developed through steam, gasoline and electricity?



THE MODERN CREED

"Plenty of machines and very few men."

CHAPTER FIVE

It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being. — JOHN STUART MILL.

No reform, moral or intellectual, ever came from the upper class of society. Each and all came from the protest of martyrs and victims. The emancipation of the working people must be achieved by the working people themselves.

We affirm, as a fundamental principle, that labor, the creator of wealth, is entitled to all it creates.

Affirming this, we avow ourselves willing to accept the final result of the operation of a principle so radical—such as the overthrow of the whole profit-making system, the extinction of all monopolies, the abolition of privileged classes, universal education and fraternity, perfect freedom of exchange, and best and grandest of all, the final obliteration of that foul stigma upon our so-called Christian civilization—the poverty of the masses.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

THE PARADOX OF THE MACHINE

ALTHOUGH most of the economists have not discovered it, unemployment is the result of a scarcity of jobs; of working men, women and children for whom there is no industrial demand. This is so self-evident that there seems no reason to go far afield in looking for the cause of unemployment, when it is clear that any improvement in the industrial machine means the production of a standard quantity of commodities with a smaller number of workers.

Directly the machine causes most of the unemployment; indirectly it is the cause of the remainder of the unemployment. A large number of women and children in industry aggravate unemployment, so that to a superficial view women and children in industry are causes of unemployment. But the machine mode of production is also responsible for this, for it has simplified the industrial processes on the one hand and on the other entered the home of the worker and broken it up, thus forcing women

and children into industry. We find both these factors in operation in the early days of the development of the machine, as at the present time. To quote again from "Problems of Poverty":

> "Large numbers of children apprenticed in the rising manufacturing towns of the North (of England) engaged in the cotton and woolen trades. Large numbers of children apprenticed by poor law overseers in the southern counties were sent as 'slaves' to the northern manufacturers, to be kept in overcrowded buildings adjoining the factories, and to be worked day and night, with an utter disregard to all considerations of physical or moral health. There is no page in the history of our nation so infamous as that which tells the details of the unbridled greed of these pioneers of modern commercialism, feeding on the misery and degradation of English children."

In the early days of the factory system writers commented on the fact that strong men walked the streets looking for work while their children had replaced them in the factories. This condition had not then become commonplace, as it is at the present time.

In 1848, in Pennsylvania, a strike in which children participated, occurred in certain of the textile mills, and lasted from July 4th to August 28th. In this strike children less than ten years of age won the ten-hour day, with a 16 per cent. decrease in wages. Thirteen children were sentenced to jail as a result of this strike.

In giving evidence before the Massachusetts Labor Commission in 1866, T. J. Kidd, a textile mill worker, gave the following evidence:

> "Small help is scarce: a great deal of the machinery has to be stopped for want of small help, so that the overseers have been going around to draw the small children from the schools into the mills, the same as a draft into the army."

In 1911, following an investigation in Fall River, Massachusetts, conducted by the Senate of the United States, the report said:

> "In the entire study there was not one individual found whose earnings were sufficient to support a normal family according to a fair standard."

These and hundreds of other facts and quotations which could be used, show why women and children being cheaper than men—and the men unable to support them—are in industry. In the main women and children do not want to be in industry; they are forced there by hunger and the inability of their natural protectors to supply them with food. They are there from causes which have their root in machine production.

The machine has speeded the production of unemployment and poverty on the one hand and the enormous concentration of wealth on the other.

Until the guiding and controlling hand of labor is laid on the machine it is inert, its potentialities are undeveloped. Without the worker the machine does not become power, energy, ability to produce wealth. But these machines which labor has created, and which labor operates, are not the property of labor but of another social class, who through this ownership get the benefits of the wealth which is the result of human energy applied to the machine. The benefits of the machine are the property of the capitalists, while its power as creator of unemployment and poverty is directed against the workers. The machine is not used to lift the load of poverty off the backs of the many, but for the enrichment of a few.

Due to this fact we find that our present industrial system presents itself, through machine production, as an enormous engine for the manufacture of millionaires at one extreme of the social scale, and of beggars at the other. Both these machine products are a social curse. Because of the present management of the machine, we find scum at the top of our society—scum is never at the bottom—and at the bottom we have dregs, wilted human flowers brought up in cellars and denied a blossoming time.

Wealth has increased. This is a fact of which the apologists of things as they are make much. In 1812, the value of the manufactured products of the United States, according to Trench Coxe, was $172,762,676. The yearly wealth production has since increased to sixty-two thousand millions. In one hundred and twelve years the value of the yearly products of the American worker has increased approximately 360-fold. In the same time the population has increased 16-fold. Yearly wealth production has increased 24 times as fast as population. Taking for granted that the ratio of increase in the number of workers is the same as the ratio of increase of the population, this means that each worker now produces 24 times as much wealth as did the worker in 1812.

Enormous Increase of Wealth

According to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury

of the United States in 1904, the wealth of the United States in 1850 was seven billion dollars. During the first two years of this century, the United States saved two thousand million dollars more than had been accumulated in the nearly two and a half centuries of the United States prior to 1850.

Yes, the economists are correct. As the result of the machine mode of production, WE are enormously wealthy—wealthy beyond the dream of any previous age. But "we," "between us," "among them," "we have," are terms which are used to hide facts. Between them John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Jim Smith have nearly a billion dollars. But the division is not equitable. Jim Smith has only twenty-five cents of the enormous wealth they have **between them.** He has been unemployed for months, and begged that to buy a meal; and he is now engaged in deciding the lofty problems of the unemployed, whether twenty-five cents can be most nourishingly invested in Hamburger Steak or "Liver and." John D., Jr., has also been unemployed, in his case for years, but he has the rest of the millions. Like the economists, many workers have the "we" and "our" complex. One is reminded of the Canadian worker who, taking seriously the oft-repeated statement that the Battleship "HOOD," at the time on a visit to Canada, was "our" ship, tried to sell his share at a dry goods store for a pair of socks.

But at any rate WE are enormously wealthy. In October of 1924, the press of the United States and Canada printed an illustrated story of a mother with triplets. She had followed the Roosevelt injunction not wisely but too well. The addition of the triplets made eleven to be supported on the father's earnings of twelve dollars a week. What gave the story greater value as news was that the mother, unable to support them, was being tortured by the necessity of deciding which two of the three she must give to others to raise. She evidently was not one of the economists' WE who are so enormously wealthy.

But the Wall Street Journal gives an inkling of where some of this enormous wealth goes. In 1911 it gave a list of the corporations and banks controlled by J. P. Morgan which showed assets of $4,674,197,897. Railroad and other interests brought the total to $9,300,000,000. This was two thousand three hundred millions more than the total wealth of the United States before 1850. It showed that this one firm controlled

more than the total revenue of the United States, ordinary and extraordinary, and of the governments of Great Britain, France, Germany and Austria Hungary.

This wealth has been vastly augmented under the rule of J. P. Morgan II. Wealth is power, and in the light of this fact, the dictation of Lamont, the ambassador to Europe of Industrial Emperor Morgan, at a meeting of premiers of the principal countries of Europe can easily be understood. He represented a power greater than any political government—the super-government of money.

Daniel Webster said: "Liberty cannot long endure in a country where the tendency is to concentrate wealth in the hands of a few."

This is no longer a tendency; it is a reality, and gives meaning to the statement of Doctor Washington Gladden in the Outlook Magazine, that "The workingmen will lose their political liberty or they will gain their industrial liberty," a statement which is given added emphasis due to the findings of the Industrial Relations Report issued by the Government of the United States.

The enormous wealth and enormous poverty which have been created by the machine are the paradox of the machine. Side by side, as part of this paradox we find stories of the miseries of the workers, and the avarice and wealth of the owners of the machine. We find the cry of the poor for bread mingled with the voices of the rich as expressed in the following quotation from Pierre Lorilland:

> "A man with $100,000 a year is in the unhappy position where he can see what a good time he could have if he only had the money. . . . To be in easy circumstances means a thousand a day and expenses."

Even the last would seem like penury to many of the industrial overlords of the earth. There was a time when a millionaire was a person who had wealth to that amount. Data furnished in 1924 by the Income Tax reports show that there are sixty-seven persons in the United States with **yearly incomes** of one million dollars or more.

In 1919, the National Child Labor Committee of the U. S. Department of Labor found children five or six years of age picking cotton in the Imperial Valley in California, below sea level in the hottest part of the United States. If we are to listen to the combined voices of this committee and of the real estate boosters of that state, California is "where every prospect pleases and only man is vile."

In Oklahoma, they found children as young as five working regularly picking cotton, with no Ku Klux Klan raising a remonstrance or holding night-shirt parties for those responsible for this social crime.

In Colorado, they found five thousand children from five to fourteen regularly employed in the beet industry. Does this explain why this is one of the "**infant** industries" protected against the importation of sugar from other countries?

But on the other side of the paradox, to show that "God's in his Heaven, all's right with the world," at a banquet given for a dog, the host decorated the dog with a diamond collar worth fifteen thousand dollars. Dogs decorated with diamond collars and children of the poor with coffins are as much products of the present industrial system as shoes or overalls.

As one side of the paradox we read that twenty per cent. of the entire child population are underfed or suffering from diseases due to imperfect nutrition.

Children Starving; "Poor Darling" With Crested Handkerchiefs

Then comes the refreshing news of our "high society," "A fashionable dog today must have not only an overcoat, shoes and an umbrella, but at least half a dozen handkerchiefs embroidered with its own initials or with the owner's name and crest. One of these is carried in a little pocket in the inside of the elaborately braided and embroidered blanket, to be used when the 'poor darling' has a cold or is bothered with watery eyes."[a]

In "Industry and Human Welfare," William L. Chenery says that women employed in the industries of the United States have never made a living wage.

Less than Thirteen a Week for Experienced Women; A Gold Service For a Dog

In 1919, a commission investigated the corset industry of Massachusetts, and it was found that of adult women workers, eighteen years of age or over, 62.1 per cent. earned $12 a week or less. This commission in this best of all periods for labor, found that the wages were not sufficient to maintain life at the prevailing prices of food. They fixed the wages of **experienced** adult women at $13 a week, on the evi-

[a] **OUR WORLD, By Reverend Josiah Strong. Some of the other facts in this chapter are from the same source. Others are direct quotations from the papers in which they appeared.**

dent supposition that those who are inexperienced should not be allowed to live. This wage of thirteen dollars which was recommended had a provision of 37 cents a week for savings, if the woman worked steadily throughout the entire year. If these working women lived without recreation, merely existed, they could save $20 a year. Then, we suppose, this commission having emancipated the experienced women on paper, and given the inexperienced their sanction to starve or to sell their bodies to make up what their wages were below human standards, celebrated with the usual banquet to repay them for the enormous mental strain that seems to be involved in such surveys.

But things could be worse. It must have been gratifying to these corset workers, experienced and inexperienced, to read in the pages of the press that a dog, one of the beneficiaries of the present system, "has a complete gold service on which his carefully cooked food is served." There is a common expression, "having a dog's life." But on the face of the facts, such a life is one to which many men, women and children of the workers might well aspire, and which would be to them unattainable. Ours is a Christian civilization. It would be foolhardy to deny this. But either Christian civilization should be changed or the Christian Bible should be edited to read: "Suffer little poodle dogs to come unto me," etc.

Low Wages of Men and Murdered Children

In 1917, a survey was made which shows that the inadequate wages paid men have a clear relationship to the infant death rate. In Manchester, New Hampshire, where this survey was made, in families in which the father's earnings were less than $494 a year, the infant death rate was found to be 262.4 out of every thousand. Where the father's earnings were $1,092 or over, the death rate had fallen to 53.2 per thousand. The child of the man in the higher wage group had a five times better chance to live than the child of the father in the lower wage group. One might imagine that but few fathers of families would be getting less than $494 a year. This would be an error, for the report states: "The lower wage group comprised far the larger number of families."

But on the other side of the paradox, we find that machine

production is responsible for such news as the payment of $10,000 for a cradle, $38,000 for a washstand, $65,000 for a dressing table, $1,000 for a hatpin, $20,000 for a hat—a man's hat—$50,000 for a piano, $75,000 for opera glasses, $280,000 for a string of pearls, $600,000 for a diamond necklace, all of which news items were culled from the press of the United States.

Dying Children; Earrings for Cats

Children are being starved to death by the wholesale as one of the results of the present industrial system, through malnutrition. The greatest pity is not that so many die, for what would life hold for them under present conditions? The pity is that those who survive are stunted in growth, denied the opportunities of culture and the benefits of civilization. Not those who die, but those who live, denied the full birthright of humanity, the stored knowledge of the ages, are the great human tragedy. Nor is this tragedy relieved for the lover of children when he reads of silver bathtubs for cats, of a Persian kitten—one of the American aristocracy—"wearing a crown of gold on its head and a gold order around its neck." Its owner is a society woman in that same city of New York where the Metropolitan Life Insurance found 420,000 unemployed, and she boasted that she was the first to give a cat a paid of diamond earrings—"bangles and necklaces have become so very hackneyed."

Millions Without Homes; a $7,000,000 Home for One Family

Millions of workers are without homes, or even shacks. Seven families were found living in one room in New York City. Trinity Church may fulminate against immorality, economically secure with money made in part through ownership of slums, but what but a festering place for immorality, vice and crime can such a room be?

In the same city of New York is the seven million dollar home of Ex-Senator Clark. This palace, occupied by one small family, has one hundred and twenty-one rooms. Thousands of miners in Montana and elsewhere are without homes because most of the wealth they produce goes to support this one home to furnish the luxuries of its occupants. In this home there is room and to spare for the decencies of life, yet from a social viewpoint is not it too immoral and anti-social?

Due to the paradox of the machine, millions of the unemployed were walking the railroad tracks of America, wondering why they built the road and the luxurious Pullmans which they could not ride. And as they walked, actuated more by the clubs of policemen and the "floaters" of judges than by wanderlust, at an elaborate dinner of another class of the unemployed, cigarettes were beside every plate. These cigarettes were not wrapped in white paper, but in hundred dollar bills. When this method of destroying wealth was discovered, the guests greeted it with loud applause. The host had given his guests a thrill. He had made an original discovery. No one had thought of this before. Here was the proper atmosphere for discussion of the lack of thrift of the "lower classes." Here was the atmosphere for the woman who had had difficulty with one of her kitchen "slavies" for wanting to get sixteen dollars a month, and being insistent in refusing to work for less. In the atmosphere of burning hundred dollar bills she could explain to a sympathetic audience the shortcomings of the workers, and "No matter what we do for them, they do not appreciate us." "For the life of me, I cawn't explain what has got into the lower classes." And the feeling is perfectly natural. The flea on the back of a dog probably feels the same way, when the dog wants to bite it, instead of appreciating that it is giving the dog initiative.

Making Money In Their Sleep

It is not long since one of the owners of the Singer Sewing Machine Company went to bed worth many millions. In the morning he awoke to be informed that he was twenty-nine million dollars richer. The sum is the same that Judge Landis fined the Standard Oil Company, a fine which inspired a Texas magistrate, with a grasp of the difference between rich and poor before the law—or at least before judges—to sentence a man who came before him for vagrancy to serve ninety-nine years, the sentence to begin when the Standard Oil had paid the twenty-nine million.

We are sometimes told, by those who do not understand the function of the machine, that the masters of industry make their money through using their brains. Yet here is a millionaire who makes twenty-nine million more while he sleeps. If a worker, no matter how lofty his intellect, how great his abil-

ity, went to sleep, the best that would happen to him would be the nightmare of having the alarm clock lift him out of bed and onto the job. **The only contact the worker can make with millions in his sleep is if he is working in an unorganized camp, and has millions repeat the strategy of the great war on his stomach.**

What Twenty-Nine Million Means

Twenty-nine million represents no clear picture to the workers. If the twelve disciples had been condemned to live and work until they had earned that amount at a wage of three dollars a day each, how long before the terrible sentence would expire? They would have to work until 2240 A. D. before their aggregate earnings would be twenty-nine million. Two thousand, two hundred and forty years without a day off, and without eating a meal, or buying clothing would at the end of that period make them eligible also for the doubtful honor of being what the boss calls "ideal workers."

What would probably have happened is that the other eleven would have been working for Judas—the only one of their number who seems to have had the kind of brains that makes money—from early in the first century. Already through the exploitation of labor, through **making** money while others **produced** it, Judas would be the richest man in the world. Like many of our other capitalists, he would now be explaining in the uplift magazines how all his wealth was honestly acquired through his own brain power, from a first investment of thirty pieces of silver.

We have seen the meaning of unemployment. We have seen that its cause is machine production, and the social reflection of machine ownership in our present social system. We have seen the enormous power in the hands of the machine owners, and the poverty and unnecessary deaths of the builders of the machine and operators of the machine. We have seen that the machine is a great engine for the creation of wealth, but that the division of that wealth is not equitable.

At one time, workers seeing these things in their infancy, their employment lost through the installation of machines, organized to smash the machine. According to the knowledge they had they were logical, for it is evident that if the increase of the conditions given in this chapter were to be the ripe fruit

of the machine, the machine would of necessity have to be considered as detrimental to humanity—something that should be destroyed. But they were wrong. They saw only the paradox of the machine, not the reason for it, nor the cure for it.

The development of the machine resulted from the application of scientific knowledge and scientific method to industry. It was capable of doing great things to reduce poverty and finally abolish it. The Industrial Revolution of the last century brought scientific methods to production. The paradox of the application of science to industry exists side by side with a social system that is utterly chaotic, unjust and unscientific. What is needed then is not to smash the machine, but to make the scientifically-operated machinery of production a wealth producer for all instead of for a privileged few.

Scientific Production Demands Scientific Distribution of the Product of the Machine

Under present conditions we find shoemakers without shoes, food-producers without food, tailors without clothing, the lumber workers, the carpenters and the others who could produce homes for themselves and others in the army of the unemployed, and the machinery largely unused and rusting. Such a condition is utterly senseless and unscientific. The only limits to the production of commodities should be the needs of the human race for the products of industry. A scientific social system would use the machines until every human need was satisfied, until everyone in society has all he needs of the comforts and luxuries of life. With the present development of the machine this is no idle dream, but a possibility. For the workers who are unemployed and those who are now working could produce this and more, if they were permitted free access to the machine. Then there is the enormous host who are not producers, who add nothing to the means of satisfying the animal needs of humanity, or to the development of that art and culture, that real poetry and literature which can only have their highest expression when the animal desires are satisfied. Everyone in society is a consumer, and all with the ability to be producers must produce or they take from society without giving a return, and must hence be branded as social parasites.

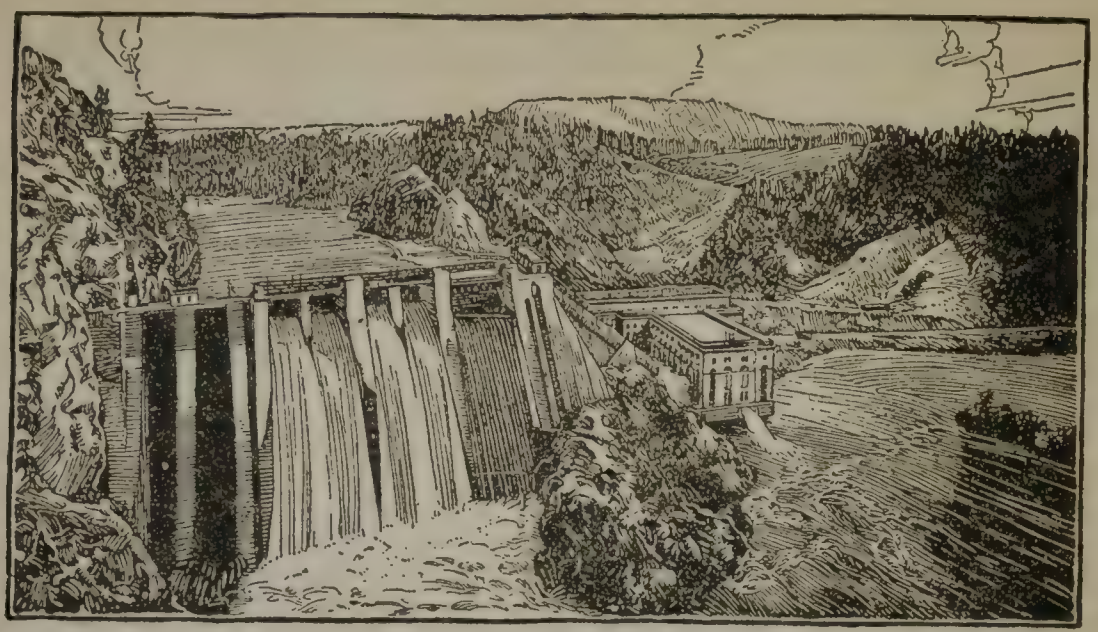
How much talent is destroyed at birth through the terrible death rate of the children of the poor! How much genius

is denied expression, stunted and dwarfed in its very cradle. Only an imbecile society could be guilty, as is the present, of shutting down the mines, the mills and the camps while children are starving; while strong men walk the streets and congregate in the jungles; while women, unable to make a living, have to sell for bread that function on which the perpetuation of the race depends. Such a system is not scientific; it is barbarous in spite of all scientific achievements, and these are devoted too often to the creation of implements for the wholesale murder of mankind in wars.

The products of the present ownership of the machine are parasitism for one class, and virtual slavery for the other. Neither can bring the highest development of the inner capabilities of mankind, neither can do away with human runts, and breed a race of men fitted to develop the highest in industrial development and nobility of character.

Science has developed from the rock pigeon one hundred and twenty-one different forms of life, each superior to their common ancestors. Science has developed the wolf into dogs that for loyalty, friendship and affection might well be not only the admiration but the emulation of mankind. Science has done wonders with the horse, the cow, the hog, the sheep and the goat. Science found weeds, nurtured, developed and bred them until it had produced grains well called the staff of life. When scientific care and nurture such as are now given to hogs, cattle and horses, are given to human beings, man will be fitted to rule as lord of himself and of the nature that surrounds him; as master, not as servant of the machines he has made.

We are told that men will always fight like cats and dogs. I accept the comparison. As this paragraph is written, under my desk are a cat and a dog. The cat is asleep and alongside of it is the Collie, also asleep, with one paw over the head of the cat in a gesture of protection and friendship. They are friends because the struggle for food has been abolished for them, they have no struggle for existence. But I could get fur flying as the present system makes fur fly by nurturing the struggle for food through starvation. Remove the keen competition for food which the machine makes unnecessary, a competition in which thousands go hungry, and human beings will agree as do my cat and dog.



Every idle stream or waterfall that is put to work, and furnishes light and power to homes and factories many miles away, means an increase in unemployment

But this is not possible where the race is divided into two social classes, owners of the machine which they did not create as parasites, the workers at the machine as slaves. "Slave" is a harsh word to apply to a worker, but being a slave is worse. The worker has the illusions of freedom, a shadow he hugs to his bosom. But what are the facts? The owner says to the worker: "I will not permit you to operate the machine which your class has produced, and which I cannot operate myself, unless you are willing to give me five dollars out of every six dollars' worth of wealth you create." And the worker must submit or starve under present conditions. This is what legalistic sophistry is pleased to call a free contract, although it is based on the condition, "Operate the machine or starve."

Is This Slavery?

The feudal baron said to the serf: "Work for me a certain number of days in the week, fight for me in my wars, and I will let you work a certain number of days for yourself, that you may be able to live." In letting the serf live there was of necessity no humanity involved. If the serfs starved, the barons would have to do the work. Feudalism was a slave system. Yet what the Industrial Baron says to the industrial

worker is in effect the same, except that he deals in terms of hours instead of days. He says: "Work for yourself two hours during which time you can produce the value I pay you in wages; then you must work for me the rest of the day for nothing because I own the machine." This also is slavery. The feudal serf was the slave of one master, the worker is the slave of an entire social system. Nor is this all advantage, for the industrial baron feels no responsibility for the life of a worker. The death of the serf was a loss to the feudal baron; but the industrial baron would not himself have to do the work for there are millions who are not now necessary owing to the development of the machine. As John A. Hobson said:

> "On the one hand it (machinery) destroyed the position of the worker as a self-sufficient industrial unit, and made him dependent on the capitalist for employment and the means of supporting life. On the other hand, it weakened the sense of responsibility of the employer towards the workmen in proportion as the dependence of the latter became more absolute."

The feudal barons did not abolish feudalism of which they were the beneficiaries. Neither is it to be expected that the industrial barons will willingly relinquish their power, and the private ownership of the machine and the earth which is the basis of that power. The ownership of the machine must be snatched out of their hands. It must be placed in the hands of the workers of the world with every one in society a worker, a producer as well as consumer. That unemployment and misery of the working class which are the result of the industrial revolution, and a condition which will create more unemployment with every improvement of the machine and every advance in the mode of production, must be done away with.

The industrial revolution which introduced science into production demands that its benefits be the property of all, another revolution which will place the products of scientific production at the demand of all the people of the world, and make the machine "the tireless toiler for the human race." Here is the cure for the unemployment and all the evils of the present ill-adjusted social system. This revolution must be the work of the victims of the present system and demands the organization of the workers to which the next chapter will be devoted. This outlined, we will see that there is another cure for unemployment to achieve which organization, the all-necessary, must also be applied.

CHAPTER SIX

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production and abolish the wage system.—Declaration of Independence of the Working Class.

WORKERS MUST ORGANIZE TO BANISH UNEMPLOYMENT

THE contented seek no social change. Progress comes under the urge of human needs. The contented are always conservative; the discontented are now, and have been in all the ages, the dynamic part of society.

Man is so bound by the trammels of custom, by traditions, by "It was good enough for father and it's good enough for me"; is so much a creature of the accustomed rut, so restricted by laws through which the dead hand of the past rules the living, that he would not have gone forward were it not that periodically the struggle for life forced him into new channels.

Discontent based on economic necessity has always been the great force behind every fundamental change in the history of the world, and organization the weapon through which these changes were made. For this reason how foolish it is to look for progress from a ruling class, which would mean the reversal of all the precedents in the history of the race. How useless it is to suppose that those who enjoy the wealth, produced by the conditions which we have seen, will destroy their own parasitic affluence and ease! All the lessons of the present and the past are that no ruling class will ever willingly relinquish power. The jaws of each ruling system have had to be broken before they would relax. A study of power gives the reason. It is the inherent nature of power to seek expression and to strive to perpetuate and increase itself.

That industrial revolution which we have seen to be necessary to a scientific distribution of the products of labor—that

revolution without which the industrial revolution of the past one hundred years means a growing unemployment and misery for the workers—must be the achievement of the workers. The workers themselves must organize for that great social transformation on which rests the entire future of the race.

On the surface, it would seem that the need of working-class organization, and the power of organization, are so self-evident that to deal with them here would be unnecessary. We found that the machine was so close to the workers, so much a part of their daily life, that they did not realize its potency from its very nearness. The same is true of organization. The machines and the workers are organized together by the masters of industry—for the masters of industry—but how few of the workers yet realize that they are organized units in production? How few of them have yet learned that they must organize for themselves as they are now organized by the bosses? But to the student of human history all progress has been the result of organization.

All Progress A Result of Organization

Without organization, all things beyond the power of one individual are impossible; with organization, all things are possible. The heavens, the earth, man and the development of human institutions reiterate the power of organization. What is the lesson of all that inanimate matter which surrounds us on every side? Its lesson is organization. The atoms of which that matter is composed are so small they can be seen by no microscope, weighed on no scales. They are so small, so insignificant that one atom cannot exist by itself; it has to get together with at least one other atom; it has to organize. They are so small that scientists tell us they are as much smaller than a pin point as a pin point is smaller than the earth.

Atoms Organized and Became a Universe

Of what use would organization be to anything so insignificant as the atom? Small, insignificant as they are individually, organized they fill lengths and breadths that are immeasurable. Alpha Orionis, recently measured, in volume 270 million times larger than our sun, with a diameter of 260 million miles, is an organization of such atoms. When its light has reached our planet, and the eye of a worker, after traveling for 150 years at a speed of 186,000 miles a second, the message it traveled so

long and so fast to deliver is the message of organization, and the power of even atoms when they organize.

Atoms organized and became a universe! The immense clockworks of the heavens are illumined with the lessons of organization. The messages flashed over the ether from every star in the Milky Way are messages of organization. The song the morning stars sing together is the song of organization. The dust under our feet and the air that surrounds us take up the refrain. Every voice of the nature which surrounds us and the nature which is in us, speaks to us of the power of organization.

But the atoms that make up the inanimate matter of the universe are not fully organized. They organized only a few atoms to the molecule. To form dead matter the atoms organized into what one might call a craft unionism of atoms.

Later in the organization of atoms, dominated by the forces without them, and by forces within, thousands got together into what might be called an industrial unionism of atoms. As the result of this higher organization, a dead world became instinct with the mystery, the wonder and the beauty of life. The atoms which organized and became a universe evolved a higher organization and became life. Science is not able to build up life in the laboratory, but it knows that when nature produces life it is always found with this higher organization of the atoms, the combination of a greater number in a single union.

The organization of life continued to grow. It is this development and unfolding of life to which we give the name of organic evolution, now one of the most generally accepted of the pronouncements of science. Evolution shows that the higher organization of atoms which produced life has been producing higher and higher forms of life. It shows that starting with a single life cell, it evolved to millions of cells existing together in the harmonious co-operation of organization, until at last man, the crowning illustration of what organization could do with atoms, appeared on the planet.

Evolution a Growth in the Organization of Life

There are those who do not accept evolution. But they must accept the power of organization whether they believe in the Genesis of matter as given in the Bible or in the Revelations

of Science. Both show organization as the creative impulse. The first sentence in the Bible is:

"In the beginning was the world, and it was without form and void."

The idea is one of a world entirely unorganized, one that is incomprehensible because of its very lack of organization. Then the first chapters of Genesis, like the first chapters of Science, deal with a creative work of organization. They give us a picture of God as the first organizer, organizing a universe, and then life. Science and religion alike begin with the lesson of organization, and show the universe and then man as the result of organization.

Man himself is strangely and wonderfully made. He is structurally the organization of billions of cells formed into organs, with a diversity of functions, but with each cell harmoniously co-operating in organized unity. The human body and each cell of that body realize the truth that an injury to one cell is an injury to all. Health is the harmonious co-operation through organization of all the cells in the human body. When certain cells do not co-operate, we call that lack of perfect organization disease. Cancer, for instance, is accounted for by certain life cells which refuse to remain organized and co-operating with the other cells. The reader will remember that I spoke of unemployment as a social cancer feeding on the living cells of industry. For man, the individual, as for man, the race, disorganization means death. What a lesson for the worker is the worker himself!

Society Developed Through Organization

That organization which we found to be the secret of the organic evolution of man is also the secret of the development of human society in which man is the atom. No number of unorganized individuals would be a society. Society is individuals in organization. And from that organization arose human progress under the urge of human needs. Man is the only animal in nature with the gift of speech. And speech is one of the corner stones in the arch of human progress. Speech was the result of organization. Can we imagine an unorganized savage, lower than any of the savages that now exist, because all have the rudiments of organization, inventing speech in order to tell himself what he thought? And this is all that speech could represent without organization. The fact that the savage was so low in the scale

of life that he did not organize for mutual aid shows that he would have no thought worth telling even to himself, nor feel a need for language. Language, the art of speech, was developed as the result of organization, to get a closer understanding and unity of thought and action between the human atoms composing it. The language we speak now represents the growths resulting from many centuries of organization, the growth of human associations throughout the centuries. Words are pictures, and the things which they shadow are organized racial experiences and organized racial life. Name words especially bear within them the indication of what organized industrial or social period gave them birth.

After the art of speech was first used, as the organization of human beings evolved, and the necessities for social contacts wider than the range of the human voice arose, the art of writing was the product of that greater organization. To deal with organization as a social force would be to deal with the whole of human history. There is not the space to show the growth of social organization from the primitive family to the modern nation, and that greater organization now being developed, the international solidarity of labor, as the forecast of the coming organization of the entire human family for economic advancement and economic freedom.

Wherever we look around us, we find the lessons of the power of organization. Its arches of triumph are on every hand. Figures are cold, impersonal things, but they also show the power of organization, and what might be defined as a law of organization. Seven ones are merely seven, when the **ones are unorganized.** But place the seven ones together, organize them so one will back up the other, so that each will form part of an organized whole. The result is no longer seven. Instead we have 1,111,111—One Million, One Hundred and Eleven Thousand, One Hundred and Eleven! The power of organization is not merely the sum of the powers of the individuals forming it. Organization is a power in itself vastly greater than the aggregate of the powers of those who compose it.

The workers must organize. But how? The workers must organize to do away with the degradation of unemployment, to abolish those evils, those lacks of co-operation of the living cells of industry which we have seen in the preceding chapters. But how?

Organization is a weapon, something to be used. The kind

of weapon that a worker would use would depend on the purpose for which it is to be used. A sewing machine is a good implement for sewing patches, as most of the wives of workers know, but well adapted as it is for its purpose, no one would suggest its use instead of a steam shovel. The kind of organization the workers must have must then be dictated by the purpose for which they want to use it, and the conditions under which it must be used. An organization of the workers must be determined by the needs and purposes of the workers. Let us study, then, the kind of organization the workers must have in line with their purposes, and the conditions in industry.

Must Organize on Basis of Machine

In the days preceding the industrial revolution, the workers could not organize on the basis of a machine, and a machine production, for these did not exist. Neither can they now organize on the basis of handicraft and the tool, because the tool is no longer the method of production. The purpose of the workers is to take over the ownership of the machine. They must organize on the basis of the present mode of production—the machine. To organize on the basis of something that is gone or disappearing as the result of industrial revolution would be as foolish as for the atoms to organize for life on the same form that produced dead matter. The nature of life dictated a new form, as the nature of industry now dictates a new form of organization for the workers.

The purpose of the workers must be on the basis of the machine to own the machine, and to abolish unemployment. But the machine is world wide, unemployment is international. Therefore, a national organization cannot achieve their purpose. It demands an international organization of the workers.

The interest of all employers is in low wages, long hours, poor conditions of labor, and above all in the continuation of the present system of wages, the wage system. The interest of all workers is to get higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions of labor, the destruction of unemployment, and the overthrow of a wage system which means industrial slavery for them. Then, dictated by the purpose of their organization, their organization must be on the basis of the machine, international, and it must seek the organization of all the workers because their basic interests are the same, and because the axiom, "The whole is greater than its parts," is as true when applied to the working class as it is in mathematics.

Organized power is not a machine. It is organic, it grows. It must have the purpose of getting better wages, shorter hours, decent living conditions, because these are the interests of all workers, in accordance with the power generated by the unity that has been developed, as a means to getting more workers organized and educated for greater power, to train the workers to do by doing. It must seek higher wages and the improvement of the conditions of the workers not as an end but as a means to an end, the drilling of the workers for the revolutionary objective which has been shown. The organization of the workers must not only be on the basis of the machine, international, broad as industry and the working class, but it must be a **revolutionary** labor union with the objective of a free humanity.

The organization of the workers must have other purposes. It must not only be revolutionary with the tactics to bring about this aim. It must be constructive. It must not only have aims on industrial revolution, but it must also function for the organization, education and disciplining of the working class to carry on production in a free society. That organization without a vision that goes beyond the overthrow of the present society to the form and structure of the new society is asking the workers to take a jump in the dark in the hope that they will land somewhere. The organization that will serve the interests of labor must build the structure of a new society within the shell of the old.

Briefly, on the basis of purpose, I have outlined the kind of weapon the workers need in line with the purpose which it has to serve. Its declaration of independence for the working class must in addition to the part given at the head of this chapter contain a warning that the division of the workers is not organization; against organizing on the basis of the tool before the machine. It must clearly and concisely state its own principles and aims, as we have deducted them from the purposes which an organization of the working class must serve. The Declaration of Independence which it would formulate for the workers might be covered in the following statement of principles and purpose:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers

of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the workers have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Knowing the structure of the present society, that it creates wealth for the benefit of a few to the detriment of the many, it is reasonable, inevitable, that such an organization as has been outlined would have against it every power the masters of industry can marshall, all the deceit of which its hirelings are capable. One might even expect that the pampered dogs and cats of the rich would bark or spit their hatred against an organization which would take the crowns of gold off their heads, do away with their golden bathtubs, their crested handkerchiefs and privilege. Such an organization would be lied against, as the assurance that the masters knew truth would not serve their purposes. It would be vilified, defamed, misrepresented, to the workers to serve the masters of industry—the social parasites who would wish, and fight, to remain parasites.

It must of necessity be persecuted, for persecution has been the answer to that discontent which aspires to progress in all the history of the world. And it must be able to endure persecution, to grow under it, for this is the acid test of whether an organization should survive and dominate.

If the organization outlined as being the fighting weapon of the workers, the means to achievement of their purpose, did not exist, that organization would have to be developed by the workers before they could hope to attain the ends they must inevitably, under the urge of economic necessity, seek. But this organization does exist. It has been forged in the stern industrial struggle. It has been developed in the heat of conflict,

tempered by the blows of industry, tried in the battles of labor, tested in the intense heats of persecution and remains untarnished and undimmed today. Its form of organization is the form that we saw labor must logically demand. Its principles are those we have stated. The Declaration of Independence of the Working Class is its preamble. Its goal is the goal of the workers. Its aim the emancipation of labor.

It has met all the power, deceit, defamation, vilification, misrepresentation of the masters of industry. They hate it because they fear it, and they fear it because it means the wedding of a scientific industrial system with a scientific and just distribution of the products of that industry. They fear it, and lie against it—their fear and their lies are a tribute to it—because they know that it means human progress instead of stagnation, peace, harmony and plenty instead of luxury for a few and unemployment for many, and they know that these can come only through the abolition of themselves as a ruling class.

That great fighting weapon in the arsenal of labor is the **Industrial Workers of the World.** The worker who would know not only the cause of unemployment but also the cure, must study this organization, the only one with a real explanation of unemployment and a solution for all the problems of the working class—the organized co-operation of all the living cells of industry into industrial health.

Having studied the cause of unemployment and the weapon that labor must use to remove this social and industrial disease, with that weapon in our hands, we can now study further the cure for unemployment without a feeling that we are powerless to remedy this evil.

As through the study of the mode of production arose the knowledge of the cause of unemployment, so through the study of organization we can see another cure for unemployment on the road of the working class to that economic emancipation which must be the goal of every informed and thinking worker, and of any organization of the workers that would speak the language of freedom instead of the harsh gutturals of industrial slavery.

The necessity and power of organization established, and the organization necessary to serve the workers outlined, we can now understandingly study the problem of unemployment in the light of the organization of the workers that is capable of generating the power they must have to achieve their goals —the Industrial Workers of the World.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The war . . . between privilege and the people is the soul of all revolutions, and the formula of history.—MAZZINI.

THE SIX-HOUR DAY—A CURE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

WORKERS, employed and unemployed, must concentrate their organized power to cure unemployment. In the hands of the boss unemployment is a club with which he menaces the workers who are on the job. The employed worker can never be sure that he is ten minutes away from unemployment. One word from his master means his banishment from industry, and when the number of unemployed is large, that word is uttered with little reason or none.

When, desperate from hunger, the workers congregate in front of the mills, the mines and the factories, when the skid-roads, the employment offices, the slave markets of modern industry, are congested with men, the masters of industry are independent and ruthless, and the workers who are unorganized are of necessity meek and defenseless. There is competition between the unorganized unemployed as to who will get jobs, and the unorganized man on the job must meet this competition based on the hunger of the man off the job.

The worker on the job knows his master is not willing to retain him when another worker in the bread-line or the job-line is willing to do the same work, or more, for a lower wage. He knows his employer buys the power to labor that is wrapped up in the skins of human beings in the cheapest market. He is under no illusions that his boss will retain him because he is white. Every intelligent worker knows that, while workers may foolishly fight on the job over color lines, the boss is not swayed by such considerations, except as he may make the division of the workers minister to his profits. The only color the boss has a preference for is Green. The employers want "hands" so green that they will not organize. The boss is buying labor power, and he does not care for the color of the wrapping paper in which it comes. The worker on the job knows his boss is not interested in whether the man he discharges must, as a result, have to listen to the cry of his children for bread,

see his home shattered and the ambitions of his life turn to the bitterness of defeat. These are sentimental considerations, and business is not a matter of sentiment. As the boss is fond of expressing it, he is not in business for his health. He is in business for profit, and profits demand that he give employment only to those who are forced by hunger or the fear of hunger to sell themselves at the cheapest price. The boss cannot be expected to buy a day of a worker's labor and a day of a worker's life as one might pay ten cents to a crippled war-product for a paid of shoe laces without thought of their value, or market price.

Unemployment drives the unorganized workers to lower wages, a life-sapping speed-up, longer hours and repulsive working conditions. The conditions of the unorganized are set on the basis of the desperation of the men on the job confronting the alternative of permitting themselves to be further degraded on the job—or unemployment. The desperation of the unemployed drives them to compete with one another and with the men on the job. Under such conditions—the normal conditions of industry—the value of the worker's product has no relationship whatever to the worker's wages. So long as unemployment exists, hunger or the fear of hunger must set the wages of the unorganized.

Hunger Does Not Set The Wages of Organized Workers

But even with unemployment an ever-present condition, this is not true of the workers who are organized, or there would be no hope for the workers or for humanity. The boss can with impunity discharge any one man, and replace him with an unemployed worker who is willing to work for less. But where the discharge of one man means that all will quit, the owner cannot profitably substitute for all of them. A new crew, not knowing the job routine, would for a time destroy efficiency and lessen profits, overcoming any advantage that could obtain through the paying of lower wages and working longer hours. There is another, and more potent reason why the bosses would not experiment in this way in the face of a determined and properly organized group of workers.

The masters of industry have learned that but few of the unorganized are willing to take the place of struck workers. The loathing with which the workers, organized and unorganized, look on the scab is one of the great achievements of the

labor movement, an important part of a new morality for labor. This was one of the great lessons of the strike of 2,500 lumberworkers in the Cranbrook and Golden districts of British Columbia, under the I. W. W. This strike occurred in the middle of a Canadian winter. On the first day of January, 1924, when the strike was called, the thermometer was at 43 below zero. Thousands of workers were unemployed in British Columbia alone. Hundreds in the city of Vancouver had been driven so low by hunger that they prayed for two hours in a mission to receive the reward of a bowl of soup and stale bread, but they had not dropped to the level where they would scab. Every inducement was proffered to unemployed workers if they would take the places of the workers who were on strike. From as far east as Toronto, the workers were offered free transportation to the closed camps. Yet over a period of more than three months, not more than fifty could be induced to accept the offers of the employers. And of those fifty most were not of the unemployed army. A large percentage were men who had gone back to the land, and who were unable to support either themselves or the homestead. In addition to the leg irons of wage slavery, they were shackled by capitalism to 160 acres of land.

Even men in the deportation shed at Winnipeg were sent under armed guards to the struck area to scab on the Industrial Workers of the World. They were told they would either work in the camps or be deported. Told of the strike, and the demands, not one man of the entire number remained on the job.

That even hunger, destitution, cold and the threats of deportation could not make the unorganized unemployed scab, shows the enormous instinctive solidarity of the workers which with intelligent and organized effort can be made the motive power of vast social changes. Many of those who refused every proffer were foreigners, speaking an alien tongue, but they were workers with that nobility which means something broader and deeper than any nationality, creed and color, for that future, when they are organized.

Thousands of other instances could be given from the recent history of the labor movement showing the same spirit operating in industry, and that even under unemployment, the wages and conditions of the organized workers are not set by hunger. The wages and conditions of organized workers are set by the power of their organization. But with only 280,000 of the workers of Canada organized and less than four million of the workers of the United States organized, and a large per cent

of these misorganized, hunger and unemployment set the wages, hours and conditions of most of the workers.

Having now outlined another aspect of unemployment, in the light of the present lack of organization, we are prepared to deal with a cure for unemployment through organization, on the road of the organizing working class to their historic mission of the abolition of an unscientific method of distribution of the products of human labor.

The study of the machine showed that the cause of unemployment is that each worker is now, with the machine, able to produce vastly more than the worker of one hundred years ago. Not all the workers are needed in industry to produce those commodities for which there is a market, and as a result we have unemployment.

Market Demand Not Based on Human Needs

The size of the market is itself limited. We saw that in the United States the wages of the workers were one-sixth of the value of the commodities which they produced. Hence, we see that the workers cannot buy back more than one-sixth of their product. Here it is necessary to draw the important distinction between a market demand and human needs. Human need is not a factor in production, unless that need has a buying power. A worker may need a pair of shoes. His toes may be turned up through leather and stocking beseeching the worker to cover their nakedness. But there is no market demand for the pair of shoes or the stockings unless the worker has the market price of them. Higher wages for the workers is thus evidently to an extent, at least, a cure for unemployment. Higher wages would mean that more of the needs of the workers would become a market demand. The worker would be able to buy back more of his product, and this would mean that more workers would be required. But we will see that the other cure for unemployment means higher wages, as in securing higher wages an indirect method is better than a direct. **In spite of much misconception, the way to secure permanently higher wages is not by striking for higher wages.**

Getting to the heart of our problem, the greater productivity of labor with the machine being the cause of unemployment, the lower productivity of the worker with the machine would be a cure for unemployment. One would imagine that this is

self-evident. Yet no suggestion of this method of abolishing unemployment is found in any of the currently accepted economists. Only the I. W. W. has outlined this self-evident solution of unemployment through working class organization. No other organization has the form, tactics and aims which make the application of such a method possible. We often hear it said that the man who does two hours' work in one is scabbing another man off the job. But in a broader aspect, this is what the men on the job are doing to the unemployed. When it goes on strike, the labor organization which does not consciously strive to do away with unemployment says to the unemployed: "We do so much work while we are employed that we drive you off the job, but in return you must help us to maintain our standards. You who are unorganized and unemployed must practice solidarity with us, even although we who are organized practice no solidarity with you."!

But how is that lower per man production, which means more men on the job, to be attained? It is evident that to lower the daily production of each worker with the present hours would require a complete survey of industry and the setting of the maximum daily production of each worker or group of workers. This means a difficult standardization of all the workers of industry, and also meets the difficulty that quite often speed of production is not set by the workers but by the machines themselves. Organizations which have sought to do this have also found that it runs counter to the human element, that there are hundreds of workers who have a certain "gait," as they call it, and who, no matter how good their intention, would forget to go slow. Others do slow down, but only through continuous thought and mental strain in doing work that otherwise would be purely automatic. While a "go slow" program has had to be adopted at times, and is always, when there is sufficient organization, an effective form of strike, yet advocacy of "go slow" as a permanent tactic in the cure of unemployment has a measure of the illogical. It asks the workers to waste unnecessary hours on the job—hours that could be used for education, study or recreation.

Apart from the overthrow of the entire system of capitalism, and as one of the forward steps which would bring that goal within the realm of thought of all workers, the logical cure for unemployment is the shorter working day. And when it speaks of the shorter working day, the Industrial Workers of

the World does not mean that in the shorter day as much work will be done by the workers as in the longer day. The organization that makes such a promise—and many of them do—is either lying, or it is saying: "We will drive as many men into the army of the unemployed with the shorter day as with the longer." Statements such as this, which underlie such promises, are indications of mental bankruptcy, and utter lack of vision of the interests of the workers. No organization that functions for the workers can make such a claim. To put it into action would be treason to the workers.

Let us then deal with unemployment through a shorter working day, and a corresponding decrease in the daily production of each worker in industry. The average hours of labor in the United States and Canada we will consider as nine hours. It is slightly over this.

The number of workers is difficult to ascertain. The statistics do not give the number of wage workers but of those who are **gainfully** employed. This is not much to our purpose, because Gary of the steel trust, J. D. Rockefeller and others are gainfully employed. In fact the amount of gain seems to be in inverse ratio to the social value of the employment. But averaging all estimates that I have found, which are within the bounds of reason, I have arrived at the total number of wage workers on the continent as approximately thirty million.

There is also difficulty in discovering the maximum number of the unemployed in the periods of greatest unemployment. The Department of Labor of the United States, which cannot be accused of overestimating the unemployed, as it represents labor less than any other such bureau in the world, has given at various times estimates of the number unemployed, not in all the industries of the United States but in certain of them, as over five million. It is then no exaggeration to say that in the periods of greatest depression there are eight million unemployed in the United States and Canada.

In line with the estimates given in the preceding paragraphs, we can now deal with the problem of unemployment on the basis of the six-hour day. Examples of the effect of a shorter working day have often been given, using as a means of deduction a small number of workers. Here we will deal on a scale as broad as the whole North American continent, using this merely to teach a lesson which must through organization be given a world-wide application.

Now for a mathematical problem so simple that it is surprising that it has never before been used.

The eight million unemployed subtracted from the total of thirty million workers, gives a balance of 22 million who are working during periods of depression. Eight from thirty is twenty-two. No college education is required for that.

Twenty-two million workers working nine hours a day perform how many labor hours of work? Twenty-two multiplied by nine gives one hundred and ninety-eight. Then the workers in periods of depression produce 198 million labor hours of work a day.

Now cut the hours of labor of the workers to six hours. Now we have 22 million workers working six hours a day. How many labor hours of work would they perform in six hours? Twenty-two multiplied by six is 132. The workers in periods of depression would perform 132,000,000 labor hours of work each day.

But we found that in periods of depression even, 198 million hours of labor time were necessary, and the 22 million working six hours would produce only 132 million labor hours a day. There are sixty-six million labor hours of work remaining to be done each working day. Now with each worker organized to work only 6 hours how many other workers would be required in industry? We divide 66 million by six, and find that the answer is that eleven million more workers would, in periods of depression, be required to perform the necessary labor on the job. The bosses would be forced by the six-hour day to take the eight million of the unemployed into industry, and then to look for methods of doing without three million other workers.

At the present development of the machine the six-hour day would abolish unemployment. At the beginning of this chapter we saw the workers underbidding and underselling one another, reducing labor to a starvation standard of living. Under the six-hour day this condition would be reversed. The lash of hunger would be taken out of the hands of the employer. The employers would be more dependent and the workers more independent. The struggle would not be between workers for jobs, but between bosses for workers. The employer who was not willing to meet the demands of the workers for more of the enormous quantities of commodities they produce would be forced to close his industry. The six-hour day would put vast power into the hands of the workers while at the same time

again strengthening the workers by weakening the power of the bosses.

With thirty million tons of cabbage produced, and a demand for only twenty-two million tons, the sellers of cabbage knowing that eight million tons could not be sold, would scramble to get rid of their cabbages. They would undersell one another. This is the status of the commodity Labor Power at the present time.

But if there were thirty million tons of cabbages, and the demand was for thirty-three million tons, the buyers would be forced to compete with one another, to raise the price of cabbage. This would be the status of the commodity Labor Power under the six-hour day.

Higher wages were mentioned as a cure for unemployment. But this cure is contained in the six-hour day. The six-hour day would vastly increase the wages of the workers. Efforts to raise wages with the unemployed outside the factory have against them not only the pressure of the bosses as owners of industry, but also the pressure of the struggle of the workers for jobs. That labor even with the small organization at the present is able to overcome these to an extent shows what it could, and would, achieve towards the raising of wages under a six-hour day.

One of the unavoidable things in the study of labor history is that any general reduction of the hours through organization —and there has never been an improvement in labor conditions without organization; the unorganized mass have achieved nothing for labor—is followed by a raise in the wages and an improvement in the conditions of the workers.

The shortening of the hours increases the demand for workers and this raises wages. The best way to strike for better wages is not to strike for better wages, but to organize for shorter hours, and make this the demand which contains within itself everything that the workers can achieve short of the industrial revolution. This is correct in theory and sound in practice. This was proven in the strike of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W. in four states of the American Northwest in 1917. The seventy-five thousand lumber workers, who in the strike of 1917 achieved greater changes in the conditions of the lumber workers than were ever before gained in so short a time in any of the basic industries of the world, knew the value of the shorter working day to raise wages and improve conditions. They knew that higher wages won without

shorter hours could again be lost, but that a worker used to a shorter working day would organize and fight for its maintenance as for nothing else.

No demand for higher wages was made. The masters of industry knew, as did the I. W. W., that higher wages were inevitable under a shorter working day. When the hours were reduced from ten, eleven or more to eight, wages were automatically increased and the conditions vastly improved.

Shorter Hours Would Destroy Racial Hates

Hatreds along the lines of race, nationality, creed and color are nurtured among the workers by the bosses, who know that to keep the workers divided is to keep them conquered. These divisions are perhaps the greatest obstacle to the progress of labor. They have a cause in a short-sighted outlook on the struggle for jobs, which is inevitable when there is a lack of organization and a pronounced unemployment. The unemployed worker sees a job he would like to have. He finds that job filled by a worker who is of a different nationality, creed, race or color from himself. He feels as though the other worker had robbed him of a job that otherwise would be his. He does not see that "The boss giveth, and the boss taketh away, blessed be the name of the boss" is part of the litany of present day industry. Or there is a worker on a job. He does not own it—all jobs are owned by the boss. Another worker takes it and he is discharged, which generally means that in a few days he will be looking longingly at the job occupied by some other worker than himself. The man who has taken his job away from him is different in color, in race or nationality. In any case the cry of "foreigner" goes up.

Such a worker is, if uneducated, rather inclined to attack the organization which deals realistically with the condition, and says to him:

"There are all the races and creeds and colors of the world working in industry. The I. W. W. did not bring in the man you call 'foreigner'. If you must hate, then hate the bosses who did. They are here; the question is what you are going to do with them. As workers they want higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions as do you. Organize them with you and you fight with them for the common aims of all workers against the common enemy. Call them names, refuse to organize them, and they fight with the boss and against you. When

you refuse to organize a worker you give him the right to scab.

"The worker you are abusing has shown that he wanted to improve his conditions; he left the country in which he was born to better his condition, as you have often changed location for the same purpose. Where is the difference? The foreigner ran away from capitalism in one country, perhaps without knowing what he was running away from, and he found capitalism and the same condition here. Now it is expected that instead of running he will organize to fight capitalism.

"What cuts wages is not the 'foreigner' or the native born. It is the unorganized worker no matter where he was born. What raises hours is not the 'foreigner' or the native born. It is the unorganized worker no matter where he was born."

And in making these statements the Industrial Workers of the World is on unassailable ground. As a matter of fact the wage of the foreigner, so-called, in the United States is not lower than the wages of the native born. In 1910, the wages of the native born workers, of native born parentage in the United States, averaged $14.37 a week. The English-born worker averaged $14.13 a week, the Scotch $15.24 a week and the Welsh workers in the United States averaged $22.05. The differences are, of course, dependent on the particular line of work which most of them follow, and whether they are organized. The higher wages of the Welsh are due to the fact that most of them work as miners in a partly organized industry; but on the basis of the figures given, the Welsh worker might tell the native born that he had come to the United States to raise the wages of the natives who call him "foreigner."

Dealing with the entire table from which I have merely taken a few, and which shows the average wages of most of the foreign nationalities in the industries of the United States, in "Conditions of Labor in American Industries," the authors W. Jett Lauck and Edgar Sydensticker say:

> "Altogether, on an average, the racial differences shown are surprisingly slight. The theory that workers of certain races are inherently much inferior to workers of certain other races does not appear to be substantiated, especially when other facts are taken into consideration. In fact, from an examination of the available data, the general statement seems to be warranted that, while racial characteristics doubtless have an effect in determining the efficiency of immigrant workers in American industry, industrial opportunity appears to be the principal determinant."

Facts such as these, and a proper viewpoint on the need for the solidarity of all workers can and will do away with the unreasoning antagonisms resulting from the struggle for jobs,

but the emotional background for them will disappear with the six-hour day as the working day. With more jobs than there are workers, everyone in industry will realize that every worker is a foreigner to some other worker, that every man is many times more foreign than native. He can be a native of but one country while he must be a foreigner to all the others. With more jobs than workers, everyone in industry will realize the unity of desire and aim which is common to every worker. The worker on the job need not look at another worker as an enemy, but will give the hand of welcome to every new man on the job. He will say to him by word and action:

"Organize with us in the Industrial Workers of the World; work with us six hours a day; spend the hours that have been taken off the working day with us in studying our common position as workers. We are not alarmed that there will be too many workers on the job. If the bosses try to flood the industries with men, in an effort to cause unemployment again, we will use more industrial arithmetic, divide the work to be done by the number of workers, and the result will be the number of hours we will work. If there are enough men to do the work in less than six hours—then why work six hours?"

Six Hours Would Abolish Small Capitalists

As in the human body there are muscles and parts which are no longer necessary in the human economy, reversions to a previous stage in the development of man, so also in the heart of the present system we find vestiges of feudalism, and of previous stages through which capitalism has passed. There was a time when all production under capitalism was in small factories using machinery now antiquated. These were the days of the small business man, the small shopkeeper. Competition was then the life of trade; organization had not then shown its superior efficiency. This was the period in the development of the capitalist system, when the middle class, the **petite bourgeoisie,** were capitalism. Side by side with the development of the machine has gone on a development, arising from this, of the nature of capitalistic production itself. Today the gigantic corporation, the trust, and organization of many trusts are the dominant capitalism. And now hanging on by their eyebrows over the yawning gulf of labor we find the middle class desperately yelling "Turn backward, turn backward, oh Time in thy

flight," and "Bust the Trusts." This small capitalist group, economically unimportant but with far greater numbers than the big capitalists, represent in the present system of production about what the muscles to wiggle one's ears represent in the human economy.

The evolution of Capitalism has been along the line of the concentration of power into fewer and fewer hands. In the report of U. S. Secretary MacLane in 1832, the list of ninety of the biggest capitalists in the iron trade is given. These had a combined investment of $3,200,000. According to the report of the U. S. Steel Corporation the value of its investment in Dec., 1921, was $2,439,546,962.56. Statistics for the United States show that only five per cent of the workers of the United States work in factories that are owned by individuals. The products of the manufacturing establishments of the United States grew thirty-one times as fast as the number of establishments. And this does not tell the whole story, as through interlocking directorates most of these establishments are owned by the same persons. This shows what the development of capitalism has already done to the middle class.

The evolution of capitalism is doing away with the middle class, but at the same time that the concentration of wealth is squeezing them out, it is also using them against labor in numerous ways. Despite the fact that for every worker who climbs up out of the ranks of the workers, a thousand of the middle class are forced down, capitalism dangles before the eyes of the workers the hope of becoming one of the middle class. They can save a thousand dollars—"If I did not eat I'd have money to burn"—and go into competition with the Owl Drug Stores backed by all the wealth of John D. Rockefeller. They can with a thousand dollars go into competition with the great department stores with millions of capital, with a corner grocery, although the big aggregations of wealth can deliver at the home of the customer cheaper than the corner grocer can buy wholesale.

Not only does the little capitalist class, although an inefficient and dying class, the "muddle" class of society, serve capitalism in giving illusive hopes to the worker, but they are also used in fighting labor. The big capitalists engineer the fights against labor, but they do not care for the actual struggle itself. It is too much like work, and too dirty. This they leave for the middle class out of which the Fascisti are recruited, and Citi-

zens Committees and the other organizations which fight labor.

The six-hour day would speed up the destruction of the middle class, the small capitalists. They must of necessity use small and antiquated machinery. The small machines are inefficient. Under the six-hour day we saw that the employers would be competing for workers, and the middle class could not meet this competition. It would be forced to the wall. Only the more highly developed plants could be used in production with the higher cost of labor and the vast demand for workers. Part of the three million men who were needed would be made up for through using the best machinery now existing continuously, and the inefficient machinery not at all. The rest would be supplied through the addition to the ranks of labor of the middle class.

And here is another result that is important. With the army of labor and the army of capital confronting one another on the battlefield of industry without the camouflage of a middle class to obscure the issue, every worker would see the naked class struggle in industry. The issues involved would not be obscured. The revolutionary necessities of the workers would become evident. And that revolutionary feeling of the workers would be accentuated by the presence of the middle class, now abolished, as workers. Unused to wage labor, not calloused to its horrors, they would see the conditions of the workers as they are, capitalism as it is, and become a vast accession to the revolutionary tendencies of the workers.

We thus see that the six-hour day is the cure for unemployment, the way to higher wages, the method that would abolish the emotionalism without knowledge on which racial hates are based, that it would remove the middle class, and make for a more efficient production.

The six-hour day is not revolutionary any more than the ten-hour day, or the eight-hour day are revolutionary. But can one imagine the workers, with the organized power that the six-hour day would give them, with their bosses weakened and themselves enormously strengthened, satisfied with wage slavery, to toil while others got the major portion of the wealth which they produced?

The workers would be dissatisfied with a system that under any condition must be based on loot and outrage. They would glimpse visions of the free society and make these visions into a greater organization and power. There is but a step from

the six-hour day to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a scientific system of distribution of the products of labor; from the six-hour day, under which the workers would still toil under an aristocracy of idleness, to a co-operative commonwealth which would establish the aristocracy of Labor with every man a worker—an aristocrat in an aristocracy based on service—under a system which would emancipate man from the struggle for food, to struggle for a higher manhood, a loftier, sweeter womanhood fanned by the winds of freedom, and rooted deep in the soil of a human liberty wide as the worlds.

In the largest aspect the six-hour day is revolutionary. And here is the overshadowing reason why the workers of the world must organize and concentrate all power to the gaining of the six-hour day, to cure unemployment, but far more because it is on their road to the conquest of power, to a new society which would give history a meaning, and humanity a goal.



THE MIDDLE CLASS POSITION

CHAPTER EIGHT

The social problem of the future we consider to be, how to unite the greatest possible individual liberty of action with the common ownership in the raw materials of the globe, and an equal participation in all the benefits of combined labor.—JOHN STUART MILL.

To know what you prefer instead of humbly saying "Amen" to what the world tells you you ought to prefer is to have kept your soul alive.

INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY OR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM?

THE evolution of the machine which we saw as the industrial revolution of the past one hundred years is still going on with accelerated momentum. More new machines are put into use each year now than in whole decades in the early stages of that revolution. To express this in another way, one year now increases the cause of unemployment more than ten years at the beginning of machine production.

Nor is this all; every study of industry shows that the machine development of the past will be dwarfed by that of the immediate future. The present machine development, which means the unemployment which we have been studying, does not satisfy the owners of industry. They are being forced by the very nature of industry to more horse power and fewer workers. Today an added stress is being placed on machines to do more work with a smaller number of men; and it is forecast by the forces operating at the basis of industry that we are on the verge of changes that go beyond the past history of production. The industrial revolution of the past one hundred years has now an added momentum, and the machine developments of the past promise to be overshadowed by the industrial revolution of the machine during the next ten years. He would be foolish indeed who would endeavor to set limits to the inventions of the immediate future, when he realizes the enormous strides made during the past ten years.

The plans now being drafted make it impossible to set limits to the unemployment of the future unless the workers

will immediately organize to cure unemployment. Each of the industries has now its more efficient machine or machines in course of development to further increase unemployment, its new industrial processes in the experimental stages to further deepen and widen the gulf between the owners of the machines and the producers and operators of machines. Here we shall give only a few of the dark clouds on the horizon of industry for an unorganized working class, unless they heed the lesson of the machine, and organize.

The steam locomotive as a means of land transportation is becoming antiquated. There is not a great railway system that would not now be using the more efficient electric locomotive were it not that the steam locomotive and equipments, while less efficient, represent an enormous investment, to replace them means an enormous cost, and therefore less dividends, and they will be retained for this reason until they are worn out. But they will then be replaced by electric engines.

Electricity Displacing Steam

A machine depending upon coal must give way to one that burns water (hydro-electricity). One that must use energy in braking down a steep grade must be replaced by a machine that uses the gravity of thousands of tons to brake itself and to generate the power to go up the next grade.

The tendencies of the present, which will become the industrial facts of the future, can best be studied through the medium of the capitalism that is most highly developed. In the railroad industry, then, a standard of measurement could logically be the Canadian Pacific Railway, the first transcontinental system on the American continent, now a trust of trusts, perhaps the highest expression of capitalism in transportation, with its ships on every ocean, its own Pullman system, its own telegraph system, its own hotel system, its own lake steamships, with its dominating influence in the ownership of much of the land in Canada, its tentacles in many industries, and its ramifications broad as the earth. This organization of many organizations is now planning to use the steam locomotives east of Calgary, Alberta, all new engines to be electric. The electrification scheme for the divisions between Vancouver and Calgary is already mapped out. With the electric engines, they have discovered that one line will be able to do the

work that would otherwise demand a double track.

This means that thousands of miners, now producing the coal for these divisions, and later for all divisions, will be unemployed. When the project to use the falling waters of the Rockies as power is finished, thousands of railroad workers will also be in the army of the unemployed. The number of workers in each of the division points, the number of division points, and the number of men operating trains, per mile, per ton, will all be reduced.

In the Dominion of Canada in the ten years from 1914 to 1924, the number of railway employes has been reduced by 13,017 while in the same period the mileage has increased by 10,469 miles. Mow vastly greater will be the growth of unemployment in this industry during the next ten years!

Here again we find the aristocracy of labor, so styled, being replaced in the evolution of the machine. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers will furnish much of its "aristocracy" to the unemployed. In the **Erie Works Coupler,** "House Organ" of that branch of the "General Electric," we find a picture of the electric engine in competition with the present type of steam locomotive. At the throttle of the Mikado type steam locomotive, equipped with booster, superheater and other improvements making it one of the most powerful in operation on steam lines today, is the engineer, his head hoary from years of service for the New York Central Railway Company. The engine and engineer represent the age that is past or passing in land transportation. The new age of the machine is represented by one of the electric engines built for a Mexican railway. Handling it, as fitting type of the new, is youth, a boy. What happened?

Meeting of Old and New

The two engines, the old and the new are coupled. The steam engine is allowed to start. It is carrying the electric engine down the track with it. Then the power of Niagara, carried on a thin yellow wire animates the electric engine. Slowly the pair come to a stop as the power is gradually turned on in the electric engine. Then straining at every joint with its protest, the giant steam locomotive is being pulled back at accelerated speed. The old meets the new, and the new triumphs; this is always the story of progress—mechanical and human.

There is typified in this tug-o'-war more than the rise of a new means of land transportation. There is also typified the doom of an old type of unionism.

In the issue of the **Erie Works Coupler** of September 5, 1924, we find under the heading, "Oil Electric Locomotive Astonishes New York," the following:

> "The oil electric locomotive recently completed by the Ingersoll Rand Company and the General Electric Company has recently been sent to New York where it has astonished the New Yorkers with its ability. Newspapers, trade journals, and other periodicals are making quite a fuss over the machine, and carrying relatively long illustrated articles.
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> "This locomotive is operated at about one-tenth of the expense of the steam locomotive formerly in service which can haul only eight heavily loaded cars up the same grade that the oil electric can pull eighteen."

The engines were used to haul cars out of a pit. This means that for every eighteen men who would be needed to operate the old engines, only eight would be required with the new, a reduction of operating staff for the same amount of work of 55 per cent.

Clearing the Foundation for Unionism

The immediate future development of the railroad industry will drive millions of workers off the job. It will with other workers, affect the membership of two of the biggest of the conservative unions on the American continent, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the United Mine Workers. One of the functions of the machine has been to destroy such unions, thus clearing the foundations for a real organization of the workers. How oblivious to the real needs and aspirations of labor such organizations are is indicated in the following article from the **Literary Digest** of December 13, 1924, under the caption, "A Union War Over Union Labor," in part as follows:

> "Two of the greatest unions in America—the United Mine Workers and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers—are engaged in a tug of war. The brotherhood, headed by Warren S. Stone, is said by the **Manchester Union** to be the richer organization, while the miners boast the larger membership. Both principals in the present fight, which started last April, own and direct many financial, industrial and commercial enterprises. Besides being at the head of the Engineers' Brotherhood, Mr. Stone is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Coal River Collieries, which lie in West Virginia and Kentucky.
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> "Among the accusations made against the mining company in the numerous accounts of its tribulations published in the newspapers are refusal to pay the union scale, rejection of the check-off plan of collecting union dues, operating on a non-union basis, hiring armed

guards, excluding union organizers, evicting striking miners and their families from their rented homes, and discharging miners for joining the union."

Commenting on the matter, Lewis of the miners said that the refusal of the Brotherhood to permit organization in their mines is a "scandal to the entire organized labor movement of this country; it appears that he (Warren S. Stone) prefers to profess trade union principles and at the same time employ scab labor in the mines of his company."

Confusing Capitalism and Labor Unionism

The difficulties of Mr. Lewis are those which are common to many so-called labor leaders. He makes the common mistake of considering such organizations as labor unions, an error out of which arise many other inconsistencies. They are not labor unions. In their ownership of small banks, coal mines, with armed guards, and industries, they are capitalism, and small capitalism at that. In their activities as aggregations of certain workers they are small, inefficient job trusts selling craft skill to the bosses. These job trusts function through limiting the supply of workers, denying those they refuse to organize the right to work, and dividing the workers. In one phase of their activity they are small capitalists; in the other they are a means of division of the workers for the benefit of capitalism. When Mr. Lewis and others understand that the organization he is head of, and the organization of which Mr. Stone is the leader, and the trade and craft organizations in general are not labor unions, he will find their actions and his own to be completely consistent with what the trade organizations really are. He will discover that as capitalistic institutions they are all consistent with the nature of capitalism; that the action of the Brotherhood is the natural evolution of craft organizations. If one expected capitalism to function as a labor union, many contradictions to this premise would become evident, which when it was considered as capitalism would disappear. The apparent contradictions which many find within the craft organizations are due to a similar error. They are entirely consistent with themselves, and the inconsistent form of small capitalism which they are. The industrial revolution which is undermining their power as small capitalism, will permanently settle their quarrels over scab coal mines through the further development of

the machine in land transportation and corresponding changes in other industries. But it must also vastly increase unemployment in the immediate future unless the workers organize into the real union of the working class—the I. W. W.

Another immediate future development of the machine, to create increased unemployment, is now being planned by the owners of industry, or rather by the workers who are their engineering experts. It has been discovered that the shipping of coal in cars, with all the handling that is required, is too expensive, takes too many workers. It is more profitable, more labor-saving to convey the energy contained in coal over wires. One can scarcely take up a magazine dealing with the projects for the future evolution of the machine, and the improvement of the technique of production, without seeing mention and eulogy of this new method.

Shipping Coal By Wire

Electrical plants are to be placed at the tipple of each mine. All the coal mined in each is to be carried on overhead, endless belts to boilers connected with dynamos changing the energy of the coal into electrical energy. This will be delivered by wire where it is required by industry. Millions of workers now employed in the transportation of coal will be in the army of the unemployed. Those who operate the fire rooms, the engine rooms, who make engines and boilers, will be in the bread lines in enormous numbers. A few electricians, and men with oil cans to oil motors, will replace them when this vast industrial change is completed.

When we know the plans for a house are being drafted, and that those ordering the plans are not insane, it is not prophecy to say that the house is to be built. In the same way, knowing that the engineering and electrical architects are drafting now for this new development, it is logical to look forward to its use. And especially is this true, when with it goes a saving of billions yearly for the owners of industry, whose interests are alone considered under the present system.

But greater forces to cause even greater unemployment lie in the future for the working class unless they organize. We saw the very essence of the industrial revolution in the adding of the power of falling water, the power of coal, the power of oil, the power of gasoline, and the power of electricity to the

muscular power that is wrapped up in the bodies of workers. The addition of Nature's energy to the energy of workers is, and has been, the industrial revolution.

Nature's stores of energy are limitless; most of them have not yet been harnessed. The greatest scientist of today is still, as Newton said, merely a child picking pebbles on the shore of a limitless ocean of knowledge, and of power.

Elixir of Life or Death?

Back in the history of the race many centuries, an astrologer was looking for that around which much of the study of the dark ages revolved, the elixir of life, one drink of which would make man deathless. He had tried everything of which he could think without success, until finally his experiments had a result. He mixed saltpeter, sulphur and charcoal. He had about eighty per cent saltpeter in the combination and about equal parts of sulphur and charcoal. Here at last might be the elixir of life. Then the elixir got hot, and it went off with a bang. The elixir of life he had discovered was gunpowder.

Centuries later, a scientist, a worker, was experimenting with the steam engine. He said: "At last I have solved the problem; it will be of inestimable benefit to humanity. It will lighten human toil, shorten hours, make man more the lord of the universe." And the machine developed beyond his dreams —and its result is unemployment!

Today scientists are looking for a vast storehouse of power, energy, to lighten toil and eliminate drudgery, and whether they discover the elixir of life or the elixir of death depends on whether the workers organize for life or remain unorganized for death.

Another search of the astrologers, the scientists of the ages that are dead, was for a method of changing the baser metals into gold. They did not discover it. But that modern science, which has revolutionized production, knows since the discovery of radium which changes into other elements and finally into lead, that in Nature's laboratory this process takes place.

In the exploration of the atom, suggested by the discovery of radium, science has found a universe within a compass below the miscroscopic. It has also found a source of infinite energy. Even the grains of sand under our feet are masses of billions of tiny particles all in rapid motion, **some of them at speeds**

exceeding 20,000 miles a second. Here is unlimited energy, the material out of which can be formed further industrial revolutions. A handful of sand contains an atomic energy of these moving particles sufficient to send the largest ship upon the ocean around the world! Contained in a penknife is sufficient power to send the same ship across the Atlantic.

In the Literary Digest for November 15, 1924, we find an article, "Infinite Energy Just Out of Reach," which I quote in part as a lesson to the workers to organize and organize now:

> "All scientific men agree that huge stores of energy are locked up in the atom of matter. . . . Doctor Gerald L. Wendt, dean of the school of chemistry and physics at Pennsylvania State College, thinks that he has taken the first steps towards it and is within measurable distance of his goal. He is quoted, indeed, as stating that experiments already conducted by him give "reasonable promise" that he will discover the secret and succeed in utilizing it for the benefit of mankind. This would mean a new and immeasurable source of energy independent of coal and oil deposits, hydro-electric and every form of power known at present, it was said by Dr. Wendt, and by other scientists in attendance at an intersectional meeting of the American Chemical Society at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania. In his experiments, we are told in a report made to the New York TIMES, Dr. Wendt placed a tungsten wire in a vacuum tube, through which he shot energy, with the result that more energy came out than went in, and the tungsten was transformed into helium. . . . The TIMES quotes Dr. Wendt as follows:
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> "'I have been using a temperature of 60,000 degrees F. in my investigations. The sun is only 10,000 degrees F., and the hottest star is 40,000 degrees. . . . Hitherto, one of the great difficulties has been that we could not get a sufficient degree of temperature in our laboratories, but now we can produce heat higher than the hottest star. I have been using 100,000 volts of electricity for this purpose.
>
> "'Copper, gold and iron are elements, and thus far we have been unable to change them. This is not saying that it can't be done, and I think I have reasonable grounds for the belief that I will be able to unlock atomic energy.
>
> "'If I succeed in my endeavors it will mean the revolution of civilization. . . .'"

"For the benefit of humanity!" If the workers do not organize the release of the infinite energy of the atoms will not be for the benefit of humanity. It will not be an elixir of life any more than was gunpowder or the machine. It will mean not a higher life but multiplied misery, poverty, unemployment, slavery and death. All the workers in coal mines would no longer be needed. The oil fields of the world would cease to be the playthings of the diplomacy of capitalism; every oil worker would be unemployed, and with them those employed in the refineries, and in the transportation of coal and oil. The firemen, engineers

What Lack of Organization Must Mean

and stokers in land and ocean transportation would be industrially unnecessary. The electrical construction, the hydro-electric plants and projects would close. More than half of the workers now on the job would be in the army of the unemployed. The affluent ease and parasitic consumption of the owners of industry would know no limitations, nor would the poverty of the workers. A few seated on thrones of gold, with a power greater than all the despots and tyrants of history would dominate the world, as owners of the forces of nature, monarchs of the machines, and lords of the earth. Every worker would be an alien on the planet, a trespasser on private property, existing only by sufferance or starving to death in a world owned by a few.

Unless the workers organize, more of the women of the workers will be compelled to sell their bodies for bread. Behind prostitution are two factors, the low wages and unemployment of women, and the low wages and unemployment of men, who patronize prostitutes because they cannot marry. There are two animals in all nature that cannot reproduce their kind, cannot know the happiness of ministering to their young. They are the mule, and a large and increasing portion of the working class. Motherhood and fatherhood denied cry to heaven the imbecilities of the present social system.

If the workers do not organize, crime must increase. Behind and beyond crime lies the crime of crimes—capitalism itself. In the winter more crimes are committed than during the summer. The contrast is appalling. Why? Criminologists, as useless a group of individuals as economists, do not answer. They do not dare. Is it because there is a relation between cold weather and immorality; between solar heat and virtue? Yes, in about the same way that there is a relation between sun spots and unemployment! The reason is that millions of workers desperate with hunger throng the cities in the winters. They declare war against a society that first declared war against them. The wealth they and their class have created mocks their hunger from the store windows. They become criminals instead of organizing for the greatest of social missions, that of their class. Crime is anti-social because it is crime, and also because it is based on individualism, in a world the problems of which can

Crime Must Increase Without Organization

be solved only through organization. In a paper received as this is written I find that in Ontario, Canada, in December, 1924, over 25 per cent of the crimes being committed in that province are with the definite purpose of being a means of sending the perpetrators to the jails for the winter. What is to be said of a system where the unemployed find that the punishment for crime is more bearable than the rewards of toil, which so often are unemployment? What is to be said of a working class that prefers to go to jail to live rather than to organize?

So long as the workers do not organize, and organize right, organize on the basis of their interests as a class, intemperance must increase. Men who work like animals under the pressure of lack of organization, or who live like animals due to unemployment, must drink like brutes. They want to feel in their veins the old vigor which has been dissipated in industry, and destroyed by the virus of fatigue. Their rich red blood has been transfused into the veins of industry. To feel human again they must thrill their abused nerves with the stimulation of intoxicants.

Use of Narcotics Must Increase

The use of narcotics must continue to increase so long as the industrial revolution continues, and the workers remain unorganized. Thousands of workers are driven downward, degenerated until they lose all human color in the mad treadmill of industry, and the miseries of unemployment. The dregs at the bottom of society, utterly without hope, utterly without reasonable ambition, crushed and warped products of the present system, prove the statement of Aristotle, given over the first chapter of this work: "It is necessary first to have a maintenance and then to practice virtue." Virtue and unemployment, virtue and industrial slavery are utterly inconsistent. The one virtue of a slave who is worthy of freedom is the virtue of organization to abolish slavery. I have, as investigator of social phenomena, been mingling with the army of the unemployed. I have prayed with hundreds of them in missions for two hours, and imagined their thoughts and emotions. I have walked down stairs of sighs with them to where they were rewarded with half a cup of soup and stale bread and the privilege to sleep on the floors of a concrete basement. I have with them shared the indignities of begging a bed during the last few months. I have plumbed with them the depths of the miseries of my class. I know the

forces of which they are the victims and the forces that prey upon them; the loss of self respect that they suffer; the indignities which they are offered. I have heard their curses that were prayers and their prayers that were curses. I can understand even the dope fiend, knowing the environment which produces him, or what is worse, her. Had I to squirm and crawl through life as thousands of the unemployed are doing right now in the richest countries of the world, had I no hope for the future, no hope for the organization of labor, coldly and calmly do I state that I would commit suicide, and if I did not have the courage, through the weakening of hunger, I would accept dope, anything that would drown my hunger and my outrage, and the last vestiges of self-respect, and hide what capitalism had made me from myself.

No crime is more anti-social, more revolting than that of him who will from the profit motive, which is the motive of capitalism, traffic in dope, and the making of dope fiends, except the traffic of capitalism itself in the making of dope fiends. Recently I visited a court room where a Chinese dope peddler was being tried. I could not find anything but loathing for the deadly traffic, and loathing for the man in the dock. It was based on an emotion deeper than thought. He was given seven years in the penitentiary for selling seven grains of opium!

Then I remembered that the government, represented by the court, had forced not seven grains of opium, but tons of opium down the throats of the Chinese under the threat of cannons. That the Chinese dope peddler sold some of it back to citizens of that same government had in it an element of retribution. I remembered capitalism with a monopoly of all the opium of India, giving special concessions to those who would raise the poppy. I remembered that it placed twelve to fifteen hundred tons of opium a year on the markets of the world. The crime of the Chinaman, terrible as was its social significance, sank into nothingness in comparison with the crime of capitalism, the wholesale dope trafficker with its hundreds of tons.

Then came another thought, the Chinese dope seller did not degenerate the moral and physical fiber of his prospective customer. Capitalism both furnished the opium and created the market for it.

In that court room I saw the judge, honestly trying to protect society from the dope traffic, under a social system that makes the protection of society impossible. As I heard the

sentence of seven years for seven grains, I sensed that soon the court of an organized working class in industry must bring to the bar of justice the peddler of the fifteen hundred tons, and robed in their power as the useful class, the constructive class in society, pronounce the death sentence of capitalism.

The present of the workers is dark. If they remain unorganized their future must be darker, as the midnight of capitalism surrounds them, and the vampire bats of the night suck away their vitality, fatten on their blood and eat away their lives.

To remain unorganized means suicide for the working class. It means suicide for humanity, and that the dreams towards which human beings strive must forever remain dreams. We saw atoms that organized and became life. Organized human atoms organized in an industrial unionism of atoms mean life, and the evolution of life to higher and higher planes of social existence. Every intelligent worker must see that as organization is the key to the study of the past, so is it the key that will open to the people of the entire world the rich storehouses of nature, place at their feet the rich accumulations of science, and make the machine a force for social growth, not social destruction. Every intelligent worker must see that the man who is not organized for the richer day of humanity that lies beyond the night of capitalism, is allied with the night, standing in his own way, the way of the class of which he is a member and the way of all humanity on their road to progress.

Workers Will And Must Organize

But the workers will organize. They must organize. The machine, while the oppressor today, is pointing the road of the workers to freedom, to the co-operative ownership of the earth and the machinery of production, as the way out of the mad welter of greed, and the undertow of master class persecution and destruction. The machine is bringing thousands of workers together before it, it is placing them on an equality, that they may see their power as the producers of wealth, as the makers of the things by which mankind lives. It is showing them that the power which they think in their ignorance is inherent in their masters is not the power of the masters, but the power which their lack of organization gives the masters. It is showing them that the power of wealth which fills them with awe is not the power of the master class, but the massed wealth which they themselves have pro-

duced. It is showing them that the money which they think is power, is merely the creation of one group of them, the miners, and that as the creator is greater than his creations, not gold, but men, free because fitted for freedom and with the organization to conquer freedom, must be the basis of a civilization worthy of the name.

The picture of the future, with capitalism in the saddle, and the world lashed to destruction, is dark beyond words. The further we peer into it, the darker the prospect becomes. But for us, as members of the I. W. W., the organization of the new society, made necessary by the conditions of today and possible through the education and organization of the workers for emancipation, the darkness of the present and the blackness of the future are illumined with the thought of our beacon in the present and the hope of the world for the future. In that light which the Industrial Workers of the World is throwing on the working class and the industrial society of today, we can look forward and see beyond darkness, light; beyond night, dawn; beyond industrial slavery, industrial freedom; beyond the starvation of children, the tears of mothers and the rising agony of the dispossessed and disinherited, the objectives of an organized working class. We can see the unemployment, the injustices, the inequalities of the present as the necessary birth pangs of a new social order.

Only Organization Can Illumine The Future

The Workers of the World must organize! And organized they must win, for standing shoulder to shoulder, intelligent and determined, clear eyed and unafraid, Labor would be the supreme power in the universe. The power within the atoms of matter, though immeasurable, would be small compared to the possibilities of the human atoms in industry that, driven by the outrages of the present and beaconed forward by the ideals of labor for the future, can remake the world.

Through the I. W. W. of the present, merely the nucleus of the organization of the future and free society, we can see and work for a condition where the machine will not be the destroyer of its creators, where the forces of nature will work for humanity and each succeeding year will make man more the lord of the earth and of himself, developing the forces within him, and the forces without him to a greater progress of the race. Science, emancipated from the shackles of the parasitic

few, will brighten the world and light the corridors of the future to higher vistas. Art, released from the service of hunger and the glorification of shams, will lay its richest beauties at the feet of a free humanity. Genius will not die in garrets, its riches of thought and feeling lost while he who murders millions is glorified and lives in palaces. Genius, caged today, will tomorrow be free to flood the earth with music and pour its songs against the heavens. Talent will not in infancy fall a prey to ruthless greed. Uncensored and undaunted it will give its messages to a world with the culture to appreciate them, the freedom to enjoy them. Poetry, now strangled in the atmosphere of hypocrisy, cant and double dealing, will weave richer garlands than are possible under slavery, for the brow of an emancipated humanity.

Free from the ownership by the machine, with all the forces of nature his servants, free from the animal struggle for food which has been the past history of the race, who can set limitations to the possibilities of man?

We, as the slaves of a merciless industrial system, dream of freedom and the dawn, in the night of capitalism. And the dream, based on a scientific analysis of society and machine production, is sweet. But our dream of freedom and the dawn is not based on experiences of freedom, but on our experiences of the night. The dream is dim compared with what the Industrial Workers of the World can build in the sunlight of the future. When the atom began to organize—as do we, under the impulse of the forces around it, and the forces within it—it did not know that through organization it would become a universe, then life, and then the evolution of life ever ascending. So also there are goals as the result of our organization that are beyond our comprehension. But this we do know, that when man ceases to grow, to evolve, the stars will look down on a dying world. This we do know, that agitation is life and stagnation death.

To organize, to show the workers of the world that they also must organize for a world without a master and without a slave, to strive toward a system in which the answer to the cry for bread will not be soup in a mission, and the answer to the aspiration for freedom a club, is to ally ourselves with the future, to make ourselves a part of social evolution, to keep our souls alive. It is to be worthy of freedom. It is to be men, fitted for manhood, instead of slaves fitted for nothing but slavery.

The one hope of the world is the organization of the workers. All else is despair, unemployment, destruction and death.

The I. W. W. denies that the æons of human evolution beginning with atoms that organized is to end with industrial atoms that refuse to organize for life. It denies that man must always be distorted, ruled, mangled by the machines he has created.

It calls for the co-operation of the workers of the world to answer the challenge of unemployment immediately with the six-hour day, and the challenge of industrial slavery with organization for industrial freedom.

This book is finished. The workers of the world as the allies of human and social evolution are only beginning. With them rests the future of the race.

A Union For All Railroad Workers



A Candid Statement of Organization Principles and Structure, and also the Tentative Demands for All Railroad Workers advanced by the Rank and File to be acted and voted on by All Railroad Workers.

You cannot be a union man,
No matter how you try,
Unless you think in terms of "We"
Instead in terms of "I."

Printed in U.S.A.

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LISTEN, RAILS!

Every click of the rails is singing to you,
"Get more, get more, get more!"
Every exhaust of every engine is saying,
"You can do it, you can do it, you can do it!"
And the deep-throated wampus says:
"Organize, Organize, Organ-i-i-ze!"



Published by

Industrial Workers of the World

2422 N. Halsted St. Chicago 14, Ill.

THE PREAMBLE
OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

A Union For All Railroad Workers

A Foreword About Those Who Wrote This Booklet

This booklet, like the movement to organize railroad workers into the One Big Union of the I.W.W., comes from actively engaged railroad workers themselves.

The authors do not make their living by writing or by organizing. For over thirty years each of them has made his living by working in the railroad industry. They were selected as a committee by their fellow workers who wanted the best possible working conditions and who realize they will need the best possible unionism to get them.

For this reason they selected the I.W.W. because of its structure, policies, principles and its 43 years' clean record of no sell-outs, no crossing of picket lines, no scabbery and continuous working rank and file control.

They have made rapid progress. At the present time they have delegates in the following departments of railroad transportation: Engineers, Firemen, Con-

ductors, Trainmen, Car Inspectors, Dispatchers, Switchmen, Signal Operators. Not one of these is drawing pay from the union for his work. They give the necessary hours to their boss on the job and the other hours are devoted to rest and organization activity. This shows their sincerity and determination. Every delegate has years of experience in railroad transportation and in the more than twenty unions that keep railroad workers divided. It is their firm determination to organize all who work for the railroads.

In making this booklet to explain why they want industrial unionism, and what they hope to accomplish with it, they have picked up whatever good idea they could find anywhere, without concerning themselves with crediting the originator, certain that a good idea should be circulated.

They propose Tentative Demands. They are tentative because a democratic organization does not get its demands shoved down its throat. It is not enough to re-organize railroad labor industrially. An industrial union with the policies of the present craft-union leadership, while it might be better than craft unionism, is not good enough.

The men who have sat up nights to prepare this booklet want you to read it, to think about it, and circulate it.



I—Why This Booklet

The vast majority of railroad workers of all crafts are dissatisfied with their present form of organization, with leadership, and most of all, with their wages and working conditions.

In office and round-house, in switch-shanty and caboose, there is constant grumbling and "beefing."

But obviously grumbling and beefing, though they may relieve the feelings, don't help much on payday.

Railroad men have long suffered low wages and deplorable conditions in the vain hope that the Brotherhoods, through legislation, demands or pleadings, would alleviate them. **On a few the truth has dawned that the Brotherhoods are outmoded and can no longer protect our interests.** They have become gigantic insurance and coffin clubs, and have increased membership dues and plastered assessments until the members groan under their burden.

Railroad workers have grown weary of oily promises that brought nothing but higher dues.

This restlessness showed itself from coast to coast until the noise made by the rank and file grew loud enough to reach the ears of the Great Brotherhood Chiefs and roused them from their lethargy.

Thus came the great run-arounds of the post-war era, the short strike of the Trainmen and Engineers in 1946, and the threatened strike of the other three oper-

ating crafts in 1948, the ugly maneuvers and talks of deals with the President to make sure that those crafts that fought would not be rewarded better than those that didn't fight. The results have been inadequate wages, and the application of pattern increases to an obsolete wage structure, leaving railroad workers the only organized workers who don't get overtime pay for all overtime work, who have to tolerate violation of the Supreme Court ruling that all workers should be paid for all time they must spend on the employer's premises.

In desperation a few dauntless and progressive rails, recognizing the true situation, cast about them for a way out of the dilemma. They also possessed the foresight to see that old or new administration is pledged to destroy organized labor as it has existed, and that the few gains made in the past half century are in danger and the chains of poverty and want may be restored.

They knew what they wanted and needed: An Industrial Union, one free from insurance rackets and politics. They also knew that a labor union is an organization formed by wage workers to serve their interests as wage workers. Their interest must be to secure an



adequate wage, reasonable hours and good working conditions.

A careful study convinced them that economic solidarity was essential to winning their objectives and that for the union to try steering the political preferences of its members disrupts their union solidarity based upon uniform economic interests, because of the variety of political preferences of the members.

In their search for the right sort of union, they discovered and settled upon the Industrial Workers of the World, as the only union in the United States that has these desirable and necessary qualities.

After much consideration, inquiry and careful perusal of I.W.W. history, theories and precepts they were amazed to learn that the organization was founded in 1905 and has functioned ever since (over 43 years) without a labor blemish against its record.

A truly American organization formed by Americans in America to cope with American workers' problems.

It has won many strikes, conditions and other benefits for the workers and has never scabbed or crossed a picket line.

In the light of all this the rails believe that this organization is the final answer as it meets with the requirements of the definition of a labor union and offers a solution to all workers' problems. Encouraged thus, they contacted the nearest I.W.W. headquarters and made a plea for inclusion of the railroad workers.

While they might be a little late in realizing all of this, it is sincerely hoped that it will prove timely.

The I.W.W. chart includes ALL railroad workers from the section men upwards and is numbered and known as Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 520.

Although young as yet having started only a couple of months ago we have built a tremendous following in the short time.

Of course many rail workers are not as yet ac-

quainted with the facts and many have not heard of it, hence this little booklet which is intended to serve that purpose. It discusses some of the facts, problems and a partial list of proposed tentative demands.



Don't Bray—Organize!

II—How the I.W.W. Functions

The I.W.W. has no President nor Vice-Presidents, no lobbyists in Washington nor politicians to clutter up or obstruct the workers in running their union and economic affairs.

A General Secretary-Treasurer is nominated and elected by General Referendum ballot, voted on by all members of the I.W.W. The G.S.T. is elected for only one year and cannot serve more than three terms in office. The G.S.T. has no legislative power, only executive authority over headquarters and the Clearing house and must carry out the dictates of the membership as laid down in conventions and by referendum ballot.

GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Each industrial union elects a General Executive Board member. This Board is in continuous session, by mail, without pay, except when actively engaged in organization work. This Board meets on the call of their chairman or the Industrial Unions and acts on matters that spring up between conventions and referendums.

The G.E.B. is not a legislative body but merely executive in character. Anything legislative arising must be submitted to the Industrial Union Membership or the I.W.W. membership as a whole as the case might be.

The General Sec'y Treas. and the General Executive Board, when elected become members at large and represent the whole I.W.W. membership.

The G.E.B. co-ordinates the work of the entire organization, secures co-operation between all Industrial Unions and other component parts, and guides the policy of its press and its educational work.

GENERAL ORGANIZATION COMMITTEES

Each Industrial Union elects a General Organization Committee from the ranks of the workers in that industry. The size of this committee is decided by the Industrial Union in accord with the size of the membership and the districts to be covered, which is large in I.U. 520.

This organization committee functions without pay —except when actually engaged in organization work. This is decided by the G.O.C. as a whole and the membership.



No General Official nor I.U. Official has the power to call a strike on or off. That is decided by the membership directly concerned.

CLEARING HOUSE

The Clearing House was created to eliminate duplication of work and hold expenses to the minimum. All

General and Industrial Union funds and records go through the Clearing House and are credited to and deposited to the part of the organization to which they belong.

The General Secretary Treasurer and the bookkeeper and such necessary help as is essential for the office work are paid through the Clearing House.

The expense of the Clearing House is divided pro rata among the Industrial Unions according to the number of dues stamps each uses.

Industrial Union Branches elect their own Branch Secretary and retain their own Branch Treasury and elect such committees in their locality as they deem necessary.

INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY

Industrial Union Councils can be formed in a district by the various branches of the same Industrial Union.

Industrial District Councils can be formed in a district by the different Industrial Union Branches.

Industrial Unions can draw up their own by-laws governing themselves as long as they do not conflict with the principle of the I.W.W. and the General Constitution and by-laws.

Job delegates or local organizers are appointed by the General Organization Committee or by the Branch Secretary on the recommendation of members of the union.

IN GENERAL

The foregoing is an outline of industrial organization in conformity with industrial structure.

The I.W.W. provides a tested plan for the democratic organization of the working class so that

1) all workers on the same job, regardless of craft, belong in the same job organization;

2) all workers in the same industry belong in the same industrial union;

3) all members of these Industrial Unions are directly members of the One Big Union of the entire working class;

4) any worker changing his job is entitled to transfer free of any charge to the Industrial Union covering his new employment: "Once a union man, always a union man."

It is truly a "union of one for all and all for one."



"Have You Had Enough?"



III—Some Proposed Tentative Demands

The Industrial Workers of the World Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 520 unites all railroad workers from the section men upwards to dispatcher in order to secure protection and economic equality for all.

It is proposed that present contracts be suspended and brought up to date to meet modern requirements. Stream-lining and elimination of many out-dated rules, such as arbitrary rules, superfluous penalty and mileage classes will benefit the railroads, the public and shippers in many ways by faster and better train movements, also result in enormous annual savings through simplification of time-keeping, material and personnel.

Naturally we expect some of these savings to reflect in improved conditions and in our pay checks.

For over 32 years there has been no reduction of working hours or in the hours of service act.

SIX HOUR DAY

We will ask for a six-hour day for all workers and

a 12-hour federal law. Straight rates to be asked for all classes of power, in all classes of service irrespective of size, weight, auxiliary devices or size of cylinders. In other words, one rate for all power in all classes of service.

Twenty-one dollars ($21.00) for the daily rate for all workers **plus $6.00 a day for away from home expenses to equal Government employees.** A differential for night work, 6 P.M. to 6 A.M. Crews starting before 6 P.M. to be paid day rates until after 6 P.M. and at night rates for all time thereafter plus one and one-half time after six hours at night rates.

Five days a week for all workers in all classes of service. **Double time Sundays and Holidays.**

All service on roads in Canada and Mexico to be counted in computing pension time, also provision for widows and minor children dependents of workers killed or dying in service or pensioned after death.

All workers to be entitled to at least two or more representatives or witnesses of their own choosing from any department or other source desired, to represent them at investigations.

All firemen to receive progressive examinations for promotions to engineers and to receive such examinations after three years service and to receive their dates on completion of final examinations and in no case to exceed five years from date entering service before final examinations are held.

TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE

Pool freight crews will perform such or any service required en route by yardmasters, station agents, dispatchers or other authority without penalty, except that road crews will not be required to perform yard switching at initial, intermediate or home terminal yards.

Road crews will make straight set-outs or pick-ups, hang cars while being filled out or cars taken off by yard engines, set out or spot stock or other cars, pick up on more than one track at any station except where yard

engines are employed, fill other trains and lap back without penalty.

Abolish terminal miles, terminal delay and initial delay.

Elimination of mileage and mileage schedules in computing overtime. Straight time for H.A.F.T., commencing after the first eight hours from register to register in each 24-hour period and such time not to be run off. No aggregation of time against hours of service act to be permitted.

Thirty days' vacation with pay. After 20 years, pension at $75.00 a week.

Watch repair maintenance, cleaning, oiling and care of watches to be provided by the company.

All company business, examinations, coroners inquests, court witnesses, etc., to be paid at basic daily rate plus expenses.

BETTER CONDITIONS

Dormitories for road engine and train crews, with locker rooms, wash rooms, showers and toilet facilities. Spring beds to be provided. Sheet and blankets to be changed daily. All blankets to be sanitized and aired for each use. Beds to be rested and mattresses aired after each occupancy at least eight hours.

Dormitories built to meet building engineers' specifications and health and sanitation authorities. Buildings to be fire and damp proof. Buildings to be sound proofed, air conditioned and heat controlled.

All linen to be kept clean by the company at no charge to crews. Recreation facilities and reading tables provided, adjoining, adjacent or immediately near the dormitories. Restaurants to be located near and maintained by the company.

Work clothes, overalls, shirts, caps, gloves, shoes and etc. to be provided by the company at cost to employees. Uniforms and garments to be furnished by the company and kept clean and in repair.

A Federal train limit bill, in freight and passenger

service. One thousand dollars ($1,000) to be paid dismissed employees for each year of service. Elimination of the blacklist system.

PRACTICAL PROCEDURE

Conditions peculiar to certain divisions or roads will be cared for by the rank and file of such divisions to meet conditions on such divisions and/or roads. All present existing conditions and schedules to be debated, voted on and sanctioned or ratified by rank and file of all roads in a general session before any action will be taken.

Local rulings to be handled by rank and file on each division. Here are a few thoughts to some of the problems to be met, fellow workers and we offer them only for your consideration of what we should and can have.

In the light of the past, many of these seem fantastic and radical, and they are, but, still they are within the realm of possibility, and we must adjust ourselves to radical changes if we are to put ourselves in our rightful place at the top and not the bottom as at present.

We are not unmindful that radical changes are sometimes fraught with danger and as each individual will be affected, we ask you to weigh and consider each contemplated change or revision, carefully and send your suggestions, opinions and advice, as each of you must vote for or against and aid in revising schedules and rules.

Mileage must not be considered, as mileage will not buy anything, we must reckon in terms of money. Seniority will remain unaffected. Some older men may not agree because over-miles or over-time under old schedules that now pad their checks higher than the majority will be pared down under the new, on a par with all workers. Seniority entitles a worker to a more desirable job but not more pay.

The argument that his seniority is being curtailed

because he cannot hog more money than his fellow workers is a selfish one and will not hold water.

Condition of engines and all equipment to be maintained and kept within Federal requirements.

Supervisory officials such as road foremen of engines and their assistants; train masters and aids, assistant trainmasters, engine instructors and heads of shop, yard and office force, will be selected and appointed from and by the rank and file according to their proficiency and ability.

SUNDAY, HOLIDAY AND NIGHT WORK

In their argument before the emergency fact-finding board, engineers, firemen and switchmen testified for a rules proposal to provide time-and-a-half pay for Sunday and holiday work. Such overtime pay for work on Sundays and holidays is now accepted in many other industries but not on the railroads.

ACCIDENTS GREATER AT NIGHT

For night work between 6:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m., with its extra hazards and difficulties the Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 520 is seeking an additional 25 per cent an hour as a night differential. Such a differential is an established principle in many other industries.

Accidents to rail men working at night average 68% greater than during the day. Yet the workers have had no extra compensation for the special hardships and risks of night work.

WE ALL GET OLD

All the wealth of the world is produced by its workers. It would seem quite reasonable then that when these workers are too old to produce any longer, that they should be supported in decency and comfort out of the wealth they have produced in a lifetime of toil for the employers. But the pension law says that if workers want any security in their old age, they must pay

for it by depriving themselves of part of their already inadequate wages through a whole lifetime!

When a horse gets too old to work, if he has a decent master, he is put out to spend his declining years in peace on the master's pastures. But what would you think of a master who during the productive years of the horses's life, took a handful of oats out of the horses's manger each day on the pretext that this was needed to support the horse in his old age? Yet this is the principle on which the present pension law is based.

The horse is just a dumb beast, but we think any horse of average intelligence would see to it that a master who tried such a shabby trick got a swift kick in the pants every time he reached into the manger for the "old-age deduction". Our brilliant Railway Labor Executives however just nicker contentedly and nuzzle the master's hand.

LOOK AT THE CHECK STUB

From the check stubs of an engine foreman for February, 1948 we take the following figures for earnings and deductions:

	First half	Second half
Earn	132.12	132.96
Fed. Tax	15.00	19.30
Ret. Tax	7.60	7.65
Hospitalization	2.75	No hosp. deduction
Total	100.77	106.01

NOTE: Check on second half is larger amount than first half although $2.75 is deducted for hospital, because yard crew worked twenty-five minutes overtime, which cost employees four dollars and thirty cents. Members of Railroad Workers Industrial Union 520 are opposed to any deductions made by Railroad Company.

The Retirement Board requires Railroad Companies to deduct $17.25 per $300,000 in any one month from employee earnings. Yet thousands of Railway employees complain deductions run from 20 to 60 cents over the maximum amount required by law.

Most railroads deduct from $3.75 to $4.00 each month for hospital fees, and only one person eligible for treatment or hospitalization regardless of the number of members in an employee's family. Many corporations grant their employees and family free medical treatment and hospitalization. We also demand the same freedom.

SALARY AND PENSION COMPARISONS

The average pension for retired Railroad Workers is about $70.00 a month, or $840.00 a year, many less and a few more. Compare this with retired Railroad Officials.

Retired Chairmen, President, Vice-Presidents, Solicitors, etc., receive a pension ranging from $10,000 to $35,000 per year on ten leading railroads. (See Railroad Notes, April 1948)

Now figure up your average weekly pay and your average per year and compare it with the salaries of Railroad Officials, which range all the way from $50,000 to $110,000, the latter amount was paid by the Pennsylvania Railroad System to its President M. W. Clement in 1945.

This gave Clement $2,115 **a week**, outside of other compensation from the railroads, or more than 45 times the average weekly wage of railroad workers that year.

You railroad workers who actually operate the railroads and keep them in repair, make it possible, through your low wages, for these railroad executives to draw their high salaries and live off the fat of the land.

It is no wonder that they try to keep you down.

No Congressman protests against pensions for well paid generals or politicians or their widows. Which serves the world best, its railroad workers or its politicians and generals?

The bells of human progress ring. We should no longer be content with an occasional dime more an hour;

we should aim at no less than plenty for all of us. When we get off our knees our masters won't look so tall. And we should organize right while some still chortle that "good times are here again" and before we see again those bigger and better flophouses, bigger and poorer old clothes sales, bigger and poorer souplines. Or have you forgotten 1930 and the women and children living in hobo jungles?



IV—Some Questions Answered

Many discouraged railroad workers, dissatisfied with past and present conditions, are looking askance for relief in some new order. Some have declared for an independent organization. Careful analysis will prove such independents can only revert back to their same old ills. Fat jobs and false promises.

Others have heard vaguely of the I.W.W. and are asking—**What is the I.W.W.?**

In brief the I.W.W. is the Industrial Workers of the World. Founded in 1905 (Remember the date) by the Western Federation of Miners and other unions and with the aid of Eugene V. Debs.

Debs organized the firemen, the B. of R.T., the telegraphers, etc., and the American R.R. Union or A.R.U., which is really the parent I.W.W.

The A.R.U. was meant to include railroad men only, whereas the offspring, the I.W.W. is meant to include all workers around the entire globe.

What are the I.W.W. aims and purposes? To give economic strength to the workers and emancipation from wage slavery. How can this be done? Only by One Big Union. **Who are its leaders?** There are none. The rank and file are the supreme authority. How is organization work accomplished? By fellow worker committeemen elected by the rank and file.

How much pay do they get? The same pay, if any, as you get on the job—not one cent more. What will keep them from selling out? The rank and file.

Any changes proposed or otherwise must be sanctioned and ratified by the rank and file. Any other means tried would expose him or them to the membership. The interests of the rank and file must be their interest as they will be returned to the job. If you do not get, they will not get.

How will younger workers fare? Roundhouse, shop, office employees and others will share equally

in all benefits. Why? Because their bills are just the same as yours. Food, rent and clothing costs them the same.

What incentive then will a younger worker have to work for a bigger job or accept more responsibility? The same as any bunch of school boys in a sand-lot, all want to be pitchers. How will this affect seniority? It will not. Older men are entitled to their seniority rights and any easier or more desirable job. But **not** more pay. They are not more valuable to the boss than any other man. They may think so, but they are not. If they think so, they only delude themselves.

Engineers, Conductors, Yardmasters, Engine-foremen, General Car foremen, straw bosses must wake up and realize that only economic equality can help them, Until they do, they will have only their own inflated ego to nourish them and will have to continue to suffer rotten conditions and low pay, as a price for their blind self conceit. Why should they care about others getting the same benefits—unless blind jealousy and selfishness motivates them.

If they cannot concede this, then they are narrow minded, craven hearted, unmoral and utterly selfish. They do not deserve what they now enjoy and are mentally small for the position they now hold.

Their little authority, their little prestige will not be taken from them and they may indulge their vanity. The younger man may not want this but he does want and is entitled to the same pay and benefits and the right to enjoy the good things of life.

Now how do we vote? That is your business. What church or lodge must I belong to? That too is your business.

We do not believe in the destruction of food or property. We are builders, not destroyers. Only frustrated feeble minds want to destroy. We teach economic equality, class freedom and emancipation from wage slavery.

We will not teach you any Hokus Pokus, we have

no childish games, secret signs, grips, pass words or goat riding, to divert your minds from the union mission and **NO** insurance to sell. You will not listen to honeyed words, flattery or false promises, in order to soften and placate you.

You will be made aware that this is a tough world, a tough fight and you will be heartened and toughened for that fight with the knowledge that there will be no division of labor to scab on you. Every fellow worker with you and none against you. One for all and all for one.

You will have a voice and you will be heard. You will have a vote on what goes on and your vote will be counted.

It's all entirely up to you, if you want these things. If they mean something to you and your family, then get in and help roll the ball.

It is growing faster and faster every day and will grow and grow and grow until like a mighty tidal wave it will sweep the land and cleanse us of the parasites who now exploit and do nothing for us except take our money and pass out some **soothing oil** that costs them nothing.

How soon can we do anything? That depends on you. The sooner you get in and lend your voice and support, the faster we move and the faster we grow. If you have manhood, you will want the better things of life for you, for your family and for your fellow worker, which you and they are entitled to.

It's up to you to get in and start punching. Are you afraid some one might call you a red? Remember! In 1905, Communism, as we now know it, was never heard of at that time. The Tsar was still the head of Russia. What was George Washington called? — Eugene Debs, Jack London? Remember, Debs organized the brotherhoods. If he was a red, then so are you, if you belong to the brotherhoods. Better be called a red, fellow worker, than yellow.

We are not making you any false promises. We do

not intend to delude you — but this much we do promise and tell you that the I.W.W. theories and practices are proven sound and we can demonstrate that many I.W.W. theories are accepted and put into practice by big business and the C.I.O.

We intend to place ourselves where we belong, not at the bottom, as at present but at the top of the list. More pay, more leisure and better conditions.

Think how many times you have been asked to get your rest on an engine or in a caboose and run your eats. Remember an engine or caboose is not a lodging house or hotel.

Every man who does this or consents is injuring his health and scabbing on himself and fellow workers by providing a cheap train movement, as this is the only reason for asking you to perform such service. There is no emergency or shortage of crews to warrant this.

All the improved conditions and better things are yours to be had. But they must be won. They only await your pleasure, when you are ready to organize and fight for them by working together, giving your voice, your vote, your opinions and helping to educate, organize and initiate the rails into One Big Union. We intend to shower, with our messages, every division on the system, every railroad in the country, until all the railroad workers hear and know and understand our aims.

If you want to share your rightful heritage, you must join and fight for it. The sooner you do, the sooner we can arrive.

Think, Think, and ask yourself — am I really a union man at heart? Do I want to belong to a coffin club that masquerades as a union and only promises to bury me if I carry **their** insurance and pay for it?

Almost every great fight put up by railroad workers has been hampered and finally broken up by the fact that the men were divided along craft-union lines. Either honest differences of opinion, or desire for personal prestige, or just plain cowardice or corruption on the part of the leaders of this or that craft union have

led to divided and weak action in the past, and they will inevitably lead to divided and weak action in the great struggles of the future if we do not have the vision and courage to separate ourselves from the old craft unions and unite into one big union.

Make your choice now fellow workers. Time was never more opportune and time is on the wing.

Beware! In a show down the hearts of American masters are cold enough to welcome the steel fist and the iron heel of Fascism.

To remain ignorant is to remain a slave.

Even a jackass would refuse to eat thistle and ragweed with clover all around.

The best is not too good and plenty is not too much for the workers.

The rich tell us that good hard work develops character and will power and good Americanism but why don't these voluntary loafers — if they believe this, leave their riches to science or charity and let their children start from scratch the same as you? Don't answer.

V—Two Kinds of Unionism And How They Work Out

The inadequacy of craft unionism on the railroads has long been obvious to every thinking worker in the industry. Many efforts have been made to transform it into something more serviceable. These efforts, like those in other industries where workers faced similar problems, have wound up in failure. In general one may observe that the leadership of unions is powerfully entrenched. Constitutions and prevalent practice give the rank and file little to say about major decisions. The business we have with our employers is handled in such

unions rather by officers than by workers themselves. Members have little opportunity to express opinions in their union publications if these run counter to the official viewpoint.

Those who have sought to change long established craft unions into something more progressive, regularly find that the leadership is re-inforced by a large army of "organizers" whose work is not so much to organize unorganized workers as it is to stick long noses into local lodges and smell out those who demand a better quality unionism. Even though local officers are very often those who have accepted these responsibilities in the hopes of building greater solidarity and winning better conditions, they soon find themselves tied by these responsibilities to the official program — and no doubt still others, anxious to get their hands on some gravy, gladly support top leaders whom they know to be phoney.

In railroad unions, as in many others, despite these handicaps to "insurgence," occasionally the insurgents have won and elected a whole new officialdom. Though the men elected to office in such cases and those who elected them had high hopes of doing far better than before, regularly they have done much the same thing. This is not entirely because such situations offer temptations—temptations that cease to exist once the rank and file makes the decisions—or because "men are prone to be crooked." It is because these unions, like every mechanism, are certain to work according to how they are built. Past experience in changing "leaders" has shown that so little is changed by it, that it is obviously necessary, if we are to seek better unionism, to do something more fundamental about it: **change the structure of unionism so that it has to work differently.**

Some have had hopes of building a greater solidarity by various plans for linking unions together in federations, amalgamations and the like. Where this has been tried, it too has failed. The conflicts of leadership and of jurisdictional interest and the like have done

to such ventures what conflicting national interests did to the League of Nations.

You cannot take some antiquated dwellings, pile them together and make a fine new house. If you want a good new house, you plan it the way you want it and build it according to plan. If you want good unionism, you have to think out what the union should be like, and then build it that way. (While you are building your new house, you keep your old one in as good shape as you can.)

HOW WILL INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM WORK ON THE RAILROADS?

Some seem to think that while industrial unionism is a fine ideal, conditions peculiar to the railroads make it unworkable; that the problems of different crafts are so different that there is no way of handling them in one industrial organization. The working conditions of a switchman or road engineer have little to do, they say, with the working conditions of a shopman or clerk.

That industrial structure is workable can be shown by the fact that outside of the United States and Canada railroad workers everywhere are organized either in industrial or semi-industrial organizations. This does not mean that they have the I.W.W. kind of unionism; it is usually more like that of the CIO which has transferred to plant or industrial units the type of entrenched leadership and narrow purpose typical of the craft unions. But it does show that industrial organization is workable.

Even the most hard-headed craft unionist must admit that **there are three things which concern all railroad workers—job security, wages and hours. These are the issues over which the real battles of the workers have been fought.** It is precisely in their fight over wages and hours that the craft unions have been split during recent wage movements.

A set-up in which all men who work for the railroad are in one organization does not mean that each

group which really does have its own problems must be denied representation for the settlement of these problems. The I.W.W. plan of organization does not hamper such action: it aims throughout at the utmost autonomy consistent with industrial solidarity, that those directly concerned with an issue should have the say-so about what is to be done about it.

The I.W.W. union is not something to hamper you, but something to enable you to get more out of your job—more pay, better living, greater security. You can make it a safer and more agreeable job, with better fellowship among those who work on it, and more democracy and less concern about supervision looking down your neck.

The I.W.W. is built on this important idea: A union should unite workers instead of divide them; it should be run by workers and not run them; it should fight employers instead of fighting other workers; it should aim at getting for the working class ALL the wealth that labor produces.

To make sure that it is run by its members it refuses any check-off of union dues so that there will be no "taxation without representation." It gives no clique the power or motive to run it, for the power to make decisions, settle disputes, etc., is in the hands of the rank and file, and its avoidance of politics yields no motive for wanting to run it; and its salaries are kept to the average earnings of its members.

Organized capital has rigged things so that in this period of full employment and high profits, labor is living worse than it was during the war, worse than it has lived for many years. To cope with this situation, we need the up-to-date, scientific industrial unionism of the I.W.W.—the union built on the right idea.

HERE'S WHERE YOU COME IN

The translation of this program from paper into living reality is YOUR job. The members of the I.W.W. are men just like you, railroad workers who are anxious

to do something about our miserable wages and working conditions, and are willing to devote some time and energy to seeing that something is actually done about them. But they can no more give you the wages and working conditions and industrial form of organization outlined here than they can give you the moon. It's up to you to join and help get them.

What can be achieved by organizing right is far more than we have outlined here. By organizing your own industry right, you are helping the entire working class to organize right. And once the working class is organized democratically in One Big Union, it can have the kind of world you want to leave for your children, where the labor of man serves the common good, where a few hours' work each week provides abundance for all, where there is no more war or worry or fear or want. No disorganized, misorganized working class can have this; no rightly organized working class can be denied it. Your first step toward it is to organize yourself and your fellow workers.

A WORKER'S PRAYER

If in this wide-spreading universe, there be a Great God of Justice, hear me !

Stiffen my watery spine: harden and straighten my loose and foolish mouth; put fire into my dull eyes.

Even the beasts of the field, even the despised mule hitched to the plow, struggles that their life may be better.

Redden my blood with the courage of man. Help me despise my own image in the mirror if willingly I clutter up the path of progress with my stupid meekness.

Unstop my ears to hear. Open my eyes to see the glorious earth that can be made by One Big Union, the abundance for all that can replace the private plunder of a few.

The sum of my prayer is: Give me sense enough to want plenty, and grit enough to go after it, for myself, my children, my wife, my fellow workers. Open the windows of my brain to the glory of it.

A Blind Worker

Organize and Educate

To build good unionism, join the I.W.W. To better acquaint yourself with its programs and to help you spread good union ideas, subscribe to its official publication.

Sooner or later railroad workers will be organized in one industrial union. You can join Railroad Workers Industrial Union then, and be a bit sheepish about it — or you can join now and be proud. That's entirely up to YOU.

Fill out these forms and either mail to the General Office of the I.W.W., 2422 N. Halsted, Chicago 14, Ill., or turn in to your local I.W.W. office:

SUBSCRIPTION FOR INDUSTRIAL WORKER

I am enclosing money order, cash, check for six months 12 months subscription.

(One year, $2.00; six months, $1.00)

Name..... Occupation.....

Street or Box No..... Town or City.....

Zone No..... State.....



It May Get Your Goat But It's Good to the Last Shred

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

I want to join Railroad Workers Industrial Union No. 520 of the I.W.W.

I enclose check, money order, cash for $.....

Name..... Occupation.....

Street Address..... Town or City.....

State..... Zone..... Telephone No.....

Railroad employed by.....

Years in railroad service.....

(Initiation fee is $2.00; dues $1.00 per month, plus a press assessment of 50 cents each three months.)

Washington's Judicial Mockery

". . . I have come to the conclusion, after a very careful and serious thought upon this question, that this case OUGHT NOT TO BE TRIED IN THIS COUNTY . . . I don't see how the court is to determine at this time where the case shall be tried, until the court makes some investigation, but I AM SATISFIED THAT IT MUST NOT AND CANNOT BE TRIED IN THIS COUNTY." So spoke Judge Wilson, trial judge in the famous Centralia Case, at Montesano, Washington, when the attorney for the defendants asked for a change of venue to a territory not prejudiced against them. Five days later, this same Judge Wilson reversed his ruling as quoted above and forced the case to trial in Grays Harbor county. A few days later the trial of the century began and Montesano witnessed the most brutal rape of Justice that has occurred on this continent in decades.

The Centralia defendants were eleven in number. They had been jailed after the Armistice day raid on the I. W. W. hall in Centralia. They were charged with "conspiracy to murder" and to this day not one iota of evidence has been offered to bear out the contention. The case had an early birth place and the maturing period was wrought with brutal manifestations that were cloaked in legal security—purchased by red tinged gold. After nine weeks, the trial came to a close and the jury returned a verdict of second degree murder against eleven of the men, two were acquitted, one was found insane and one had been dismissed during the course of the trial. Bear in mind those convicted were convicted of something of which they were not accused. Later these seven were sentenced to serve from 25 to 40 years in prison and the boy that was found insane was sentenced to the asylum, "until discharged by law." He has since been transferred to prison and is now being illegally held there as he is now perfectly sane. A brief resume of the issue may clarify some of the vagaries.

BIRTHPLACE OF SADISM—CENTRALIA

The lumbering industry of northwestern Washington was practically paralyzed by a strike which was called in June 1917, by the Lumberworkers Union of the I. W. W. Included in the strike terri-

tory was the vicinity surrounding Centralia. Here, lumbering is the foremost industry and the patriotic owners of it were ever greedy for war profits. They fought the workers with all the fury of a demon, and, in doing this they employed high salaried "persecution experts" whose duty it was to figure out new means of terror to be heaped on the workers, in an effort to thwart their determined efforts to better conditions.

In 1918, an association known as the Employers Association of Washington, which was primarily composed of the lumber magnates sponsored a "Red Cross" parade in Centralia. This was to take place on April 30th and was to be the final stroke in the breaking of the workers organization. Previous to this there had been kidnappings and beatings. The parade was duly held and it served as a patriotic cloak for the insane brutality that accompanied it.

The I. W. W. hall was on the line of march and when the paraders were in a convenient position they attacked the hall, destroyed its content that was not salable and after sufficient sadistic pleasures had been derived from those tactics, a huge bonfire was built in the street, the demolished furniture and all of the unions records were burned.

Conditions remained the same for another year and all of this time the workers did nothing to retaliate in kind. Their actions were such as be a compliment to the most law abiding people. In fact, one well known clergyman stated openly from his pulpit that the actions of the union men were "most Christlike." However, as much cannot be said for the employers. Indeed, they were quite the opposite, for all of this time they maintained a constant haranguing between themselves and quite openly discussed ways and means of doing away with the loggers.

Then on June 27, 1919, the employers called a meeting of business elements together for the express purpose of eliminating the I. W. W. from that vicinity. An organization was formed and the name of Citizens Protective League was chosen. Here plans were laid to perfect a propaganda machine whose purpose would be to bring out a public feeling of antagonism against the loggers. On October 20th a second meeting was held and a committee was elected to devise ways and means of going about the slaughter. Dr. David Livingstone was elected president, William Scales, vice-president, Jas. Jenkins secretary and F. B. Hubbard treasurer. Livingstone was the coroner, Scales and Jenkins, grocers and Hubbard a lumberman.

Much could be written about the activities of this committee but we draw the veil of shame before them and pass on. Sufficient to say that plans were drafted and they were drastic, so drastic that

means beyond any man-made law had to be resorted to for their fulfillment. Somehow there was a leak in their advertised secrecy of which the Centralia Hub had this to say: **"It was decided that the inner workings of the organizations be kept secret, to more effectively combat a body using similar tactics,"** and the I. W. W. were informed that they were again to be raided.

The plan was to raid the I. W. W. hall and after the I. W. W. learned of this, their secretary sought legal advice as to what could be done. They were told that they had a legal right to defend their property. However, trouble was not what the unionists were seeking, so they drew up a leaflet and the secretary Britt Smith, had them printed and circulated. In this leaflet they pled for Justice and asked the citizens of Lewis County to see to it that law and order prevailed. They also asked the police to preserve order and how well their request was adhered to can best be determined by the fact that on November 11th the day the second parade was staged which was the screen for the planned raid, five men were killed.

The raid itself was a highly planned machination. Four of the raiders were killed probably by one member of the I. W. W., himself an ex-soldier who had fought for "Democracy" in France, during the late war. After the raid arrests were numerous but the authorities did not take anyone into custody that had attacked the unionists hall. That night this I. W. W. war veteran was taken from jail, and hung from a bridge over the Chehalis river, making the fifth death in the one day. For days following this a reign of terror was existent throughout Washington and more particularly in Lewis county.

Posses under the direction of Preston McDonald scoured the countryside and at least one man was killed by them. That man was one of the possemen and was shot by his own comrades in arms. Eventually came a trial. Five lumber-trust lawyers supplanted the one legally elected by the people as the prosecutor and the defense were represented by one labor attorney. Every foul, unfair courtroom tactic conceivable was used to hinder the defense and in the end they were convicted. Convicted because the jury was afraid to bring in any other verdict and they admit so today.

DOES FREEDOM EXIST?

The verdict was rendered in March of 1920 Nine years have elapsed and these men remain in Washington's State prison, as legal hostages. During the nine years numerous attempts have been made to bring about their release. All of these attempts have been based on facts which, if they had been admitted during the trial would have autcmatically exonerated the accused. Seven jurors have made affidavits to the effect that the men are innocent. Countless eye wit-

nesses to the tragedy have been interviewed and they have made statements which proved their innocence. Men and women from every walk of life have asked for executive clemency. Even the chief prosecutor, Attorney Abel, has asked for their release. Organizations have elected special investigation committees and they have returned verdicts of not guilty and now comes a member of the American Legion who has investigated every angle of the case and he too, returns a similar verdict, yet the men remain in prison, while on the streets of our cities the real conspirators roam at will and some of them even boast of their part in this judicial outrage. **Can it be that there is no such thing as Justice in this great state of Washington? And, if there is, how much does it cost?**

Britt Smith, O. C. Bland, Ray Becker, James McInerney, Bert Bland, Eugene Barnett, John Lamb and Loren Roberts are down in Walla Walla penitentiary serving sentences which they can never complete in a natural life, immured behind walls of stone and bars of iron. William Scales, F. B. Hubbard (now deceased), Warren O. Grimm, (also deceased) David Livingstone and scores more walk untethered and are considered as something akin to martyrs, when in reality they are responsible for the conspiracy which brought about the death of five men and the unwarranted penal stigma on the defendants at issue here We make that charge and if it is not true we stand as laying ourselves open for libel.

We ask you to join with us and protest against the further incarceration of these eight men. Join with their near bereaved families and fight for a semblance of freedom. Contributions and aid of any kind may be sent to:

CENTRALIA RELEASE COMMITTEE

Box 1873, Seattle, Wash.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

What Is The I.W.W.?

The I.W.W. is a union.

Because it does what a union is supposed to do, it differs from all other unions. It unites workers. It puts all workers into One Big Union of the Entire Working Class. It does this instead of separating them in many unions.

Any man or woman working for wages can join it. Nobody else can. It is the union of the working class.

Real Industrial Unionism

The I.W.W. is composed of Industrial Unions. There is one Industrial Union for each industry. No matter what work you do, there is an Industrial Union of the I.W.W. to which you should belong.

The members of the I.W.W. are classified in these Industrial Unions, not to separate them from each other, but for practical convenience. All are members of the One Big Union. The Industrial Union structure of the I.W.W. enables workers to meet with other workers who have the same industrial problems. They can discuss these problems and decide what action to take more conveniently than if they were all lumped together.

All on the same job belong to the same Industrial Union, along with all workers on other jobs in the same industry.

Between these Industrial Unions there is a free transfer system. If you change your line of work and enter another industry, you transfer to another Industrial Union of the I.W.W. that will enable you to act together with your fellow workers in the industry to which you have gone.

Direct Job Action

The I.W.W. unites all workers on the job in a job branch to encourage direct action on the job.

This is a union in which all power is vested in the members. Nobody can do much for the working class; but the working class can do everything for itself. (It does everything now—only the trouble is it does what the boss tells it to do. If organized in One Big Union the working class could do what it told itself to do.)

It is on the job that the battle will be won. It is through action by ourselves, for ourselves, acting together on the job that we expect to win. So that nothing will hinder such beneficial action, the I.W.W. enters into no agreements that bar its members from taking such job action for themselves, or showing their solidarity with other fellow workers by striking with them. It can and does make agreements that benefit its members.

In this control of the union by its members, in this policy of direct job action, the I.W.W. is distinguished from all other labor organizations. These are the things that enable labor to win.

Our Ultimate Aims

As a union seeking to organize the entire working class, the I.W.W. cannot be contented with small gains. It wants the world.

It is the aim of the I.W.W. to take over the earth and the industries that labor has built, and run them through One Big Union of Labor. In that way we will get all that we produce. In that way we will forever banish the fear of unemployment. We will do away with all the factors

that set men at each others' throats, whether to steal from their pockets, or, as in war, to kill each other. We will provide an abundance of the good things of life for the good, useful people—the working class—to enjoy. We will make it possible for everyone to be as healthy and as happy as science and the wealth that flows from labor's efforts can make them. These are the things that it is really worth while to win.

* * *

We urge YOU to join the I.W.W. for these reasons:

1. It is a union to unite you with all your fellow workers.
2. It is the most effective means for improving your job.
3. It is run entirely by the majority decision of its members.
4. It organizes our class to run the industries for ourselves, and thus to establish an abundance for us all.



THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

GENERAL OFFICE

2422 N. Halsted Street., Chicago, Ill.

W. H. Westman, General Secretary

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WHAT IS THE I.W.W. PREAMBLE?

A DIALOGUE

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FOREWORD

This booklet is published for the purpose of educating wage earners in the aims and objects of the Industrial Workers of the World, more popularly known as the I. W. W. It is written in a semi-fictional form, in the belief that it will prove more interesting in this form than in the usual style.

The I. W. W. is a labor organization that organizes according to industry instead of trade, with branches and affiliations all over the world. Hence its name, the Industrial Workers of the World.

Organized in 1905 at Chicago, Ill., the I. W. W. still has its headquarters in the great metropolis of the West.

The I. W. W. seeks to bring about its aims and objects primarily through education. It believes that most of the evils of which workmen and women complain are due to ignorance. It seeks to educate the workers to realize their own importance in world affairs and to organize to solve those affairs as labor's importance demands, in a manner that will build up instead of tearing down. This latter work it leaves to the destructive forces of the present system of capitalism.

It is in this spirit of education, organization and construction, that the I. W. W. offers this, the first one of a series of booklets, dealing with its preamble, history, structure and methods.

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:: three months 50 cents. ::

JOB AND LIVE LABOR NEWS
WHICH BREATHES I. W. W.
SPIRIT.

WHAT IS THE I.W.W. PREAMBLE?

A DIALOGUE

The Talkers:

Bob Hammond, a laborer, hardworked but anxious to know.

Henry Tichenor, a technical engineer, his boyhood friend, eager to tell.

Scene:

The Inland State Canal embankment. Coming out of the distant sunshine and pastoral landscape it curves gracefully around the outskirts of the grimy little city of Boonton. Along its sides are lined industrial plants and mills. Off a little way, mining shafts may be seen. On top of the canal banks are tow paths, used as a promenade on holidays, and as a road to plants and mills on all days, regardless of religious observances and festive occasions in the nearby city.

Time:

Early summer, 1922.

Hammond is trudging homeward. His attention is arrested by a shout behind

him. Turning, he sees Tichenor waving to him.

Tichenor (coming up): Hello, Bob! It's some time since I have seen you. How are you anyway? (They shake hands).

Hammond (cheerfully): Golly, it's good to see you! Just now especially. I'm up against it. Mill shut down indefinitely. Savings all gone. But say, I'm going to grab a freight to-night and beat it to the harvest fields.

Tichenor (enthusiastically): Good! I've got a mind to go with you. Just for the fun of it. The grind is getting on my nerves. You see, it's not only the necessity to seek a job, but also an escape from the present industrial drudgery, that makes migratory workers. Say, Bob, let's hobo it together. And when we get out out in the harvest, we'll line up with the Wobblies—the I. W. W. Eh, what do you say to that?

Hammond (in disgust): Wobblies be damned! A man of your intelligence—Say, how do you get that way?

Tichenor (laughing): Oh, I meet them at work. One of them is the chemist in our laboratory. He's written a fine pamphlet on "Revolution and Technique." The other is assistant editor of our plant magazine. He gets across I. W. W. stuff at the corporation's expense.

He is a good cartoonist, too. And their literature shows a real grasp of social problems. And—but, say, did you ever read their Preamble?

Hammond (enraged): What! me read I. W. W. literature!? Me an independent American workingman——

Tichenor (breaking in): On the bum, and up against it! Say, Bob, when are you going to stop kidding yourself? Why not face the facts of our lives as workingmen, as they are? Why not read up on them? (Slyly) You've got some time now, you know!

Hammond (changing his tune, after some reflection): I suppose you're right, Tich. There must be something wrong when fellows like myself are out of work by the millions. And there must be something to an organization that can appeal to men like you and that chemist, and that other guy, the assistant editor. (After another pause) Well, I'm game. Shoot! Tell us what is this preamble, anyway?

Tichenor (gaily): That's the boy, Bob! But say, how about a shady spot under some trees, further up the canal first?

Hammond (nodding approval): That's a good idea. (Having reached a fine clump, both took off their coats and sprawled on the grass, Bob flat on his

back and Tichenor on one knee, so that he could read and expound the better. Both agreeing that, with outdoor nature, learning and friendship combined to favor them: This is the life!)

WHAT IS A PREAMBLE

Hammond (cautiously): Before you begin, Tich; tell me what is a preamble, anyway?

Tichenor (readily): A preamble is a statement of principles on which is based the structure of the organization making it, like the preamble to the constitution of the United States. In the case of the I. W. W., the preamble is introductory to the constitution and by-laws of the body; and it must be subscribed to by all those who join the organization.

Hammond (skeptically): There must be something more to it, or else why is it so vigorously denounced? Are you sure it is not a formula for making dynamite?

Tichenor (laughingly): Quite sure! Shall I read it to you, in order that you may see for yourself?

Hammond nods assent. Tichenor reads.

"Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among mil-

lions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

"We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

"These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.'

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

Hammond (as Tichenor stops reading): So that's the I. W. W. Preamble, is it?

What's there great about it?

Tichenor (encouraged): That's the proper spirit, Bob. Be from Missouri. Take nothing for granted; be shown always. Now, the greatness of the I. W. W. Preamble consists in its ability to see the cause and provide the way out, of the present social chaos. It is an analytical, critical and constructive document, especially in its very last paragraph. In fact, it may said to embody the only constructive method offered by any organization, that is in accord with and necessary to both evolution and revolution.

WAGES VS. PROFITS

Hammond (doubtfully): That's a pretty tall claim. I don't believe it. For instance, take that opening clause, isn't it true that the working class and the employing class have something in common? Don't they have the air, the sunshine, and so on?

Tichenor (delighted): That's the stuff, Bob. Catechise me and find out what's what. Now you mistake the standpoint of the Preamble. It's not physical or psychological; but economic. That is, it deals with employers and employes, not as men or women with like bodily functions, or reactions to

natural surroundings, but with opposite industrial interests. The worker works for wages or salary; the employers desire profits and dividends. So on down the whole Preamble—the viewpoint is economic—a consideration of industrial relations and their effects. Isn't that so?

Hammond (grudgingly): I guess you are right! The Preamble's standpoint is one of wages vs. profits all the way through? And, I guess, that from that standpoint you win. But you still have to show me that even from the economic standpoint the working class and the employing class have nothing in common. Where's the proof?

Tichenor (amazed): Why, blast it, Bob. Where do you live anyway? Do you live in the America of tradition? Or, do you live in the America of "labor deflation," the open shop drive, and the employers' war on labor unions? What are all these conflicts, if not manifestations of the antagonistic interests of capitalists and laborers? What do they prove, if not the truth of the statement that **"the working class and the employing class have nothing in common"?**

Hammond (puzzled): Well, I guess you are right. There is no getting 'round those facts. They show a wide, impassable gulf. But, how comes it that,

despite all that, employers inaugurate welfare departments and workers' republics, and give the workers the privilege to buy shares? Surely, they are looking after the workers and giving them something in common?

Tichenor (uproariously): Say, those are all methods to keep the workers docile, underpaid and unorganized. Welfare departments are cheaper than union wages and union control. They are also paternalistic. "Workers' republics"—there aren't any such animals. The so-called labor representatives are bossed through their jobs. As for share holding, that is so limited in voting power as to prove useless to the workers. The cash results don't amount to much, either. In the Tidewater Oil Company plant at Bayonne, N. J., for instance, there was a workers' republic and share holding. Nevertheless, the wage earners there struck because they found that eight per cent dividends on a few hundred dollars in shares, in no way made up for the 25 per cent wage reductions ordered by the officials of the company. The most serious strikes occur wherever welfare departments, workers' republics and share holding are found. They simply prove the real nature of these devices. Now, what do you say to that?

THE NEW FEUDALISM—HOW IT BEGAN

Hammond (slowly): Well, I must admit that these so-called new eras of good feeling between capital and labor, as the newspapers headline them, are failures, judging from the number of strikes that take place wherever they have been introduced. Now, what I'd like to know is, how does all this antagonism come about? One would think that working men and employers should be able to get along together without any such bitter displays of feeling. How is it, that it is actually otherwise?

Tichenor (delighted): That's it, Bob; dig down deeper and deeper. Get at the cause of things and then you'll be likely to understand what you see, and where it is likely to end up. (After a pause.) It's all a growth, resulting from invention and machinery, with their need for large capital. Say, do you recall your wise old grandfather? How in our boyhood days together, he did delight to talk over old times with us? And instruct us in the differences of generations? He lived through several revolutions, he did; all of them bloodless. He told us of the days when men worked at home and knew how to do pretty nearly everything connected

with the making of commodities for and by themselves. How he inveighed against the coming of machines and stock companies, that destroyed home industry and small shops and drove the workers from the land and independent small manufactures into the cities and the factories, there to work for others! And do you recall how your dad himself used to take the subject up and discuss it further?

Hammond (interested): You bet I do! Those were happy days, around the old fireside! My old dad used to get hot under the collar, about the way the small factories and individual firms were being forced, by competition, into large companies and trusts; so that, finally, instead of small factories occupying a single story or two in a building, we now have a gigantic plant occupying square blocks, sometimes many acres of land. Or we have chains of plants throughout the country, like those of the National Biscuit Company and the General Electric Company, for instance. Instead of coming into direct relations with our employers and working together with them on a friendly basis as formerly, unaware of any great difference between us, we now have to deal with employment managers, bosses, superintendents, pre-

sidents and so on, who act as agents for stockholders and others, who form a corporation and never come directly in contact with us and who are, Christ knows where! Having a good time at Palm Beach, most likely! We are hired and fired, as their dividends dictate. We live and have our being on opposing economic planes, evidently. Say, (with a start as of a sudden awakening), big changes are going on even in our days, aren't there?"

Tichenor (promptly): Well, I should say there are. Nowadays we have a new feudalism. We work not as independent individuals but as privates in great corporation armies. We are subject to an iron discipline. We ring up time-clocks and check up job tickets. We are watched by spies. Our methods of work are standardized and Taylorized. Some of us make only a small part of an article. We have become mere appendages to machines. We must keep pace with steam and electricity. We work in plants that are parts of a continuous process extending from the source of raw material to consumption and use; all for one corporation. Some of us do not plan our products. Some of us have nothing to do with inventing the machines that make those products, nor with either the sale or

the distribution of those products, as formerly. Others of us do these things, technical men, like myself; "salaried subordinates," as the New York Evening Post once called us. We provide the engineering and the executive ability, the inventive, chemical, laboratory, accounting, mechanical, selling and legal skill, all in their proper departments and according to well developed systems. Like our fellow, unskilled workers, we have neither propertied interests nor votes in the corporations. Like their labor, our skill is a commodity, bought and sold like other commodities, according to market conditions and the law of supply and demand. Our interests and their interests are common interests, for, on top of the modern industrial edifice, ruling over and exploiting us all alike for profit, is a financial absolutism. This is composed of the various interests controlling the corporations, centered in the money trust. They provide the capital for industry and are dominated by the Morgan-Rockefeller groups of bankers. They, through interlocking boards of directors, employers' associations, chambers of commerce and the banks formulate policies that all of us must conform to and suffer from. The whole tendency is to crush out the organizations that strive to ad-

vance and protect the opposite interests of the working class, and to make the country one titanic corporation, uniting all the functions of the industrial state, with themselves as the dictators and all the rest of us as their servile slaves. Isn't that so, Bob?

THE MOTHER EVIL OF MODERN SOCIETY

Hammond (emphatically): I should say that it looks that way! The farmers, the middle class, the labor unions, everybody—is being "deflated," that is, ruined or run by the big financial interests. Isn't that right?

Tichenor (rejoicing): Surest thing you know, Bob. Orestes Brownson, an American scholar, in the first half of the last century, put his finger on the vital spot when he pointed out that "the great, The Mother Evil of modern society was the separation of capital and labor; or the fact that one class of the community owns the funds and another class is compelled to perform the labor of production. The consequence of this system is that the owners of capital enrich themselves at the expense of the owners of labor."

This is done by taking from labor all that it produces and paying it a part thereof, in the form of wages. The

withheld products of labor are the profits and the source of capital. The workers rebel against this system, not only because of its injustice in enriching the capitalists and making them all powerful at the workers' expense, but also because of the brutality and oppression which it involves. The workers, accordingly, try to either get more of their product in the form of increased wages, less hours, better conditions and more control, or else they strive to end the entire system. Both of these conservative and radical attempts are resisted to the uttermost by the organized capitalists, who wish to be unrestrained in the advancement of their own interests and the continuation of their own power. The result is the irrepressible conflict between capital and labor, as defined by Brownson.

This conflict involves losses in wages and profits to both sides, amounting to many hundreds of millions of dollars annually. Many workers, in addition, are killed and imprisoned. The struggle grows in scope and intensity, including many cities and states throughout the land and absorbing the activities of press, pulpit, government and judiciary in its settlement and repression, but without avail. If this tendency is maintained the conflict between capital and

labor will, eventually, threaten social collapse. Isn't that clear to you, Bob?

Hammond (with a start): By God, it looks that way! I am beginning to see now that **"the working class and the employing class have nothing in common,"** except a struggle for mastery between them. What's the next clause in the I. W. W. Preamble? I am anxious to see how all this works out.

THE ORIGIN AND EFFECTS OF WAR

Tichenor (aloud): The next clause of the I. W. W. Preamble reads: **"There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among the millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life."** Is there any doubt about that, in view of what we have already discussed? Hunger and want are found among the workers all over the world, while the few, who make up the employing class, wallow in profits, and live in luxury unsurpassed. War has cursed humanity; and war, with its world slaughter, revolution, famine and starvation, is just as much a product of the capitalist system as are strikes, with all their many evils, present and prospective. As shown in the quotation from Brownson, the capitalists enrich themselves at the ex-

pense of labor. This deprives labor of the means to buy back all that is produced. This makes the scramble for foreign markets necessary. It also swells the funds of the capitalists so that they are compelled to search for fields of investment abroad. This two-fold need, originating in the robbery of labor, gives rise to commercial and financial rivalry, it breeds the policy of imperialism, or struggle for supremacy in the exploitation of weak and backward nations, like China and the Far East Republic, as reflected in the Washington Arms Conference. The result is war, together with all the horrors that it gives rise to—not to mention the colossal profiteering and bloated enrichment of the capitalist class in general.

It is war and the threat of war that gives to the working class misery and degradation, such as it has never known before. Not only is there conscription, slaughter, revolution, plague, reparations and all the aftermath of hate, lack of employment, suicide and crime, but also the destruction of idealism, brotherhood, and hope for the future generations—all for the greater glory of the capitalist class, to whom all the benefits and powers flow. The materialism of capitalism, as expressed in its acme, war, not only destroys the

body, but also every finer quality that separates man from the brute and enables him to both aspire and hope. It is the brutalization of humanity.

Hammond (approvingly): You can't make that strong enough to suit me. I have seen service overseas, as you know; and here I am out of work and up against it. By God, I know you are right! Who can doubt then, that, in the words of the I. W. W. Preamble, **"There can be no peace . . .?"**

THE REMEDY FOR STRIKES AND WARS

Tichenor (enthusiastically): Now you are talking, Bob. And who will doubt the accuracy of the next paragraph in the Preamble that declares, **"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system"?** This, labor the world over is beginning to recognize. Even the conservative national groups of trade unions that have joined in an international organization, with headquarters in Amsterdam, have declared themselves in favor of a general strike to prevent war. And the need of a new

society is being recognized and promoted among the organized workers the world over. In fact, they can be said to be more socialistic now than ever before. But more of this when we come to consider the last paragraph in the Preamble.

Hammond (rising to his feet and stretching): Say, Tich: it's after the noon lunch hour, now. How about some eats?

Tichenor agreed; and while he went off to get some coffee, frankfurters and bread, Hammond gathered some twigs and built a fire. Soon both were burying their faces in big slices of baked dough, munching "hot dogs" and feeling pretty good, generally speaking. After "eats" both reclined at full length for a quiet snooze. They would have continued at this enjoyable pastime indefinitely, had not Hammond awakened and put an end to it. Amid friendly greetings both got up together, stretched themselves and after a little frolicking and horse play, settled down in their former positions and resumed the discussion on the Preamble of the I. W. W.

Hammond (reflectively): That was a great light you shed on war, via the I. W. W. Preamble, Tich. I never before linked war up with the wages and profit system and the class struggle.

Now I see that war is a phase of that struggle. And that to end war, we must end it. I am progressing some, eh?

WHERE THE REMEDY BEGINS

Tichenor (proudly): You bet you are, Bob! Let's resume where we left off, bearing in mind that the end of the class struggle must, like charity, begin at home, in the right way. He reads: **"We find that the centering of industry into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the capitalist class."** What do you make out of that, Bob?

Hammond (smiling): O, that's easy. Translated into the vernacular that means that as the big fellows gobble up the little fellows they get so damn powerful that the trade unions can't buck them. Look at the steel trust, for instance. There's a consolidation of nine or ten other consolidations before it. It combines coal and ore mines, lake steamers, railroads, blast furnaces, rolling mills, selling agencies, export companies, banks, and divers other corporations, operating in twenty-two states and several nations. It's got a couple of billions capital, and a financial backing composed of all the largest

interests, with a power that is far-reaching and stupendous. Against this colossal combination twenty-four different trade unions, loosely amalgamated, with twenty-four different trade interests, pulling twenty-four different ways, go on strike. They have no loose amalgamation, even, with the unions in allied industries, like the miners and railroad men's. Nor does the A. F. of L. stand behind them, except in theory only. Because of their trade divisions and lack of industrial union backing generally, the twenty-four trade unions lose the strike. On the railroads one sees the same thing. There is one big combination of railway executives, under the directing genius of the House of Morgan, and with the greatest of financial backing accordingly. Against this giant fusion are pitted unions divided into maintenance of way men, shopmen, and motive power operating men, such as switchmen, conductors, firemen and engineers—the so-called big four. Behind them stand—what? Nothing! They are licked before they even begin. The I. W. W. Preamble is right again; the trade unions aren't knee-high to a grasshopper, when it comes to combatting the power of combined capital. What is the next clause, Jack?

Tichenor (reading): **"The trade unions**

foster a state of affairs that allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars." That is, trade unions not only prevent working class consolidation equal to that of the capitalist class, but they breed rivalry among themselves. They are continually engaging in squabbles over jurisdiction. At such times they scab on one another, during strikes. They sign agreements that prevent them from acting together and that also compel them to remain at work when the members of other trade unions are out on strike. They breed internal warfare and organized scabbery. They surely do defeat one another. What do you say to that, Bob?

HAMILTON AND MADISON ON CLASS DIVISIONS

Hammond (cordially): You're right, old top! What is the next clause? What does it signify?

Tichenor (reading): **"Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers."** Even when Rockefeller massacres the

Ludlow miners, and the West Virginia miners rise in armed insurrection, do the trade unions, with Gompers at their head, preach the mutual interests of capital and labor. Furthermore they, on the same principle, favor the continuance of the present system. Trade unions are, in principle, capitalistic. But such are the needs of their membership, that they are compelled to resist capitalist exploitation and aggression in a manner that belies their own teachings and leanings. In that exists the only hope for their progress upward.

Hammond (consulting a note book): Don't you think, Tich, this contradiction is due to the failure to understand events? To all Americans, no less than to Gompers, with their traditions of democracy and opportunity, the idea of a division of interests, according to classes, is repugnant. Yet I once, without understanding their full meaning, made some notes while studying Professor Chas. Beard's "Readings in American Government and Politics." These notes show that even the two great American statesmen, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, recognized and believed in class divisions and interests.

Hamilton, according to Beard, contended that (reading): "All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the well born; the others are the mass of the people."

Madison was more specific and pointed. He said (reading again): "Those who hold, and those without property, have ever formed distinct interests. A landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations, and divide of necessity into different classes, actuated by different sentiments and views."

We all know that today democracy and opportunity are dead. Also that most of the various major interests, referred to by Madison, have become, thanks to consolidation, one, under the domination of the financiers. While the lesser interests, such as those of the workers, have also organized and grown more pronounced, so that the two now stand, practically, in hostile array towards each other. It seems to me, that the trade unions will have to be taught, through a campaign of education, to see this, just as I am beginning to see it. What's your opinion, Tich?

Tichenor (laughingly): Either that, or through a campaign of hard knocks, such as set you a-going today, Bob! How about reading the next clause? Agreed? (Reads): **"These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all."**

Hammond (quickly): That is apparent whichever way you turn. As the failure of the steel strike and the railroad difficulties show, the workers have got to organize just as the employers are organized, into one big union on class lines. There must be an end to trade agreements and divisions, and all must stand and fall together. Is there any other way out of it, Tich?

Tichenor (admiringly): You're progressing wonderfully, Bob. Of course there isn't. Can you see any other way out of the next clause, too? (Reads): **"Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of**

the wage system.'" The question here arises, what is a fair day's wage for a fair day's labor? Price and currency fluctuations, together with living standards make it hard to determine what one's wages are or really ought to be. Industrial developments and inefficient and wasteful management, due to the greed for profits, render us idle and often leave us without any wages at all. The wages and profit system, by robbing us of our products, and making foreign markets and investments necessary, creates class conflicts and war, with their social derangement and chaos generally. The situation, thus engendered, becomes one, not merely of wages only, but of social preservation also. Thus it comes that the workers, perforce, are beginning to realize that labor movements must be more than wage movements. In brief, the whole tendency of capitalism is to compel us, the workers, to inscribe on our banner the motto, **"The abolition of the wage system."** How that will happen is told in the next and most important paragraph in the Preamble. Shall I read it to you?

Hammond (decisively): You bet! Say, this is blamed interesting. There's more to the I. W. W. Preamble than appears at first glance. It is a great social document, without doubt.

THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKERS

Tichenor (joyously): Now you're talking, Bob. The first clause reads: **"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism."** This historic mission is thrust upon the working class. Strikes and wars show that industrial development makes the capitalist class dependent upon the brain and muscle of the working class. No social activity is possible when labor folds its arms and ceases production. Industrial development, accordingly, makes the working class the only class able to do away with capitalism. In all previous history the useful under class was impelled by economic forces and interests to throw off the useless upper class. This was the historic mission of the capitalist class in doing away with feudalism. It will be the historic mission of the working class when it does away with capitalism.

In the next clause we get a suggestion of the method by which this will be done. This clause reads, **"The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalism, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown."** That it, the workers must be organized not only in unions for

defensive but also for constructive purposes. Not only more wages, but also the mastery of industry in the interests of all society, instead of a small dominant class, must be and is their increasing aim.

PEACEFUL CHANGE WORKERS' HOPE

This, too, is being forced on the workers by industrial development. This development draws millions of workers into organized effort, not only for the profits of a few capitalists, but also in opposition to their continued, unrestrained domination and control. It is an economic maelstrom into which the most conservative workers are being whirled. As already indicated before, this conflict of opposing class interests creates increasing social paralysis and loss through strikes and lockouts. It is the hope of the workers in England, Germany and the U. S. A. to end this class conflict as peacefully as possible, by the gradual expansion of the workers' power and the absorbtion of capitalism thereby. This hope is encouraging. But it looks as if, ultimately, the workers will be compelled, by the social breakdown which the class conflict will precipitate, to take and hold production by locking out the capitalist class. This has already occurred

for a brief spell, and as a war aftermath, in both Italy and Japan. Next time they may be more successful.

Hammond (stirring): Well, this gets ever more interesting. Events have occurred since the writing of the Preamble in 1905, that justify the principles it laid down, haven't they? Evidently the course to be taken by the working class will be determined by the development of capitalism itself. What do you say, Tich?

THE BREAKDOWN OF CAPITALISM

Tichenor (eagerly): You are right, Bob. There is war and bankruptcy still to be considered. These by breaking down capitalism may also force the working class to step in and act for society by taking over production. This was the case in Russia during the world war. Following the collapse of Czarism and the Kerensky coalition government, the trade unions took hold of the situation and prevented anarchy and chaos during the three or four years that immediately followed. Should this country become involved in war, with either Japan or England, the shock may send what little civilization there is still left to perdition, unless the workers in all of these countries intervene and, through their own class in-

dustrial organization, avert the terrible disaster by keeping production agoing and society free from starvation and extinction. The highest of human considerations stand back of the constructive features of the Preamble of the I. W. W. It is big because it is basic and basic because it is big!

Hammond (all animation): By God, you are right, Tich! Hurray for the I. W. W. Preamble! Me for it, it for me!

FORMING THE NEW SOCIETY

Tichenor (overjoyed): Good, old pal, good for you! Now we can go to the harvest fields and join the Wobblies with one accord. But first let us finish our consideration of the Preamble. We've got one more clause which contains the essence of the I. W. W. It reads, "**By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.**" Here again the idea of organizing according to industry instead of trade is set forth, not only as a more perfect means of improving conditions but of building up the framework of a new society during the developments that are undermining and threatening the old.

The justice of, as well as the neces-

sity for, this industrial organization were set forth in the consideration of the previous clauses of the Preamble. Labor must organize, not only in order to improve its conditions, but, also, to secure all that it produces, and save society from the destruction by which it is threatened from class and national wars. And it can only do these things well, not from a trade but from an industrial standpoint, a standpoint that recognizes the extensive social character of production, both at home and abroad.

This principle, it may be repeated, is born of three different causes, all related to one another. First, there is the fact that the trade unions must expand in order to conform with industrial development. Recent economic changes make trade unionism, both in form and principle, a backward development, especially in the United States. Secondly, we have the need for a medium through which to obviate social ruin, as the culmination of strikes, wars and bankruptcy. This the recent world war has made evident on all sides. Thirdly, there is still a deeper conception than even these. This is a recognition of the basic importance of industry in modern life the world over. Industry is the rock on which the social edifice is raised. We spend most

of our lives in industry, or we are vitally affected by its maladjustments and expansion everywhere. Our entire social life revolves around industry. And he who controls industry, in its broadest sense, controls society.

INDUSTRY AND THE STATE

Especially in the United States is the predominance of industry over the state evident. We here talk of the "power of the trust," "the money power," etc.; and it is common talk here that it is economic interests that rule the nation. If it isn't the "agricultural bloc" that is being damned as a source of all "our" legislative ills, it is the House of Morgan that is being arraigned for "our" railroad and financial policies, the open shop drive, "deflation," and all that thereby hangs.

If it isn't American investments in Mexico that engage "our" "dollar diplomacy," it is commercial rights in China and Russia that do so, instead. It is this recognition of the importance of industry that causes the I. W. W. to make the workshop, figuratively speaking, the workers' state. It believes that neither a political party nor a political government can carry on production. For this purpose, industry and indus-

trial organization are necessary. Consequently, if a transformation is to take place in the ownership and control of production, it must take place in industry via the organization of the workers employed therein. Therefore, the I. W. W. limits its main endeavors to industrial organization and leaves to politicians the impossible task of effecting a fundamental change through political parties and political government!

It is this change from within industry outward, instead of from outward inward, that gives the concluding clause of the I. W. W. Preamble its profound character. It is the only way a truly free workers' society may be born and successfully continued.

PREPARING FOR THE NEW TIME COMING

In pursuit of this ideal, the I. W. W. lays great stress on the acquisition of economic knowledge and industrial technique by the working class. It believes that the great mass of workers as yet do not possess the social vision, the sensible responsibility, and the conscious administrative ability successfully to assume democratic industrial control, as it believes they will ultimately be compelled to do. But the

leaven is working. The development of capitalism is forcing recognition. The ranks of organized labor are dimly beginning to see it, and the number is increasing to whom the goal is becoming clearer and clearer—social, political and industrial democracy, a new economic and social order in which labor shall be free. With this goal before it, the I. W. W. seeks to rouse the working class, calling on it to organize for the new day coming when it shall operate industry for the good of all and not for the profit of a few, as at present.

It is recognized, in this connection, that in order to change the present economic system, there must be a greater consolidation of workers of all degrees of skill and ability, from the technicians down to the laborers. Combined with this there must go education of the workers for the control of industry. This education includes courses in economics, factory and business management, social questions and labor laws. For these purposes shop organization and shop councils, under the control of the industrial unions, are advocated. They perform educational functions, together with strike and administrative functions, from the standpoint of the workers' interests. Full

particulars concerning the giant plants in the basic industries are spread broadcast and everything possible is done to keep the organized workers abreast of capitalism in the fight for democratic control of industry.

In addition, the I. W. W. advocates international labor organization, according to industry. It has already taken the lead in the marine transportation industry. It organizes branches all over the world. It makes affiliations with labor organizations and takes part in world labor conferences wherever possible. It does this in response to the international character of industry and the industrial empire which the latter is building up in every nation and that combines with those of other nations in leagues for imperialistic exploitation.

Thus is the structure of the new society being erected within the shell of the old—by means of capitalist compulsion and workers' education. Thus is the Preamble of the I. W. W. being made a reality; and thus do we also reach the end of our discussion, Bob.

IF PROSPERITY SHOULD COME

Hammond (frankly): It's great, Tich. It's great! But suppose there is no breakdown of capitalism, either

through the class struggle or war. Suppose the plans of the world's financial interests for a greater capitalism and greater prosperity carry, what will the I. W. W. Preamble be good for then?

Tichenor (laughing): Why, it will still provide the workers with the best means for reaping the fruits of that prosperity. Prosperity will mean another demand for labor. This will again be labor's opportunity to secure control, as it partly did during the war, owing to the labor demand then. Industrial organization will do the trick, better than any other kind will.

Hammond (laughing too): I see the I. W. W. Preamble catches capitalism coming and going.

Tichenor (joining in): Righto, Bob old boy. But say, regarding the "coming prosperity," hasn't W. P. G. Harding, governor of the Federal Reserve Board, leading bank official of the country, already warned, that "a reaction will follow sooner or later"? How about the I. W. W. Preamble and philosophy then?

Hammond (keeping up the mood): They'll be all to the mustard. They will fit in right, I can see. But say, Tich, let us hurry and make that

freight for the harvest. It will be pulling out soon.

Both thereupon scramble to their feet, eat some more grub and rush in the direction of the railroad yards, singing (to the tune of "John Brown's Body"),

Solidarity forever,
Solidarity forever,

until both their forms and their voices are lost in the calm twilight.

THE END

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Thoroughly I. W. W.

Let's Act Union

What Sort of Union Is the I.W.W. Asking You to Build?

There are many unions in this country but not enough unionism.

There is proof of that in the miserable wages and working conditions of those who provide this country with its food. There is proof in long workdays three generations and a million inventions after the 8-hour day was won. There is proof when those with steady jobs fear that they may lose them. There is proof in the way that workers are pitted against each other across the work bench, across the world.

We need the unionism that unites us. To get it, we must build it.

To build it, act union. Resist all attempts to use you against your fellow workers. Don't help the boss speed them up. Don't help cut their pay. Don't make them wonder whether it is safe to be union and act union.

Is your fellow worker weary of being a cog in a machine? Does he or she want to act human on the job? Don't make your fellow worker feel out of line – act human too.

When you are hunting for a job, and see people hard at work, don't stand gaping at them. It may make them feel that they have to work harder to hold their job – and that makes it harder for you to find one.

To act union is to act for your own good by acting for the good of your fellow workers as a group. It is the sure way to win.

To act union is to show consideration for your fellow workers. Good unionists try to turn their jobs into places where they and their fellow workers can do their work well and at the same time enjoy the job and enjoy each other's company. They want sanitation facilities kept sanitary, drinking places kept decent, health and safety practices observed. They do their own bit to keep them that way. By their action they disprove any argument that workers don't want to bother

with good conditions. When they and their fellow workers win something good, they don't want to spoil it.

No union official miles away from the job can make it agreeable. That needs union practice on the job. Nothing much can be done for us, but by acting union we can do much for ourselves. We can even leave our children a good world.

The good unionist is much concerned about the worst jobs, for the conditions there are the base above which all better conditions are built.

On many of those worst jobs, some workers are quitting and some are starting almost every day. If some were to quit a few days earlier and some were to quit a few days later than they had planned, they could quit in bunches. They could do this without much inconvenience to themselves. If they are asked why they are quitting, and they pointed to some grievance that is easy to remedy, they may get it taken care of and find it better to stay. To systematize the quitting practice in this way and to use it to improve conditions is not calling a strike. Those who quit in bunches are not telling others to stay away from the job they left. It is a way to press for better conditions on "come and go" jobs without incurring the troubles and sacrifices that strikes often require. Leave strikes for situations where nothing else will work.

Strikes are the worker's last resort, and to be used only after serious deliberation in union meetings. If bunched-up quitting does not win something for you at the job you are leaving, it may make the job better for the next crew that takes it, and very likely will. By the same token you may find conditions better on the job you move to because of the way those who were on it before you left it.

These are a few examples of what we mean when we say "Let's Act Union." Without acting union, your payment of union dues cannot build unionism. But trying to act union without building a union does not work either. We need the combination. Build the sort of union that expects us to act union and that helps us to do so.

We want the sort of union where all on the same job will be in the same union; where all in the same industry will be in the same industrial unions; where eventually all in the working class everywhere will be helping each other in **The Industrial Workers of the World.**

This is not a union run by some leader who tells you what he will do for you. It is a device by which you and your fellow workers can do together what you want to do but cannot do alone. Whether you join us now or not, we ask you to give a powerful lot of thought to how you can act union.

Who May Join?

Any wage earner* may carry an IWW card. No worker is barred because of race, religion, nationality, or sex.

It is *not,* however, an organization for scissorbills, for cowards, for those who substitute words for action. It does not want those who are content to unquestioningly follow leaders.

The IWW is a union for men and women, for the best and most intelligent -- and growing numbers of such workers are securing IWW cards. They want to help build the union which will rebuild the world.

The IWW needs them, and they need the IWW.

Who Belongs Now?

Some of the best and most capable unionists are already members of the IWW. They are veterans of many a bitter struggle for improved wages and conditions; rebels against an unjust social order who freely offer their hearts and brains to make labor's bright dream of a better world come true. They are men and women whom one is proud to know; people who will fight, whatever the odds, until the battle is won.

Some of the best are not enough. The IWW needs them all. And, equally, all who are struggling for the better world that we can have will find they need the IWW.

* No unemployed or retired worker, no working class student, apprentice, or housewife shall be excluded from membership on the grounds that he or she is not currently receiving wages.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
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☐ *I am unemployed right now.*

☐ *The job I work on is not organized.*

☐ *My job is organized under* _____
but I wish to join the IWW as an individual member.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip** _____

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system..

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

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WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?



PRICE 2 CENTS

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Where Do We Go From Here?

The main question confronting the unemployed is this: "Where do we go from here?" This is a fair question and one that deserves an honest answer. But honest answers are seldom given either by the Powers-that-Be or by the peddlers of assorted social and economic panaceas.

Being out of a job and facing the possibility of permanent unemployment is a mighty serious matter. In fact, few things in life concern the worker more than having a job because that job is all that stands between him and want. In this crazy world where a man must "beg his lordly fellow worm to give him leave to toil" **the job stands for bread and butter, for warmth, shelter, security—for life itself.** By that one frail thread the worker is suspended over the abyss of hunger and privation; and not only the worker, but his loved ones as well. Without that job homes are wrecked, families broken up and children sent out on the highways to become wanderers or jail birds. Naturally, the horror of unemployment haunts the minds of working people from the cradle to the grave.

Naturally also, when they are kicked out into the army of the jobless, the one thought foremost in their minds is: "Where do we go from here?" And to that question few answers are given which sound as though they had an iota of sense to them.

The trouble is, nearly every one answering the question refuses to recognize the fact that mass unemployment—the kind we see all about us every day—is very largely the result of machinery taking the place of men. It is called "technological unemployment" and it is as unlike the unemployment of

other years as this depression is different from all other depressions which preceeded it. It is well to keep this fact in mind, for, without a correct understanding of the **cause** of their troubles, workers are likely to be confused as to the remedy to be applied.

If this were the typical old style depression, for instance, we could look forward rather confidently to a new era of industrial expansion, a trade boom resulting from newly acquired markets, or to better financial conditions. In the past, depressions have subsided and made way for periods of hectic "prosperity" for the simple reason that the country was being developed on an ever increasing scale and there were always new possibilities for great future growth. If we had a spell of "hard times" we could look forward to corresponding periods of prosperity in which to recoup our losses and get out of the hole.

This Depression is Different

But this time it is different. World markets have just about become non-existent. Industrial expansion has definitely stopped. A saturation point in investments has been reached. The most reliable surveys of industry indicate clearly that the present depression represents **the end of an epoch.** The onward sweep of the machine process has culminated in mass production methods which have permanently displaced millions of workers in industry. Production goes on the same as ever but the number of workers necessary to man the machines of the Super Power Age constantly diminish. This is proved by the fact, conceded by all honest investigators that, **if production output were stepped up to 1928 standards the number of unemployed workers would still**

remain of tremendous proportions. That is how serious the present situation is, and that is why it is foolish to look forward to the return of "prosperity" as predicted by the economists of the old school. Modern science and invention have given, and are giving us a type of equipment which tends to eliminate more and more workers from production as time goes on. And so the problem of the unemployed wage worker is no longer how to get a job, **but rather how to put an end to unemployment as a whole.** Unless this is done there can be but little relief and no permanent betterment in the conditions of the working class. Wage workers, employed and unemployed alike, are therefore confronted with the problem, not merely of finding jobs, but of putting an end to the monstrous and stupid Profit System which must continue to deprive them of jobs as long as it operates.

It stands to reason that machinery should be a blessing instead of a curse to Mankind. Labor-saving devices should be "labor saving". They should lift the burdens from the backs of men and women and make life sweeter for everyone. If a machine can do ten men's work there is no earthly reason why, those ten men should work as hard as they did before. With the type of machinery now in operation the hours of labor could be reduced to three or four a day and every man, woman and child in the country should have an abundance of socially necessary goods and services. The "Chart of Plenty" was compiled by Harold Loeb and a group of scientists and technicians employed to make a survey of America's capacity to produce. These men were employed by the U. S. Government and were very conservative in their figures. They proved conclusively

that, **if it were not for the Profit System, the people of this country could produce goods in excess of their capacity to consume.** So there is no longer any reason why people should go hungry, as they were forced to do in the Age of Scarcity, because there was not enough to go around.

Stop Profits — Produce Goods!

Modern technology has brought abundance and the opportunity for happiness and fulfillment to the door of every man, woman and child in the country. The reason they are unable to enjoy the full benefits of the marvelous age of science and invention in which we live is, because **the mechanical equipment and resources are preversely being used to produce not goods for all, but profits for the few!**

Until the workers, employed and jobless, band themselves together to put a permanent stop to this hideous type of world-wrecking social parasitism conditions can get worse but not better.

What is needed more than anything else at the present moment is a clean-cut industrial analysis of the problem of technological unemployment and a clean-cut and scientific program of action to enable the workers to answer the question: "Where do we go from here?" And that is where the direct action program of the Industrial Workers of the World comes in. We want you to compare this program with those of Tories, reformers and political radicals. We are sure that your own good judgment and common sense will make clear its practicability and many advantages.

In the first place you must keep in mind the class character of unemployment. No longer is it possible

for individuals or small groups of workers, or workers divided into crafts or districts to put an end to modern unemployment. This is a task that requires the joint effort of all workers, both employed and jobless. Unemployment is a common problem requiring common understanding and united action for the attainment of a common goal. Unemployment is a thing that must be settled in a big way—or it will not be settled at all. Solidarity is the keynote. If workers once understand the problem and take a notion to act in unison to put a stop to this unnatural profit-begotten modern scourge—mass unemployment—they can do so. The power is in their hands, to use any time they make up their minds to do so.

The I. W. W. program is based squarely upon human rights as opposed to property rights. It proposes **to put all the unemployed back into industry regardless of what happens to the profits of the Parasite Class.** There is no denying the fact that every unemployed worker could be placed back in industry if the hours of labor were sufficiently reduced. And that is what the I. W. W. proposes to do by means of the **four-hour day, four-day week.** The I. W. W. furthermore proposes not only to devide the work to be done among the workers available to do that work, but also to shorten the hours of labor progressively as machinery is improved, and automatized.

General Strike — Mass Picketing

The I. W. W. is under no illusions as to the antisocial character of the present ruling class. Bitter experience has taught us that the Vested Interests

will fight to the last ditch to retain their position of preference. Realizing the futility of reform and proclaiming the imperative need for a new social order to save humanity from destruction and civilization from chaos, the I. W. W. takes a position in favor of fundamental social change.

Not only is the I. W. W. position revolutionary, but it is more revolutionary than that of any other organization because it lays the ax at the root of the evil tree of Exploitation. It proposes to displace the top-heavy, costly wasteful and inefficient political state with a planned economy based on the scientific administration of industry. The politician as well as the capitalist is left out of the picture. There is nothing for either of them to do. The Price System and the entire concept of price as applied to goods and men is completely eliminated. Unlike the Communist and Socialists, the I. W. W. does not propose to establish state capitalism to reinstitute the tottering edifice of state authority.

The I. W. W. takes the position that employed and unemployed must work together not merely for jobs for all but **for the overthrow of a bankrupt economic order which has no more jobs to give.** Without this cooperation and solidarity little can be done in the line of social change. Nor will unemployment be abolished by bettering the condition of one set of workers at the expense of other workers. The only thing that matters is Labor's condition as a whole. If unemployed workers are willing to work harder, cheaper and longer just because they are desperate and need work, all wage standards would be smashed and conditions would sink to peon levels. If, on the other hand, the employed workers are willing to strive for temporary ad-

vantage by submitting to the speedup and long hours of labor, they are, by so doing, making it impossible for the unemployed to get back on the job. In either case they are scabbing on one another. Solidarity and understanding between the two are needed as never before.

The I. W. W. program includes mass picketing of the industries by the unemployed and the use of Labor's supreme economic power through the General Strike. This is what every unemployed worker should work and strive for—the General Strike for Industrial Freedom. If you are asking yourselves the question "Where do we go from here?" do not be fooled by politicians who have nothing to offer you but promises. Organize industrially the I. W. W. way and **take** what will not be given to you otherwise.

You will find that you can start from "where you are" to make possible this great move for human liberation. There is much to be done and not much time to do it. Let's get going!



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Why Building Workers Must Organize

In The

One Big Union!

By PEO MONOLDI



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Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330 of The I. W. W.

555 West Lake Street, Chicago, Ill.

PRICE 10 CENTS

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

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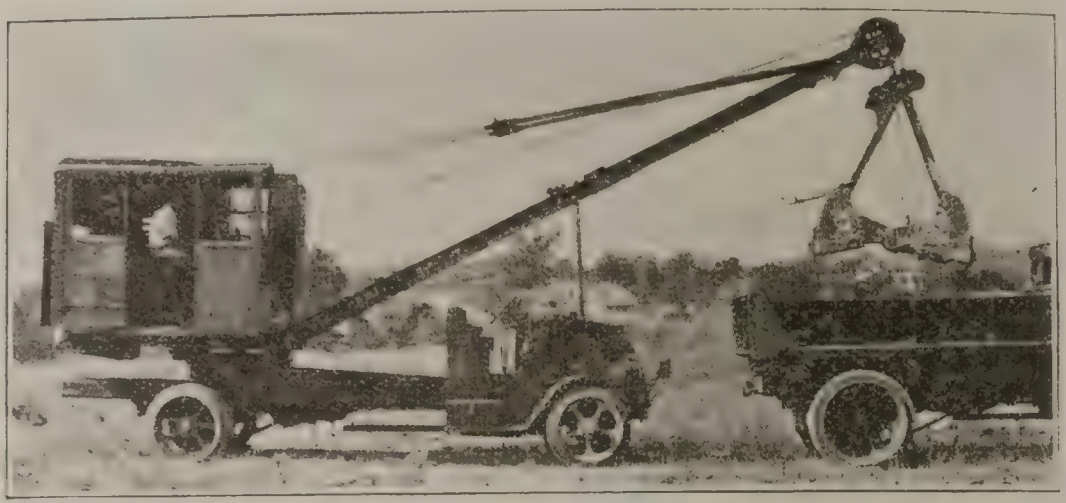
Standardization of Materials And Tools Is Eliminating The Skill Of Building Workers

DAY by day building construction workers are being robbed of their skill, and in no country is this process so active as in the United States. In numbers that constantly increase workers who have spent their lives in this industry find themselves driven to a congested slave market, and many thousands find their unenviable places in the horde of unemployed to tramp the streets, or go from place to place in search of masters.

To find these masters becomes a more difficult matter in proportion to the progress of standardization and simplification of building tools and materials that is taking place. It is a startling fact that more progress has been made in these respects during the last three years than in any like period of history. No longer can the building worker look with pride to a building of his creation as in days gone by, when it required the brain, brawn and skilful hands and eyes of the mechanics from the foundation's beginning until the last touch had been completed. These days are gone, never to return.

We no longer see an army of men digging foundations with a long line of wagons to haul away the dirt. Instead, we see powerful steam shovels eating through the earth and loading powerful trucks which haul away the dirt. Concrete mixers instead of stone masons build walls. The keen eye and steady hands of carpenters are no longer needed. Lathers, plasterers, plumbers, and other crafts-

men have security in their skill no more. We live in a different age, an age where machinery is all powerful, where materials and tools are standard-



ized and simplified to such a degree that nearly all skill is eliminated.

Standardization On A Large Scale

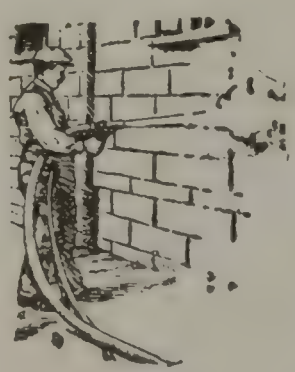
One of the most stupendous undertakings in standardization is in the lumber industry, which offers a reduction of nearly sixty per cent in the number of finished yard lumber items in basic standards of size and weight. Frame dwellings can now be bought from many companies located from coast to coast. These dwellings are built either in sections at the factory or else the lumber is cut to the proper sizes so that all that is required is nailing the pieces together. Every piece is cut ready to be nailed into its place. This does not apply to the rough lumber only but to all built-in fixtures as well.

Reinforcing bars have been simplified to ten different sizes: Metal lath from 125 varieties have been reduced to 24, a reduction of eighty per cent. Shingles have been reduced to four different sizes, bricks are being reduced in grades and sizes and lime mortar has almost disappeared. Nearly all plaster material is now prepared in a factory. All that is required is mixing with water or chloride,

depending on the kind of material or job. However, the material alone has very little effect on plastering jobs in so far as labor is concerned, but a revolution is taking place in the tools of mixing and plastering.

In New York the concrete mixer is being used on nearly all jobs in mixing mortar, this practice displacing much labor. It is also being used on large jobs in other cities. The plaster is very shaky, due to a new invention called Gun-ite and Guncrete, which is made in the shape of a gun and con-

Shooting Plaster On Walls With "Gun"





nects with the mortar box. This method has been employed for three years or more and is extending, so one of these days fifty or sixty per cent of the plasterers are going to find themselves in a very disadvantageous economic position.

Roofers are also badly situated with steel roofing which requires no skill to place together. Plumbers and pipefitters are in practically the same boat, with pipes being so perfected as to do away with skill and much labor. With painting machines finding increasing favor among employers, painters are finding themselves in a very tight place. But the greatest of all machinery and standardization of the age, which will not only come very near to eliminating several crafts, but will affect workers in other industries as well, are the steel frame structures, and the electric arch welder.

Innovation Of Iron Buildings

Several thousand iron buildings have already been constructed in England and the United States. In this country many of them have been erected in California and New York. The first one to be built in this country was in Toledo, Ohio, in 1924, a five-room modern bungalow. It was steel throughout and cost $4,085. At that time no standards were in the market. The steel had to be cut and holes made on the job. Today we have standards and they are being molded in the steel mills, so all the labor that is needed is bolting them together, at wages for the workers ranging from fifty to sixty cents an hour.

The electric arch welder will not only affect iron workers, but will reach the workers in steel mills, on railroads, in mining and other industries which in any way are connected with the manufacturing of steel. They will be affected due to the fact that a third less steel will be needed on a steel bridge or building under the new system than when rivets are used. On a five-story manufacturing building erected at the Sharon works of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, 95 tons of steel were saved by welding. This means that if rivets had been used that many more tons would have been used.

At Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, an arch-welded, rivetless steel railroad bridge, the first of its kind to be built, will require 80 tons of steel. If rivets were used 120 tons of steel would be needed. This means a saving of one-third on steel alone, and the bridge with less steel will be stronger and last longer because it will be welded into one solid piece. Electric arch-welding is new, still in the experimental stage. What will it be in the next five or ten years when more perfected and when town, city and state ordinances will permit its use? This is one or the greatest revolutions in the building age.

There are many other mechanical improve-

ments that I could write about, all tending to the same elimination of skill and displacement of labor, but citing one more should be sufficient to open the eyes of building workers, to cause them to seek a means for protecting their very existence.



Steel Frame Erected In Three Hours!

Concrete has been used for many years and it has eliminated thousands of workers from the building industry, but the most far-reaching elimination of labor from the building construction field is now taking place in remote places, with a machine that smocthes the walls and plastering is applied without any lath. With the plastering guns in use it will do away with carpenters, lathers, plasterers, and bricklayers, not to mention the effect that it will have on the steel mills, mines, and lumber mills, when millions of yards of metal lath and millions of feet of lumber will not be needed because of the new method.

Why The Contractors Are Powerful

Building contractors understand fully that to make their profits increase and to secure them is by having absolute power over the jobs. They know further that to have that power it is necessary to use up-to-date organization methods, and to create as many labor-saving devices as possible. Since new inventions applied to the building construction industry have revolutionized it, contractors are succeeding very well. These inventions mark the way for future progress. They are the most important factors in this progress. And they are now in possession not of those who use them, but those who own without toiling. Mankind has made tremendous advances in the conquest of time and space. Railroad, steamship, automobile, airplane transportation; the radio, telephones, telegraphy—these have brought all the earth's races and peoples into closer contact and are rapidly removing all barriers of race and nation among workers. In line with this change the building industry bids fair to outclass other industries in the world-wide process of social adjustment to see the needs of the time.

As in other industries, building construction is marked by the assumption of machine power importance, moving swiftly from day to day toward absolute productive efficiency. Machinery flings aside laborious hand methods. Its speed, accuracy and tirelessness insure its existence; its reduction of production costs make it welcome to employers. Their power is made greater with every advance of the machine. Concrete mixers have superceded the old shovel board methods and this has resulted in displacing many thousands of workers; power woodworking machines have not only been remarkable time savers for the boss but have produced greater economy in material. Power hoist derricks, trenching machines, motor trucks and tractors, power loaders, air compressors, pumps, concrete distributing towers, and last, but not least, the electric arch-

welder have made it possible for massive structures to rise like magic almost overnight from sub-basement to roof. Today the workers in the building construction industry find themselves in the greatest predicament in the history of the human race in its struggle for economic security.

Craftsmanship Is A Thing Of The Past

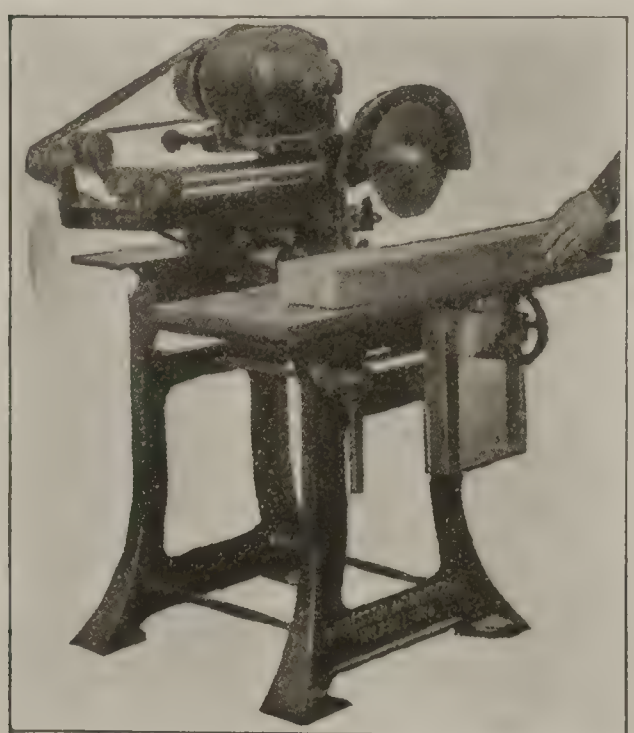
As these experiments in standardizing material and developing labor-saving devices become more successful, the craftsman finds himself deprived of all chance to apply the skill he has been years acquiring. He becomes merely a machine tender, a handy man. His wages are reduced. Should he quit or be discharged, replacement is an easy matter for the company, as no special skill is needed to tend machines or fit together parts of a building which have already been prepared by the machines in the required shapes and sizes.

Of course, many of the building workers today, as in other days, refuse to look around them and observe this evolution of materials and tools. When the subject is brought to their attention, nine times out of ten the argument is made in answer that in the building industry we have so many different kinds of materials in sizes and shapes that it would take several months for an inexperienced worker to get acquainted with them. They fail to see that contractors with powerful organizations are taking care of this instruction. All that should be needed to convince anyone of this truth, is to examine the modern operation of dwelling houses, apartments, or skyscrapers, and then let one's mind go back ten, fifteen or twenty years, when it used to take a number of weeks to build a five or six-room dwelling, or several years for the construction of a skyscraper. In those days we did not see a wood-working machine on the job doing cross cutting, ripping, jointing, sanding, planing, routing, plowing, mitering, rabbetting, moulding, grinding, matching, stair cutting, side, door jambs, jack rafter, etc., etc. In fact,

there are wood-working machines that perform as many as thirty different operations that the carpenter used to do entirely by hand. Now you simply place a piece of lumber in one end of the machine and it comes out the other end ready to be nailed in place. All plastic ornaments are being molded in desired shapes and hung on the walls. And with the plastering guns in operation on the increase, which does away with a lot of muscular work which has been called skill, the plasterer will be on a par with the so-called common laborer.

Craft Union Ineffective With Passing Of Skill

Stone cutters have been almost entirely eliminated, as all stones are now cut to their proper sizes and shapes in a factory by electric and steam drills



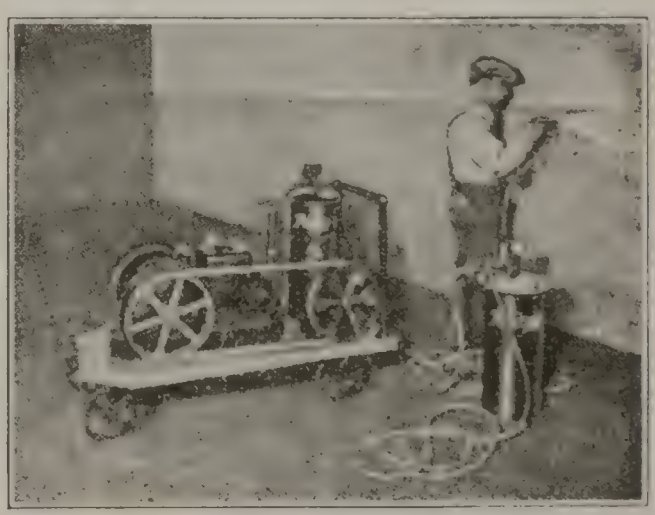
Wood Working Machine That Performs Thirty Operations Formerly Done By Hand

which have taken the place of the hand drills. The painting machines are on the increase all the time, and are now being used on interior work. Concrete mixers, machines to smoothe walls, and plastering guns will eliminate many thousands of laborers, carpenters, bricklayers, iron workers and lathers. Our

skill gone, we can no longer rely on craft organizations for economic security.



Painting Machine which Replaces Thousands of Workers



Building contractors long ago realized that in order to increase their power, and thus their profits, it was necessary to organize and by so doing control the jobs, and not only apply modern equipment in the industry, but a modern form of economic organization. That they have succeeded most effectively is plain, since a small group of contractors are controlling the entire industry, and thereby determining the economic position of all building construction workers. Less than two hundred men organized as one, in conjunction with powerful banking houses, are dictating the existences of three million building workers and their families.

Building Work Is On A Decline

This small employing group constantly regulate building operations so as to have a large labor sup-

ply at all times, and year after year building records have been broken. Now the peak has been reached; the industry is declining. Workers can not afford the high rents charged in these new buildings and must remain in less attractive dwellings. The building interests will not tie up finances in a building that does not bring in a large profit. The outcome for us will be that we shall be compelled to enter other industries competing with other workers in the struggle for existence, or else walk the streets in quest of a job which hundreds of others will be seeking. This outcome is to be expected unless we come to a realization that the interest of one building worker is the interest of all building workers.

The building industry is only one link of all industries, as the building industry is dependent on other industries for its materials and tools. So, too, are we building workers dependent on other workers for material aid and understanding in our struggles for the security of ourselves and our dependents. What must we do in order to better our conditions, to secure and enjoy the product of our labor?

Organization Is The Only Solution

To thousands of building construction workers the word organization sounds like a nightmare, as nearly all of them at one time or another have been members of some union, and memories of the past hard to forget appear before us. No workers have fought more valiantly, with more determination to better their conditions than we have. No other workers have been bought and sold on the auction block by business agents as we have. No other industry has had a Skinny Madden of Chicago, a McCarthy of San Francisco, a Brindell of New York—types of this sort—on so large a scale as building workers. But these have not happened accidentally; their successors are tarred with the same brush. These men are not mistakes; they are results inherent in the craft system of unionism.

The A. F. of L. craft unions in the building construction industry came into existence at a time when building construction was almost exclusively handled by petty craft contractors who had to knife one another's throats most of the time. The tenacity of craft unionism in the building trades is still chiefly due to the existence of these craft contractors. At that time handicraft skill was still a great factor. Windows, doors, mouldings, sashes, and all sorts of fittings of wood or metal did not come ready-made from the mill and factory. The paint had to be mixed on the job. The granite blocks had to be cut and fitted by hand on the job instead of at the planing mill. Under such conditions the craft unions had an important function to perform. But something more was needed to separate the workers and sustain the system of craft unionism, and what would be better than contracts binding the workers hand and foot to the contractors for a specific length of time? So today we find, as in the past, where contracts are made by each craft and the business agents are invested by labor with authority to arrange its terms, a power is delegated to them of enormous worth when we consider that labor activity is the electric juice of industry. When it is possible for these business agents to arrange the terms with assurance that the union engagement made by them for their own ends and that of employers, will be fulfilled, nothing but corruption and treachery can be expected. These men should be held personally responsible for their appearance and activity, and the A. F. of L. is based on such a system. Thus, building workers find themselves in their worst predicament because jurisdictional disputes occupy our energies instead of action to protect ourselves. With these disputes a battle rages whether the carpenter, or the sheet metal worker should hang the metal doors, window frames and metal trims; whether the plumber or steamfitter should lay a certain pipe, or the iron worker or lather should erect the reinforced bars, etc., as in Houston, Texas, Kansas City, Boston,

New York and other cities too numerous to mention, where as many as 14 crafts went on a general strike over jurisdictional disputes while the business agents bargained with the contractors as to the conditions and wages of the workers. What results can we expect?

Building Workers Must Organize Industrially

There is only one solution in order to eliminate corruption and treachery and to pave the way for economic security. We must organize industrially and lay the foundation for the six-hour work day, and five days a week, and to use the machine to the best possible advantage of the building workers. Of course, that can be done only by dumping overboard the entire outworn machinery of the A. F. of L. craft unionism, and organizing along Industrial Union lines. Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330 of the Industrial Workers of the World is so formed to advance the interests of the workers in this industry.

I. W. W. Conception Of Organization

Craft unionism is based on the tool that we use. This wornout, corrupt system no longer offers any promise of improvement in this industrialized age, but only presents a perpetual struggle for slight relief under the system of wage slavery. It shatters the ranks of workers into fragments, rendering us helpless in our industrial struggles. Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial help impossible. Craft jealousy leads to the creation of trade monopolies. Contracts force union men to scab against union men, while craft divisions hinder growth of class consciousness, and foster the idea of harmony of interest between the contractors and workers.

These evils of the business workers can only be eradicated by an industrial movement. But such a movement of the building workers is impossible while separate crafts and wage agreements are

made favoring the building bosses, and against the workers, while our energies are wasted in jurisdictional squabbles which serve only to benefit the bosses and the union officials. A movement to fulfill the needs of the building workers must consist of one great Industrial Union, embracing all of the building workers of the entire industry, providing for autonomy industrially, and working class unity national and international, with all power to rest in the hands of the collective membership, instead of in the hands of union officials. Such an organization is Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330 of the I. W. W. It is the only union in the United States that is making an effort to organize the building workers according to the industry in which they work. In the I. W. W. we maintain that irrespective of creed, color, sex or nationality, all the workers who are working in one industry should be in one union, so that they can present to the employers united demands concerning wages, hours and conditions for all working in the industry, and, if necessary, all strike together to gain their demands. In the I. W. W. we sign no contracts, nor have we business agents to arbitrate differences and to bind us to the bosses. Instead, committees are elected by the members themselves to present the demands to the bosses and to bring back the answer. Committees have no power to settle anything. It is entirely up to the membership to accept or reject.

Building Workers Lack Initiative

No one has the power to chain us to a contract, as long ago we of the I. W. W. learned that contracts are slave chains that restrict action and make solidarity impossible among workers. It is not what is on paper that counts, but what is on the job. Contracts mean compromise, arbitration and sell-outs, which are acknowledgements of weakness. We must be organized so that we can demand what we want, not conciliate or plead for them. We have the

strength to take. All that we lack is initiative, and the I. W. W. will give us that.

The over-manned building industry is now on the verge of a condition where the over-supply of workmen in every trade will compete for jobs altogether out of proportion to the men who require us. Into this insane, cutthroat competition the craft unions will enter with greatly diminished bargaining power, and as a consequence will suffer in the estimation of the membership upon whom they can not confer advantage. Moreover, in the slackened condition of the building industry that is ahead of us the open shop forces will be available as flying columns to be used by contractors whenever occasion requires. In the case of craft unions with some fight still left in the local members, the forces for the destruction of craft unionism in the building industry have been recruited and are being maintained. Many trade schools are being conducted by the bosses to turn out mechanics who have acquired just enough skill to function as strikebreakers whenever strikes occur, and to crowd out union men under the ordinary circumstances of slack times.

How are we, the building workers, to deal with our present plight and prospect? Only by the exercise of common sense and courage. The judgement to decide and the courage to act are our prime requisites. We know the facts in our own downward trend, and that the way grows steeper and more slippery. To take our own affairs in our own collective hands is the only way to improvement. We have been playthings of misleading unionism that does not unite, and of unscrupulous officials who have served everybody but the workers. This is knowledge that we do not have to acquire. We know it. But what we do not seem to understand is that we must rely upon ourselves. We are also inclined to overestimate the importance of our skill in the various crafts of the building industry, and to overestimate the skill itself.

We Have A Common Problem

Only when we get ready to thrust aside caste feeling and see ourselves as we really are, and as the bosses see us—one common working force—will we be ready to move forward for our own protection. It should not be so hard to understand that the painters, ironworkers, carpenters, plasterers, bricklayers, plumbers, electricians, lathers, hod carriers, and others employed on building construction work are building workers and that each is necessary to all the others in modern building construction. It should be easy enough to understand that we have a common problem even though many minor details may differ; that we must all stand together or fall separately.

But why repeat all this? We know that we know it. It is not so much a lack of intelligence that holds us back as courage to strike out on a new path even when the end of it is in plain sight. We, the building workers, have been flim-flammed, bought, sold, delivered, slugged, sabotaged and shot. Surely building construction workers should not fear the one unionism and the only union that can save us from the industrial swamp in which we are now floundering so helplessly. We, who can build great structures, can also build a union which will serve us at all times and under all circumstances and win for us under the most adverse conditions; a union for each because it is a union for all; a union that we shall own and run, instead of a union by which we are owned and run.

The Day Of New Organization Has Dawned

The Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330 of the I. W. W. is founded upon more than a hundred years' building trade experience in America, the last few years of which have been the most eventful. We of the I. W. W. recognize the folly of continuing the suicidal division of workers in our own industry and plan to unite them so that all

our strength will be behind each and every effort. We realize that new days and new methods demand new organization and new plans.

We voice what every thinking worker knows, and we are attempting what every real union man wants done. We teach what the workers know to be true: that solidarity is power and that division is weakness. We want one union in the building industry to care for and advance the interests of all building workers regardless of what each one does, and each group for all and all for each, not some for the bosses and some for themselves as in the past. Only when all give full support to each other can each one serve himself. Those who want unity and strength are for the One Big Union of building workers, and those who want us divided are against it. Recognize one interest or serve no interest. Be in One Big Union, embracing all building workmen, or in one disorganized, struggling mass unable to help curselves or to assist others. The time to choose is short, and the penalty for not choosing properly is a heavy one. Competition means death; unity means inspiration for every prospect.

The Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330 of the I. W. W. is ours to use if we, the building workers, have the sense. A united building workers' force will redeem conditions and add achievements. United in that manner our strength is multiplied and our way made easy. The force of all is greater than that of any one group. One Union for all; one card with universal transfer the unity of all; one enemy is yours to fight, and one cause yours to win. Join the I. W. W.

For further information, write to Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, 555 W. Lake Street, Chicago, Ill.

Publications of the I. W. W. Issued By The General Executive Board

INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY, weekly newspaper in English, official organ of the I. W. W., $2.00 a year; single copies 5 cents, published at 555W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill

INDUSTRIAL WORKER, weekly newspaper in English. Official Organ of the Western Branches of the I. W. W. $2.00 a year; single copies, 5 cents. Published at Seattle, Wash. Address, Box 1857.

INDUSTRIALISTI, Finnish daily newspaper, $4.75 a year; $2.75 six months, $1.75 three months. Single copies, 5 cents. Published at Duluth, Minn. Address, Box 464.

SOLIDARIDAD, bi-weekly newspaper in Spanish, $1.00 a year; single copies, 5 cents. Published at New York City, N. Y. Address, Box 1, Station U.

TIE VAPAUTEEN, Finnish monthly magazine, 32 pages, $1.75 a year; single copies, 15 cents; April and December 48 pages, 25 cents. Published at 555 West Lake St., Chicago, Ill.

BERMUNKAS, Hungarian weekly newspaper, $2.00 a year; single copies, 5 cents. Published at P. O. Box 17, Station Y, New York, N. Y.

IL PROLETARIO, Italian weekly newspaper, $2.00 a year; single copies, 5 cents. Published at Brooklyn, N. Y. Address, Box 24, Station T.

JEDNA VELKA UNIE, Czecho-Slovakian weekly newspaper, $2.00 a year; single copies, 5 cents. Published at 555 West Lake St., Chicago, Ill.

This Winter Live and Learn

at

Work People's College

DULUTH, MINNESOTA
Box 39
MORGAN PARK STA.
PHONE, DOUGLAS 609



Get Ready to Win!

Don't waste this winter drifting like a dead fish toward Fascism. Neither spend it on dismal forebodings of such a future, nor in bewailing the accumulation of working class disasters, nor in lamenting the treacheries of the leaders of labor. Instead, invest this valuable time in getting ready to win in the struggle for freedom and general well-being.

This is the time to prepare for the victory of the useful people, for only that can avert Fascism. This is the time to make sure of victory by building an intelligent, aggressive labor movement, secure against betrayal because of the democracy that an intelligent rank-and-file will maintain.

Get ready to win by making yourself more effective in this struggle for the good things of life. Don't wait for "George" to organize your job, or make that speech, or write that leaflet, or do any of the many things that you know ought to be done. Instead train to do them yourself.

What a Residential School Can Do

To help working people develop a greater ability in carrying on their struggle as a class, Work People's College was founded. It is the oldest residential labor school in this country. It has steadily progressed during this time, improving its own methods for carrying on this work, and turning out many hundreds of workers who have become speakers, organizers, editors, writers, secretaries, all far more useful to the labor movement because of their training at this school.

In the four winter months students are presented with the major past experiences of the class struggle in the course entitled **History of the Labor Movement.** Such study is as necessary to an organizer or an intelligent union man as a map is to a navigator. Its students are given an understanding of how the present system works in the course in **Economics,** and learn more of the social forces involved in perpetuating and in changing the present system in the course in **Sociology.** Very practical courses are offered in **Industrial Unionism, Organization Methods, Public Speaking, Labor Journalism, Conduct of Meetings, Bookkeeping, Mathematics, and Typewriting.**

For those who require greater facility in the use of **English,** courses adapted to their personal needs are offered and this school has been—very successful in giving this sort of education to workers whose birth elsewhere in this world greatly hampered their effective participation in the labor movement of this country. In addition to these essential subjects, other courses may be selected by the students, and if enough want some other subject taught, so far it has been found possible to offer it.

The experience of this school shows that residential study is far more effective than any other type of study. The various subjects dovetail into one another, and the study of one course makes it easier to understand the other courses. Freedom from the routine concerns of everyday living, greatly facilitates the concentration that these studies require and deserve. Continuous association with other workers who have the same interests and who are concerned with the same questions adds zest to one's studies, furnishes splendid case material for study, and provides an ideal atmosphere for this work.

Social Life in the School

Usually students have little money to spend on a good time, so they have to scheme to make a good time for themselves. The climate is invigorating; usually the skating is good on Spirit Lake where the school is located, and previous students leaving for warmer climates have left a supply of skates behind.

But it is not merely that dances, skating parties, boxing bouts and the like enliven the winter evenings—the good fellowship of rebel working men and women is the best guarantee of a satisfactory social life and a proper atmosphere for the serious work of the school.

Democracy prevails in the running of the school, and the social life is left entirely to the Student Body.

At the small cost of $30 per month you can enjoy the many benefits offered by this workers' school. You are invited to make deposits with the school ahead of time, and these deposits will be cheerfully refunded should you decide not to attend this winter. You will need very little outside of this, except that we advise that you bring your warmest clothing — the school will provide you even with laundry facilities for washing it.

If you want to know more about the school, just write to the manager. **The address is Box 39, Morgan Park Sta., Duluth, Minn.**

GET AN I. W. W. EDUCATION

"The I. W. W. Has the Right Idea"

More workers are saying so every day. They have reached this conclusion in the same long battle of life against profits that gave birth to the I. W. W. idea. They have learned that workers must stick together as a class. They have seen the need for real industrial unionism. They have found that direct action on the job is the reliable way to win. They have glimpsed the splendid world that labor could build for itself by ditching the parasites and running the works to turn out the good things of life for labor.

The acid test of experience—in depression, war, and disaster—has proved after all the argument and scoffing, that the I. W. W. is right. For these reasons Work People's College offers an education in labor history, economic and social questions frankly based on the principles of the I. W W., for it feels that to do otherwise would be to depart from its tradition of giving the best in real working class education. We invite you for a four-month course starting December 1st. Terms are $30 per month for room, board and schooling. Any working man or woman is welcome.

A corner of the school library which is well equipped with the material needed for a working class education. Texts are furnished free from it. Further donations of books on the social or other sciences are very welcome



THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

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BERTHA MAKI TAISTO LUOMA



ELY HILL

MARTHA HEINO 1938

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WORK PEOPLE'S COLLEGE see plan

Mail for students was left in a drawer of the table at left
(Information supplied by Jenny Lahti Velsek)

A WORKER'S GUIDE TO DIRECT ACTION



Industrial Workers Of The World

INTRODUCTION

We all face the day-to-day hassles with the boss. Firings, speedup, general harassment and intimidation. Over the years, different ways have developed of dealing with these hassles. Unorganized workers simply endure or quit. The AFL-CIO-CLC officials — and those of other "business" unions — hoard up big strike funds and depend on the step-grievance procedure whereby a dispute goes through a series of conferences and ends up being decided by an "arbitrator": usually a lawyer or professor.

Trouble is, enduring leaves things just as they are. Quit, and the next job — if you can find one — is likely to be just as bad.

Business-union tactics — though better than nothing — leave a lot to be desired too. A big treasury makes a union much more vulnerable to court injunctions (stop picketing, stop boycotting, stop striking, maybe some day stop breathing) and the fines that go with them. Also the money tends to get used for other things besides strikes. For example, the railroad unions for many years owned a number of non-union, low-wage, death-trap coal mines. George Meany, head of the AFL-CIO, is part owner of a non-union sweatshop baseball factory in the Dominican Republic. The step-grievance procedure is clumsy and slow, and the well-off "professionals" who serve as arbitrators have more in common with the boss than with us, so that it generally takes six months to a year to lose most of the grievances.

There is another way to take care of business. It's called "mass grievance" or "direct action", which means that we use our power to stop or mess up the job we're working at to settle any gripes we have — our way!

The best-known kind of direct action is the walkout or long strike. Long strikes are sometimes necessary, and will be discussed in another pamphlet. But they cost too much and are too exhausting to be used often. This pamphlet lists eight on-the-job direct-action tactics that can be used without walking out or losing pay.

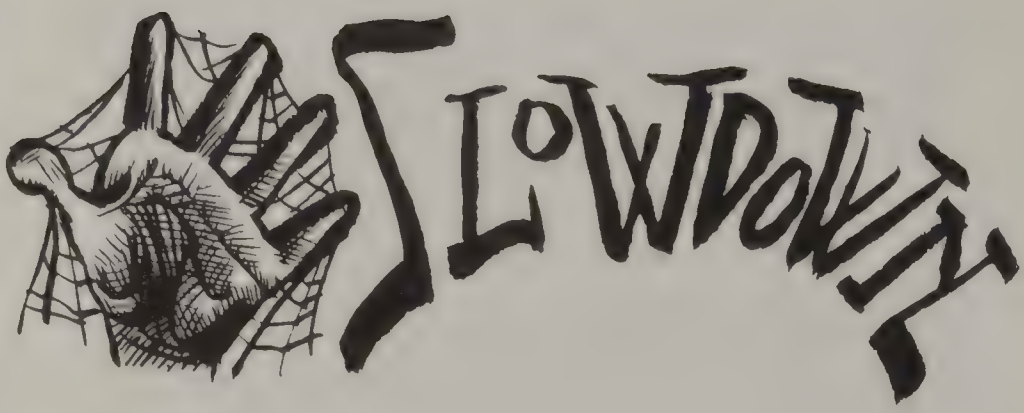
A word of caution. These are tactics, not magic. To use them you need job organization — that is, at least general

agreement that conditions on the job need changing and that this is the way to change them. Also, you should remember that the boss thinks that anything but passive submission on your part is a threat to him and his profits. You should be ready to use direct action to protect yourself and your fellow workers from firing and discrimination as well as to win your demands.

We hope this pamphlet will be useful to you, our fellow workers, in dealing with your boss. But we hope it will be only the beginning of a sharing of ideas and experiences. If there's a tactic that's worked for you, and you don't see it here, send it in so we can all share it!

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It's a well-known fact that people will work best when they're happy. So if the boss does something that makes you unhappy, naturally you can't get as much work done, right?

The slowdown has a long and honorable history. In 1899 the organized dock workers of Glasgow, Scotland demanded a 10% increase in wages, but met with the refusal of the employers. Strike breakers were brought in from among the agricultural laborers, and the dockers had to acknowledge defeat and return to work at the old wage scale. But before they went back to work, they heard this from the secretary of their union:

"You are going back to work at the old wage. The employers have repeated time and again that they were delighted with the work of the agricultural laborers who have taken our places for several weeks during the strike. But we have seen them at work. We have seen that they could not even walk a vessel and that they dropped half the merchandise they carried; in short, that two of them could hardly do the work of one of us. Nevertheless, the employers have declared themselves enchanted with the work of these fellows. Well then, there is nothing for us to do but the same and to practice ca' canny. Work as the agricultural laborers worked. Only they often fell into the water. It is useless for you to do the same."

This order was obeyed to the letter. After a few days the contractors sent for the secretary of the union and begged him to tell the dockers to work as before and that they were willing to grant the 10% increase.

More recently in a Ford plant: "The Company cited as a typical instance of restriction of effort the case of the headliners whose job it is to fit the interior rooflining in a vehicle. It has been calculated that with reasonable ef-

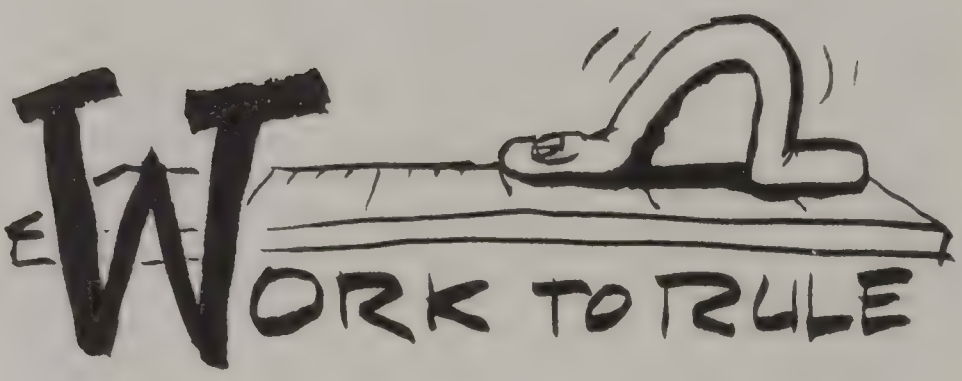
fort a headlining in a small car can be fitted in 22 minutes, which means that in a regular 8-hour shift at least 20 should be fitted by each employee in a section. The Company stated that the headliners had repeatedly refused to fit more than 13 heads in any one shift, saying that management's request was unreasonable. 'And yet,' the Company's statement continued, 'they had in fact fitted each headlining in less time than allowed and spent the remainder of the time between jobs sitting down. Any attempt by supervision to improve the situation resulted in a "go-slow" by these employees. They took so long over each car that they prevented other employees on the line from performing their operations, thus causing congestion and frequently leading to lines being stopped and sometimes to other employees being sent home.

"'This also takes place when the headliners are suffering any type of grievance, real or imaginary. On one occasion the Company had no alternative but to send other employees home at 3:30 as a result of such activity.... Shop stewards, however, supported by the Convenor, had always maintained on these occasions that the employees concerned were working normally, and refused completely in spite of numerous appeals to persuade their members to remove restrictions.'"

This heart-rending wail from the Ford Company was published in the report of the Jack Court of Enquiry (CMDE 1999 April 1963, HMSO, Page 57). It's too bad that "working normally" is not as common in the Ford plants as it should be. It's also too bad that there are so few shop stewards that will support their members in doing so.

During the Depression, IWW members in the Kelsey Wheel Corporation found the slowdown an effective counter to speedup.

At Kelsey Hayes Wheel Corporation in Detroit, according to reports of an Industrial Worker correspondent, the workers devised "the mass thirst strike" as a way of eliminating speedup, an ingenious device for driving the bosses insane. During summer hot spells, the workers were found absenting themselves from the fast-moving points of production motivated by a common impulse to drink at the same time. When the bosses, infuriated, saw that nothing could slake the thirst of the workers so effectively as a slowdown of the line and a raise in pay, they were forced to capitulate to this "mass insanity".



"If managers' orders were completely obeyed, confusion would result, and production and morale would be lowered. In order to achieve the goals of the organization, workers must often violate orders, resort to their own techniques of doing things, and disregard lines of authority. Without this kind of systematic sabotage, much work could not be done."

Social Psychology of Industry
J. A. C. Brown

Almost every job is covered by a maze of rules, regulations, standing orders, and so on, many of them completely unworkable and generally ignored. This is especially true of government jobs and jobs in industries that have a lot of governmental regulation. Here's what happens when the rules are followed to the letter:

In France, in Britain, partially in the US, and in many other countries, the increasingly unprofitable railroad systems have been taken over by the governments. Since striking against the government is always illegal, other ways of expressing grievances were found.

Under nationalization, French strikes were forbidden; their fellow workers were delighted to urge the railroad workers to carry out the strict letter of the law. One French law tells the engine driver to make sure of the safety of any bridge over which his train has to pass. If after personal examination he is still doubtful, then he must consult other members of the train crew. Of course the trains ran late!

Another law for which French railroad workers developed a sudden passion related to the ticket collectors. All tickets had to be carefully examined on both sides. The law said nothing of city rush hours.

Postal workers have always been forbidden to strike. But in their passion for rules, the governments have given them a powerful weapon. In Britain, 1962 :

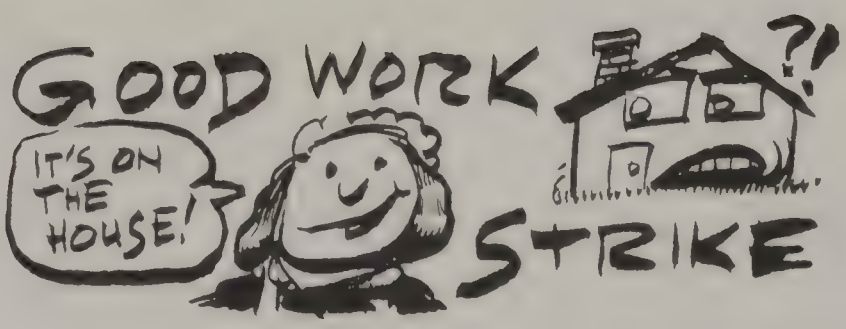
"The work-to-rule began at midnight January 1st. By the 4th Mr. Bevins, Postmaster General, stated 'For the time being the Post Office cannot accept any postings of advertisements and circulars at printing paper and reduced rates....' On January 6th Cyril Hers, Controller of the Mount Pleasant Sorting Station, stated 'Normally we have 600,000 items here. Now, after staying all night at the office, there are 3,000,000. We are losing leeway at the rate of 750,000 a day.'"

Evening Standard, January 6th, 1962

By January 8th mail due for sorting was being directed as far away as Edinburgh, Portsmouth, Petersborough, and Cardiff. This diversion of mails created its own problems. A union spokesman "claimed that 350 bags of correspondence for Essex diverted from Mount Pleasant to Petersborough had been relabeled and sent back to Mount Pleasant because the Petersborough Post Office was full. On receipt at Mount Pleasant postal authorities had ordered the 350 bags sent immediately back to Petersborough."

Evening Standard, January 10th, 1962

Work to rule can be used other ways too. Workers in a Chicago machine shop which specializes in building and erecting custom-designed printing presses were angry about an engineer who kept bothering the machinists: looking over their shoulders, criticizing, harassing and generally giving people a hard time. Like most engineers, he had never worked as a machinist, and was always designing unworkable parts, assemblies, etc., which the machinists reworked into usable machinery. To get this nitwit off their backs, the machinists built one press exactly to the engineer's specifications. On the date the press was due to be delivered, it wouldn't work at all. Six months later, it was working at less than half the speed it was supposed to work at. The engineer was fired and replaced with someone more reasonable.



One of the biggest problems for workers in the service industries is that they can end up hurting the consumers (mostly fellow workers) more than the boss. This isolates us from public support, and besides nobody wants to mess people up. One way around this is to provide better or cheaper service — at the boss's expense, of course.

Workers at l'Hopital de la Merci (Mercy Hospital) in France, afraid of patients dying if they struck, instead refused to file the billing slips for drugs, tests, treatments, and therapy — usually filled out by nurses, aides, technicians, and ward clerks. As a result patients had better care, since time was being spent caring for them instead of on paperwork, and the hospital's income was cut in half. Panic-stricken, the hospital gave in to all the workers' demands after three days.

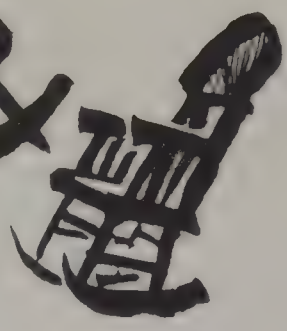
In Portugal, where strikes were illegal and dangerous until recently, workers found other ways of making their employers come across.

Lisbon, 1968: "Lisbon bus and train workers gave free rides to all passengers today. They were protesting because the British-owned Lisbon Tramways Company had not raised their wages. Today, conductors and drivers arrived at work as usual, but the conductors did not pick up their money satchels. On the whole, public support seems to be behind these take-no-fare strikers, and the schoolboys are having the time of their lives. Holidays have begun, and they are hopping rides to pass the time."

The Times, July 2nd, 1968

In New York City IWW restaurant workers, after losing a strike, won some of their demands by heeding the advice of IWW organizers to "pile up the plates, give 'em double helpings" and figure checks on the low side.

Sitdowns & Quickie Strikes



A strike doesn't have to be long to be effective. Timed and executed right, a strike can be won in minutes. Such strikes are often "sitdowns" when you just stop work and sit tight, or "mass grievances" when everybody leaves work to discuss some matter of importance with the foreman, supervisor, or whatever.

The Detroit IWW employed the sitdown to good effect at the Hudson Motor Car Company from 1932 to 1934. "Sit Down and Watch Your Pay Go Up" was the message that rolled down the assembly line on stickers on pieces of work. The steady practice of the sitdown raised wages 100% (from 75¢ an hour to $1.50) in the middle of a depression.

Steelworkers in a mill where the union was almost nonexistent won the rehiring of a fired fellow worker and a raise by shutting down the rollers and the pickle (two medium-size departments in a big mill) and going together to talk to the supervisor about it. Always outnumber the other side!

And then there are those moments when the boss needs you so badly that he'll concede whatever he has to....

IWW theater extras, faced with a 50% pay cut, waited for the right time to strike. The play had 150 extras dressed as Roman soldiers to carry the Queen on and off stage. When the cue for the Queen's entrance came, the extras surrounded the Queen and refused to budge until their pay was not only restored, but tripled.



There exists today a labor market in which wage workers sell their labor power to perform certain tasks asked of them by their purchasers, the employing class. The labor power of the workers is a commodity. In selling their merchandise, workers must sell themselves with it. In purchasing goods from a businessman, you get low quality for low price. A worker, however, is supposed to be best quality no matter what the price. But why shouldn't the same standard apply for workers as for bosses? For low pay and bad working conditions, inefficient work.

Some kinds of inefficiency are illegal, and all are considered "wrong" by many people. But the employing class uses its own "inefficiency" whenever it wants. The oil companies held back oil in the first part of 1974 to drive prices up and independent oil companies out of business. Destruction of food is a routine part of the US agricultural corporation's bought-and-paid-for Department of Agriculture programs. This in a world where hundreds of thousands — even millions — of children starve to death every year!

Working-class "inefficiency" is used more often than you would think — especially in factories with unbearable working conditions. Although often used by frustrated individuals, it is most effective — like all direct-action tactics — when all or most of the workers on a job are in on it.

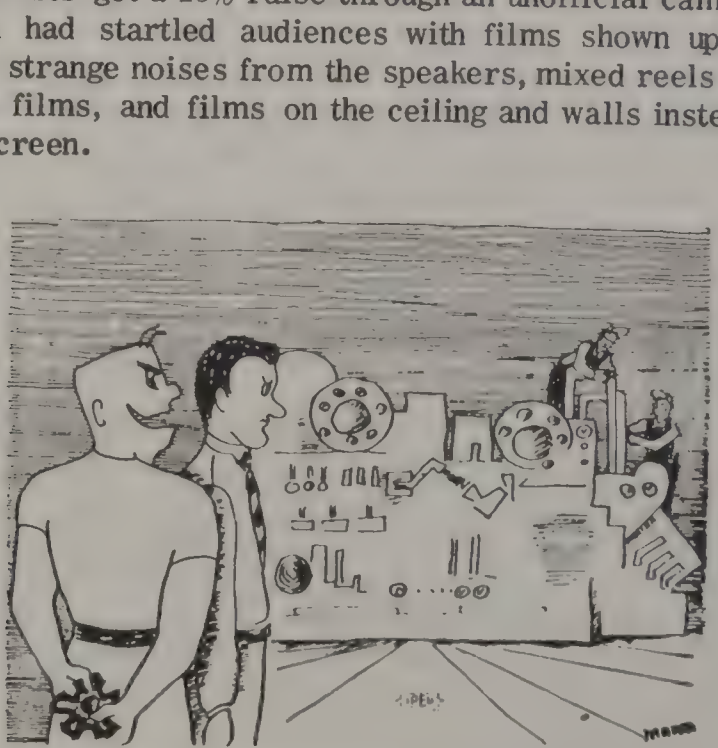
The auto plants, where the unions have traded working conditions for wages and benefits (instead of demanding good pay AND good working conditions) are among the worst places to work in modern industry. At one plant: "When the line got over sixty, say, someone would just accidentally drop a bolt in the line, and as soon as it had worked its way around to the end, bang — the line would

stop. There would be a delay, and everyone would take their break."

The many small sweatshops that infest especially the chemical and textile industries give the auto industry competition for the worst hellhole prize. In one shop in northern Massachusetts: "I ran a machine that ground up scrap rubber which was mixed with chemicals and turned into padding. The grind went into a tank, and a light went off when the tank was full. The shift going off would chuck a rock at the light and break it, and I'd lean into my work like I was bucking for foreman. The tank filled up, then the pipes, then what do you know? The grinder started smoking, and I'd have to shut it down. Then, on the line, the backing started ripping, and the cooling spray kept going on the fritz. Nobody was sure what was going on, but it did seem to get better after we got that dust filter, and a raise we hadn't even asked for!"

One question that always haunts a strike call is the question of strike breakers. In a railroad strike in 1886, the scab question was solved by strikers taking "souvenirs" from work with them. Oddly enough, the trains wouldn't run without these keepsakes, and the scabs found themselves with nothing to do.

Inefficiency has even been used as a direct bargaining counter. In New York, movie-theater operators and projectionists got a 15% raise through an unofficial campaign which had startled audiences with films shown upside-down, strange noises from the speakers, mixed reels from other films, and films on the ceiling and walls instead of the screen.



"Pretty Complicated Machine, Isn't It, Boss?"



Sometimes telling people the simple truth about what goes on at work can put a lot of pressure on the boss. Consumer industries (restaurants, packing plants, hospitals, and the like) are the most vulnerable.

"Open mouth" direct action shows the weapon at its best. It allows the spy but little place to act, does not allow the use of police, and strikes at the fraudulent practices which business for profit is based on.

Commerce today is founded on fraud. Capitalism's standard of honesty demands that the worker lie to everybody except his employer. An honest businessman is a myth, and an honest clerk couldn't sell the shoddy goods of the businessman. There is not a single area of the commerce of the entire world where honesty would not spell ruin under present conditions.

In the foodstuff industry the open mouth is particularly effective. Its use will enlist broad public support. Workers, instead of striking, or when on strike, can expose the way food is prepared for sale.

In restaurants, cooks can tell what kinds of food they are expected to cook, how stale foods are treated so they can be served. Dishwashers can tell how the dishes are "washed".

Let construction workers make known the substitutions that are always made in construction materials, and the cheating on fire and safety regulations.

Factory workers can tell of goods piled up beyond the fire limit, and the kind of materials used in most of the products people use. Workers on railroads and busses can tell of faulty engines, brakes, and repairs. Marine transport workers would do well to tell of insufficient lifeboats, life jackets, and so forth.

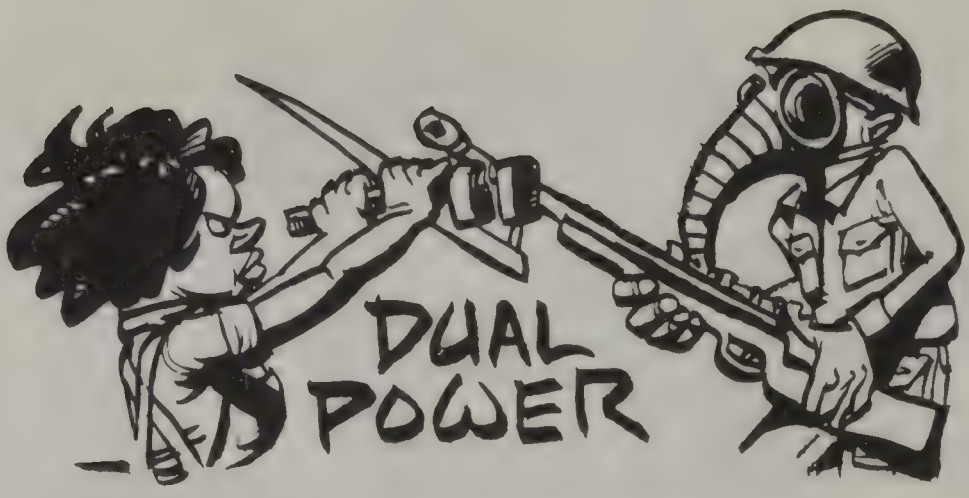
The persistent use of the open mouth, besides gaining demands, will do more to eliminate abuses than all of the "Pure Food" and "Safety" laws that will ever be passed.



The sick-in is a way to strike without striking. The idea is to cripple your workplace by having all or most of the workers call in sick on the same day or days. Unlike the formal walkout, it can be used effectively by departments and work areas, instead of only by the entire workplace, and can often be used successfully without formal union organization.

At a New England mental hospital, just the thought of a sick-in got results. A steward, talking to a supervisor about a fired union member, mentioned that there was a lot of flu going around, and wouldn't it be too bad if there weren't enough people to staff the wards. At the same time, completely by coincidence, of course, dozens of people were calling the personnel office to see how much sick time they had. The supervisor got the message and the union member was rehired.

At one major Chicago hospital, during a union organizing drive, the night shift on one of the most pro-union wards came in to find that their schedules had all been changed without notice. The night shift replied by calling in sick — all of them — for three days in a row, forcing nursing supervisors who hadn't handled a bedpan in years to do honest work again. When the night shift came back, they found the supervisor only too glad to put the schedule back the way it was.



Sometimes the way to get what you want is to take it. This requires better and stronger organization than any other direct-action tactic. It also works best.

You see, if we decide that we're gonna do what WE want to do instead of what the employing class want us to do, there isn't a whole lot they can do to stop us. We kind of outnumber them. Besides, we do all the work. This tactic has been used pretty exclusively by the IWW. (Not that we're trying to hog it. Feel free.)

IWW lumber workers in the Pacific Northwest used dual power to get the eight-hour day (they had been working 10 to 12 hours). A strike had been on since July 4th, and was facing heavy going due to government harassment of picket lines and closing of halls and offices, when on September 7th union loggers voted to go back to work and simply take the eight-hour day themselves. This was decided in a series of meetings the strikers held in each district. As in all IWW strikes, the strikers made all the decisions in beginning, running, and ending the strike.

At each logging camp, workers would work eight hours, then stop. Since all but a very few loggers were in the union, and since the strike had driven up the price of and demand for lumber, this "strike on the job" (as it was called at the time) was effective. Camp after camp gave in to the eight-hour day, and bosses seldom risked further disruption by trying to cut pay back. In areas where camp bosses tried firing "troublemakers", or even whole "troublemaking" crews, the fired workers were replaced by others just as determined to get the "troublesome" eight-hour day. Fired workers got jobs at other camps

and continued to make "trouble" for the eight hours. On May 1st the lumber bosses gave in, and the eight-hour day became the rule in the camps where it hadn't already been won.

The IWW loggers celebrated by starting another dual-power "strike on the job" to remove another long-standing grievance. Workers in the lumber industry had to live in isolated camps built and maintained by the lumber companies. To save money for the companies, workers were expected to provide their own bedding, usually a "bindle" or blanket roll. The bosses provided only hard wooden double-decker bunks. Since there were no laundry facilities, the "bindles" were always infested with insects. To make it clear that they would not put up with this any longer, the lumber workers burned their bindles, forcing the companies to either provide beds and bedding or have no workers. By a long series of such actions, IWW lumber workers won decent food, laundry rooms, showers, single beds with mattresses and bedding supplied, and an end to overcrowding in the bunkhouses.

At around the same time, a strong IWW Marine Transport Workers Union existed on trans-Atlantic shipping out of the port of Boston. One of the main grievances of the workers on these ships was the quality of the food served aboard ship. Acceptable menus were decided on and published by the Union. The cooks and stewards, being good union members, refused to cook anything except what was on the menus — to the satisfaction of everyone except the boss.

In the early '40s, due to war orders, IWW metal shops in Cleveland hired new workers. This led to long lines waiting to punch in or out. The companies refused to install new time clocks, saying that none were available. One day, the day shift went home without punching out. The clocks were installed the next day.

WHO WE ARE

This pamphlet is produced by the Industrial Workers of the World. We are a labor union founded in 1905 on the principles of militance, solidarity, democracy, and industrial unionism. We believe that we who work for a living have nothing in common with those who own for a living: the employing class. They need us to work for them. We don't need them to push us around and take the lion's share of what we produce.

We think that direct action is the only way we ever have gotten or ever will get anything from the employing class, since the only power we have that they will respect comes from the fact that we do the world's work.

If you want to know more about our union, or get more copies of this pamphlet, write to the IWW General Administration, 752 West Webster Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60614, USA, or to your local IWW branch or delegate. This pamphlet is a revised and updated edition of a special supplement to the September 1974 issue of the Industrial Worker, our monthly newspaper.



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The Workers Opposition in Russia



A. Kolontay

Moscow, 1921

Published by

Industrial Workers of the World

1001 W. Madison Street, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

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CHICAGO

INTRODUCTION

The principal object in translating and publishing this book is to show the workers in America a revolutionary political party in operation, and to demonstrate its inevitable tendency towards bureaucracy with a consequent isolation from the masses. A complete survey or even a small part of the evils of abounding in a political centralization of production and distribution is of course beyond the scope of this small book and too, it is obvious that the complaint expressed here could not tread outside of party lines.

The book was only intended originally for the delegates of the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, and, anticipating criticism for publishing in America what was not intended for the world at large we justify ourselves on the ground that criticism of a party having perhaps the destiny and welfare of the millions of Russia in their hands is as much the business of revolutionary workers in America as anywhere else. Yes, even Russian workers.

The Russian revolution as a spontaneous movement of the masses is not the property of any certain group or party. All humanity is bound up in such an event and therefore no one can be expected to recognize certain circles beyond which a knowledge of such vital questions cannot go.

The failure of the Bolshevik party to solve the social problem and the failure of the author of this book to prove that it could have been solved by the same political party if they only had adopted the tactics suggested by the "Opposition", these two facts taken together, should, in our opinion, be sufficient to remove for a long time to come the notion that a few leaders can emancipate the workers from their desks in government buildings.

Kollontay has succeeded in convincing us that Lenin, Trotzky and Zinoviev together with other front rank bolsheviks were wrong all the time in trying to solve the social problem from the top downward. She has strengthened the belief that it must take place from the bottom upward, but she has failed to show any logical justification for a political party directing such a movement.

The translation of this book from Russian to English presented many difficulties, chief of which was the necessity of remodeling many parts into readable English. The original in Rus-

sian was written in haste, with barely time to have it printed for the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party and this made it impossible for a better and more studious attention to the details of construction. Therefore the English translation bears many sentences and paragraphs that are not exact translations, but retain the sense of the original copy. One other thing that must be noted in connection with the book, is the intimate manner the writer assumes. This is of course because her intended auditors were familiar with the situation with which she was dealing and therefore she was excluded from the necessity of going very deep in her discussions. But in spite of all this it is obvious that the "Infantile sickness of Leftism" is a disease that is completely overshadowed by the organic weakness of political centers.

This book is now out of print in Russia and together with the "Workers Opposition" as a movement was officially declared by the Tenth Congress of the Russian Party to be, "incompatable with the present policy of the Communist party", and as this can mean nothing else than that the stamp of illegality has been placed on the movement it must now operate outside of party influences. What will be the future of the "Opposition" principles in Russia one can only guess, but it is certain that the struggle of the workers to control the industries themselves will be carried on in Russia in spite of all legal hindrances.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD,

1001 *West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.*



Printed by members of the P. P. W. I. U. No. 450 of the I. W. W.

The Workers Opposition in the Russian Communist Party

WHAT IS THE WORKERS' OPPOSITION?

What is the "Workers' Opposition"? Is it necessary on behalf of our party and the world workers' revolution to welcome its existence, or is it just the contrary, that the phenomenon is a harmful one, dangerous **"politically,"** as comrade Trotzky just recently stated in one of his speeches on the trade union question?

In order to answer these questions which are agitating and perturbing many of our fellow workers, it is necessary to make clear:

1. Who enters into the Workers' Opposition, and how has it originated?

2. Where is the root of the controversy between the leading comrades of our party centers and the Workers' Opposition?

It is very significant—and to this must be drawn the attention of our central bodies—that the Workers' Opposition is composed of the most advanced part of our class-organized proletarian-communists. The opposition consists almost exclusively of members of the trade unions, and this fact is attested by the signatures of those who side with the opposition under the theses on the role of industrial unions. Who are these members of the trade unions? Workers,—that part of the advanced guard of the Russian proletariat which has borne on its shoulders all the difficulties of the revolutionary struggle, and did not dissolve itself into the soviet institutions by losing contact with the laboring masses, but on the contrary, remained closely connected with them.

To remain a member in the union, to preserve the close vital contact with one's union, and hence, with the workers of one's industry, through all these stormy years, when the center of social and political life has been shifted away from the unions, is not at all an easy and simple task. Foamy waves of the revolution have caught and carried far away from the unions the best, the strongest and the most active elements of the industrial proletariat, throwing one to the

military front, another into the soviet institutions, and seating a third by desks covered with green office table cloth and heaps of office papers, books, estimates, and projects.

The unions have been depopulated. And only workers imbued with the strongest proletarian spirit, the real blossom of the rising revolutionary class, remained immune to the dissipating influence of authority, of petty ambition and high positions in soviet bureaucracy. They still stay spiritually welded together with the masses of the workers: that lowest stratum of society from whom they themselves came, an organic connection which could not be severed even by the highest soviet positions.

As soon as the intensity of the struggle on the fronts diminished, and the pendulum of life swung on the side of economic reconstruction, these representative, inveterate proletarians in spirit, the most luminous and staunchest of their own class, rapidly discarded their military garb, gave up their office work in the military establishments, in order to answer the silent call of their comrades, the millions of Russian workers who even in Soviet Russia drudge out their shamefully miserable existence.

Through their class instinct, these comrades standing at the head of the Workers' Opposition became conscious of the fact that there was something wrong: they understood that even though during these three years we have created the soviet institutions and reaffirmed the principles of the workers' republic, yet the working class, **as a class,** as a self-contained social unit with identical class aspirations, tasks, interests, and, hence, **with a uniform, consistent, clear-cut policy,** becomes an ever less important factor in the affairs of the Soviet republic. Ever less does it lend color to the measures promulgated by its own government; ever less does it direct the policy and influence the work and the trend of thought of the central authorities. During the first period of the revolution, who would dare to speak of the "upper" and the "lower" strata? Masses, namely, the laboring masses, and the leading party centers were all in one. All aspirations that were borne of life and struggle at that time found their most exact reflection in the most clearly defined and scientifically grounded formula of the leading party centers. There was no line drawn between the "upper" and the "lower" strata and there could be none. At present, however, this division does exist, and there is no agitation or intimidation strong enough to eradicate the mass conviction that there has grown up a quite new peculiar social layer—that of the soviet and "upper" party elements.

The members of the trade unions, the existing nucleus of the Workers' Opposition, have understood this fact, or rather, sensed it by their healthy class instinct. First, they found it necessary to come into close contact with the rank and file. To enter into their class organizations, the unions, which, less than any other institution, have come under the

destroying influence of cross-current, foreign, non-proletarian elements, viz.: the peasant and bourgeois elements, which by adapting themselves to the soviet regime deform our soviet institutions and divert our policy from clearly defined class channels into the morass of "adaptation."

Thus, the Workers' Opposition consists of proletarians closely connected with machine or mine, who are a part and parcel of the working class.

The Workers' Opposition, moreover, is wonderful in that it has no prominent leaders. It originated as any healthy, inevitable, class-founded movement would originate—from the depths of the laboring masses. It sprouted from deep roots simultaneously in all corners of Soviet Russia, when the appearance of the Workers' Opposition in the large centers was not even heard of.

"We had no idea whatever of the fact that in Moscow controversies are taking place," said one delegate from Siberia to one of the Miners' congresses, "and yet questions similar to yours have been agitating our minds also." Behind the Workers' Opposition there stand the proletarian masses, or, to be more exact, the Workers' Opposition is the class-uniform, class-conscious and class-consistent part of our industrial proletariat—that part of it which considers it impossible to substitute the great creative power of the proletariat in the process of building communist economy by the formal label of the dictatorship of the working class.

The higher we go up the ladder of the Soviet and party hierarchy, the fewer adherents of the Opposition we find. The deeper we penetrate into the masses the more response do we find to the program of the Workers' Opposition. This is very significant, and very important. This must be taken into consideration by the directing centers of our party. If the masses go away from the "upper" elements; if there appears a break, a crack, between the directing centers and the "lower" elements, that means that there is something wrong with the "upper" elements, particularly when the masses are not silent, but think, act, move, and defend themselves and their own slogans.

The "upper" elements may divert the masses from the straight road of history which leads toward communism only when the masses are mute, obedient, and when they passively and credulously follow their leaders. So it was in 1914, at the beginning of the World War, when the workers believed their leaders and decided: "The instinctive feeling of protest against the war deceives us; it is necessary to be silent, to stifle that feeling and obey the superiors." But when the masses are in turmoil, criticise their leaders, and use their own brains; **when they stubbornly vote against their beloved leaders,** quite often suppressing the feeling of personal sympathy towards them; then the matter assumes a serious turn, and it is the task of the party not to conceal the controversy,

military front, another into the soviet institutions, and seating a third by desks covered with green office table cloth and heaps of office papers, books, estimates, and projects.

The unions have been depopulated. And only workers imbued with the strongest proletarian spirit, the real blossom of the rising revolutionary class, remained immune to the dissipating influence of authority, of petty ambition and high positions in soviet bureaucracy. They still stay spiritually welded together with the masses of the workers: that lowest stratum of society from whom they themselves came, an organic connection which could not be severed even by the highest soviet positions.

As soon as the intensity of the struggle on the fronts diminished, and the pendulum of life swung on the side of economic reconstruction, these representative, inveterate proletarians in spirit, the most luminous and staunchest of their own class, rapidly discarded their military garb, gave up their office work in the military establishments, in order to answer the silent call of their comrades, the millions of Russian workers who even in Soviet Russia drudge out their shamefully miserable existence.

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not to nick-name the Opposition with unfounded and meaningless epithets, but to ponder seriously over the whole matter and find out where the root of the evil is, where the root of the controversy is, what it is that the working class, the bearer of communism and its only creator, wants.

And thus the Workers' Opposition is the advanced part of the proletariat which has not severed the ties with the laboring masses organized into unions, and which has not scattered itself in the soviet institutions.

THE ROOT OF THE CONTROVERSY

Before making clear what the cause is of the ever widening break between the "Workers' Opposition" and the official point of view held by our directing centers, it is necessary to call attention to two facts:

(1) The Workers' Opposition sprang from the depths of the industrial proletariat of Soviet Russia, and it is an outgrowth not only of the unbearable conditions of life and labor in which seven millions of the industrial workers find themselves, but is also a product of vacillation, inconsistencies, and outright deviations in our soviet policy from the clearly expressed class-consistent principles of the communist program.

(2) The Opposition did not originate in some particular center, was not a fruit of personal strife and controversy, but, on the contrary, covers the whole extent of Soviet Russia and meets with a resonant response.

At present there prevails an opinion that the whole root of the controversy arising between the Workers' Opposition and the numerous currents noticeable among the leaders consists exclusively in the difference of opinions regarding the problems that confront the trade unions. This, however, is not true. The break goes deeper. Representatives of the Opposition are not always able to clearly express and define it, but as soon as some vital question of the reconstruction of our republic is touched upon, controversies arise concerning a whole series of cardinal economic and political questions.

For the first time the two different points of view, as they are expressed by the leaders of our party and the representatives of our class-organized workers, found their reflection at the Ninth Congress of our party, when that body was discussing the question: "Collective versus personal management in the industry." At that time there was no opposition from a well formed group, but it is very significant that collective management was favored by all the representatives of the trade unions, while opposed to it were all the leaders of our party, who are accustomed to appraise all events from the institutional angle. They require a great deal of shrewdness and skill to placate the socially heterogeneous and the sometimes politically hostile aspirations of the different social groups of the population as expressed by proletarians, petty owners,

peasantry, and bourgeoisie in the person of specialists, and pseudo-specialists of all kinds and degrees.

Why was it that none but the unions stubbornly defended the principle of collective management, even without being able to adduce scientific arguments in favor of it; and why was it that the specialists' supporters at the same time defended the "one man management"? The reason is that in this controversy, though both sides emphatically denied that there was a question of principle involved, two historically irreconcilable points of view had clashed. The "one man management" is a product of the individualist conception of the bourgeois class. The "one man management" is in principle an unrestricted, isolated, free will of one man, disconnected from the collective.

This idea finds its reflection in all spheres of human endeavor—beginning with the appointment of a sovereign for the state and ending with a sovereign director of the factory. This is the supreme wisdom of bourgeois thought. The bourgeoisie do not believe in the power of a collective body. They like only to whip the masses into an obedient flock, and drive them wherever their unrestricted will desires.

The working class and its spokesmen, on the contrary, realize that the new communist aspirations can be attained only through the collective creative efforts of the workers themselves. The more the masses are developed in the expression of their collective will and common thought the quicker and more complete will be the realization of working class aspirations, for it will create a new, homogeneous, unified, perfectly arranged communist industry. **Only those who are directly bound to industry can introduce into it animating innovations.**

Rejection of a principle—the principle of collective management in the control of industry—was a tactical compromise on behalf of our party, an act of adaptation; it was, moreover, an act of deviation from that class policy which we so zealously cultivated and defended during the first phase of the revolution.

Why did this happen? How did it happen that our party, matured and tempered in the struggle of the revolution, was permitted to be carried away from the direct road in order to journey along the round-about path of adaptation, formerly condemned severely and branded as "opportunism."

The answer to this question we shall give later. Meanwhile we shall turn to the question: how did the Workers' Opposition form and develop?

The Ninth Congress (Russian Communist Party) was held in the spring. During the summer the Opposition did not assert itself. Nothing was heard about it during the stormy debates that took place at the Second Congress of the Communist International, but deep at the bottom there was taking place an accumulation of experience, of critical thought. The

first expression of this process, incomplete at the time, was at the party conference, in September, 1920. For a time the thought preoccupied itself largely with rejections and criticism. The Opposition had no well formulated proposals of its own. But it was obvious that the party was entering into a new phase of its life. Within its ranks a ferment was at work; signifying that the "lower" elements demand freedom of criticism, loudly proclaiming that bureaucracy strangles them, leaves no freedom for activity, or for manifestation of initiative.

The leaders of the party understood this undercurrent and through comrade Zinovieff made many verbal promises as to freedom of criticism, widening of the scope of self-activity for the masses, persecution of leaders deviating from the principles of democracy, etc. A great deal was said, and said well; but from words to deeds there is a considerable distance. The September conference, together with Zinovieff's much promising speech, has changed nothing either in the party itself or in the life of the masses. The root from which the Opposition sprouts, was not destroyed. Down at the bottom a growth of inarticulate dissatisfaction, criticism, and independence was taking place.

This inarticulate ferment was noted even by the party leaders, where it quite unexpectedly generated sharp controversies. It is significant that in the central party bodies sharp controversies arose concerning the part that must be played by the trade unions. This, however, is only natural.

At present this subject of controversy between the Opposition and the party leaders, while not being the only one, is still the cardinal point of our whole domestic policy.

Long before the Workers' Opposition had appeared with its theses, and formed that basis on which, in its opinion, the dictatorship of the proletariat must rest in the sphere of industrial reconstruction, the leaders in the party had sharply disagreed in their appraisal of the part that is to be played by the working class organizations regarding the latter's participation in the reconstruction of industries on a communist basis. The Central Committee of the party split into groups. Comrade Lenin stood in opposition to Trotzky, while Bucharin took the middle ground.

Only at the Eighth Soviet Congress and immediately after, it became obvious that within the party itself there was a united group kept together primarily by the theses of principles concerning the trade unions. This group, the Opposition, having no great theoreticians, and in spite of a most resolute resistance from the most popular leaders of the party, was growing strong and spreading all over laboring Russia. Was it so only in Petrograd and Moscow? Not at all! Even from the Donetz basin, the Ural Mountains, Siberia, and a number of other industrial centers came reports to the Central Committee that there also **the Workers' Opposition was forming and acting.** It is true that not everywhere does the

Opposition find itself in complete accord on all points with the workers of Moscow. At times there is much indefiniteness, pettiness, and absurdity in the expressions, demands and motives of the Opposition, while even the cardinal points may differ; yet there is everywhere one unalterable point—and this is the question: **Who shall develop the creative powers in the sphere of economic reconstruction?** Whether purely class organs directly conected by vital ties with the industries—that is, whether industrial unions shall do the work of reconstruction—or shall it be left to the soviet machine which is separated from direct vital industrial activity and is mixed in its composition? This is the root of the break. The Workers' Opposition defends the first principle, while the leaders of the party, whatever might be their own differences on various secondary matters, are in complete accord on the cardinal point and defend the second principle.

What does this mean?

This means that our party lives through its first serious crisis of the revolutionary period, and that the Opposition is not to be driven away by such a cheap name as "syndicalism," but that all comrades must consider this in all seriousness. Who is right—the leaders, or the working masses endowed with the healthy class instinct?

CRISIS IN THE PARTY

Before considering the basic points of the controversy between the leaders of our party and the **Workers' Opposition,** it is necessary to find an answer to the question: How could it happen that our party—formerly strong, mighty, and invincible because of its clear-cut and firm class policy—began to deviate from its program.

The dearer the Communist Party is to us just because it has made such a resolute step forward on the road to the liberation of workers from the yoke of capital, the less right we have to close our eyes to the mistakes of leading centers.

The power of the party must lie in the ability of our leading centers to detect the problems and tasks that confronted the workers, and to pick up the tendencies, which they have been able to direct so that the masses might conquer one more of the historical positions. So it was in the past, but it is no longer so at present. Our party not only reduces its speed but ever oftener "wisely" looks back and asks: "Have we not gone too far? Is this not the time to call a halt? Is it not wiser to be more cautious, and to avoid the daring experiments unseen in the whole of the history."

What was it that produced this "wise caution" (particularly expressed in the distrust of the leading party centers toward the economic industrial abilities of the labor unions)—caution that has lately overwhelmed all our centers. Where is the cause?

If we begin diligently to search for the cause of the arising controversy in our party, it becomes clear that the party is passing through a crisis which was brought about by **three fundamental causes.**

The first main basic cause is the distressful environment in which our party must work and act. The Russian Communist Party must build communism and carry into life its program: (1) In the environment of complete destruction and breakdown of the economic structure. (2) In the face of the never diminishing ruthless pressure of the imperialist states and white guards. (3) To the working class of Russia has fallen the lot to realize communism, create new communist forms of economy in an economically backward country with a preponderant peasant population, where the necessary economic prerequisites for socialization of production and distribution are lacking, and where capitalism has not been able as yet to complete the full cycle of its development (from the unlimited struggle of competition of the first stages of capitalism to its highest form—to the regulation of production by capitalist unions—the trusts).

It is quite natural that all these factors hinder the practical realization of our program (particularly in its essential part—in the reconstruction of industries on the new basis) and inject into our soviet economic policy **diverse influences and a lack of uniformity.**

Out of this basic cause follow the two others. First of all, the economic backwardness of Russia and the domination of the peasantry within its boundaries create that diversity, and inevitably detract the practical policy of our party from the clear-cut **class direction, consistent in principle and theory.**

Any party standing at the head of a heterogeneous soviet state is compelled to consider the aspirations of peasants with their petty-bourgeois inclinations and resentments towards communism, as well as lend ear to the numerous petty bourgeois elements, remnants of the former capitalists in Russia, to all kinds of traders, middlemen, petty officials, etc., who have very rapidly adapted themselves to the soviet institutions and occupy responsible positions in the centers, appear in the capacity of agents of different commissariats, etc. No wonder that Zurupa, the People's Commissar of Supplies, at the Eighth Congress quoted figures which showed that in the service of the Commissariat of Supplies there were engaged 17 per cent of workers, 13 per cent of peasants, less than 20 per cent of specialists, and that of the remaining, more than 50 per cent were "tradesmen, salesmen, and similar people, in the majority even illiterate." (Zurupa's own words.) In Zurupa's opinion this is a proof of their democratic composition, even though they have nothing in common with the class proletarians, with the producers of all wealth, with the workers in factories and mills.

These are the elements—the elements of petty-bourgeois

widely scattered through the soviet institutions, the elements of the middle class with their hostility toward communism, and with their predilections toward the immutable customs of the past, with resentments and fears toward revolutionary acts,—these are the elements that bring decay into our soviet institutions, breeding there an atmosphere **altogether repugnant to the working class.** They are two different worlds and hostile at that. And yet we in Soviet Russia are compelled to persuade both ourselves and the working class that the petty-bourgeoisie and middle classes (not speaking of well to do peasants) can quite comfortably exist under the common motto: "All power to the soviets," forgetful of the fact that in practical everyday life the interests of the workers and those of the middle classes and peasantry imbued with petty-bourgeois psychology must inevitably clash, rending the soviet policy asunder, and deforming its clear-cut class statutes.

Beside peasant-owners in the villages and burgher elements in the cities, our party in its soviet state policy is forced to reckon with the influence exerted by the representatives of wealthy bourgeoisie now appearing in the form of specialists, technicians, engineers, and former managers of financial and industrial affairs, who by all their past experience are bound to the capitalist system of production. They can not even imagine of any other mode of production but only that one which lies **within the traditional bounds of capitalist economics.**

The more Soviet Russia finds itself in need of specialists in the sphere of technique and management of production, the stronger becomes the influence of these elements, foreign to the working class elements, on the development of our economy. Having been thrown aside during the first period of the revolution, and being compelled to take up an attitude of watchful waiting or sometimes even open hostility toward the soviet authorities, particularly during the most trying months (the historical sabotage by the intellectuals), this social group of brains in capitalist production, of servile, hired, well-paid servants of capital, acquire more and more influence and importance in politics with every day that passes.

Do we need names? Every fellow worker carefully watching our foreign and domestic policy recalls more than one of such names.

As long as the center of our life remained at the military fronts the influence of these gentlemen directing our soviet policy, particularly in the sphere of industrial reconstruction, was comparatively negligible.

Specialists, the remnants of the past, by all their nature closely, unalterably bound to the bourgeois system that we aim to destroy, gradually began to penetrate into our Red Army, introducing there their atmosphere of the past (blind subordination, servile obedience, distinction, ranks, and the arbitrary will of superiors in place of class discipline, etc.), but to the general political activity of the Soviet republic their influence did not extend.

The proletariat did not question their superior skill to direct military affairs, fully realizing through their healthy class instinct that in military matters the working class as a class can not express a new word, is powerless to introduce substantial changes into the military system—to reconstruct its foundation on a new class basis. Professional militarism—inheritance of the past ages—militarism, wars, will have no place in the communist society. The struggle will go on along other channels, will take quite different forms inconceivable to our imagination. Militarism lives through its last days, through the transitory epoch of dictatorship, and therefore, it is only natural that the workers, as a class, could not introduce into the forms and systems of militarism anything new, and conducive to the future development of society. Even in the Red Army, however, there were innovating touches of the working class, but the nature of militarism remained the same, and the direction of military affairs by the former officers and generals of the old army did not draw the soviet policy in military affairs away to the opposite side sufficiently for the workers to feel any harm to themselves or to their class interests.

In the sphere of national economy it is quite different, however. Production, its organization—this is the essence of communism. To debar the workers from the organization of industry, to deprive them, that is, their industrial organizations, of the opportunity to develop their powers in creating new forms of production in industry through their unions, to deny these expressions of the class organization of the proletariat, while placing full reliance on the "skill" of specialists trained and taught to carry on production under a quite different system of production,—is to jump off the rails of scientific Marxian thought. This is, however, just the thing that is being done by the leaders of our party at present.

Taking into consideration the utter collapse of our industries while still clinging to the capitalist mode of production (payment for labor in money, graduations in wages received according to the work done) our party leaders, in a fit of distrust in the creative abilities of workers' collectives, are seeking salvation from the industrial chaos—where? In the hands of scions of the bourgeois-capitalist past-businessmen and technicians, whose creative abilities in the sphere of industry are subject to the routine, habits and methods of the capitalist system of production and economy. They are the ones who introduce the ridiculously naive belief that it is possible to bring about communism by bureaucratic means. They "decree" where it is now necessary to create and carry on research.

The more the military front recedes before the economic front, the keener becomes our crying need, the more pronounced the influence of that group which is not only inherent-

ly foreign to communism, but absolutely unable to develop the right qualities for introducing new forms of organizing the work, of new motives for increasing production, of **new approaches to production and distribution.** All these technicians, practical men, men of business experience, who just now appear on the surface of soviet life, by exerting their influence on the economic policy bring pressure to bear upon the leaders of our party through and within the soviet institutions.

The party, therefore, finds itself in a difficult and embarrassing situation regarding the control over the soviet state, and is forced to lend ear and adapt itself to three economically hostile groups of the population, each different in social structure. The workers demand a clear-cut, uncompromising policy, a rapid, forced advance toward communism; while the peasantry with its petty-bourgeois proclivities and sympathies demand different kinds of "freedom," including freedom of trade and non-interference into their affairs. The latter are joined in this demand by the burgher class in the form of "agents" of soviet officials, commissaries in the army, etc. who have already adapted themselves to the soviet regime, and sway our policy toward petty-bourgeois lines.

As far as the center is concerned, the influence of these petty-bourgeois elements is negligible, but in the provinces and in local soviet activity their influence is great and a harmful one. Finally, there is still another group of men, that of the former managers and directors of the capitalist industries. These are not the magnates of capital, like Riabushinsky or Rublikoff, whom the soviet republic got rid of during the first phase of the revolution, but they are the most talented servants of the capitalist system of production, "the brains and genius" of capitalism, its true creators and sponsors. Heartily approving the centralist tendencies of the soviet government in the sphere of economics, well realizing all the benefits of trustification and regulation of production (this, by the way, is being carried on by capital in all advanced industrial countries), they are striving for just one thing—they want that this regulation should be carried on not through the labor organizations (the industrial unions) but through themselves—acting now under the guise of soviet economic institutions—the central industrial committees, industrial centers of the Supreme Council of National Economy, where they are already firmly rooted. The influence of these gentlemen on "the sober" state policy of our leaders is great, considerably greater than is desirable. This influence is reflected in the policy which defends and cultivates bureaucratism (with no attempts to change it entirely, but just to improve it). This policy is particularly obvious in the sphere of our foreign trade with the capitalist states, which is just beginning to spring up: **the commercial relations are carried on over the heads of the Russian as well as the foreign organized workers.** It finds

its expression, also, in a whole series of measures restricting the self-activity of the masses and giving the initiative to the scions of the capitalist world.

Among all these various groups of the population our party, by trying to find a middle ground, is compelled to steer a course which would not jeopardize the unity of the state interests. The clear-cut policy of our party in the process of identifying itself with soviet state institutions is being gradually transformed into an upper-class policy, which in essence is nothing else but an adaptation of our directing centers to the heterogeneous and irreconcilable interests of the socially different mixed population. This adaptation leads to inevitable vacillation, fluctuations, deviations and mistakes. It is only necessary to recall the zigzag-like road of our policy toward the peasantry, which from "banking on the poor peasant" brought us to placing reliance on "the industrious peasant-owner." Let us admit that this policy is proof of the political soberness and "statecraft wisdom" of our directing centers, but the future historian analyzing without bias the stages of our domination will find and point out that in this is evident "a dangerous digression" from the class line toward "adaptation" and a course full of harmful possibilities or results.

Let us take again the question of foreign trade. There exists in our policy an obvious duplicity. This is attested by the constant, unending friction between the Commissariat of Foreign Trade and the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs. This friction is not of administrative nature alone; its cause lies deeper, and if the secret work of the directing centers were exposed to the view of rank and file elements, who knows what the controversy dividing the Commissariat on Foreign Affairs and the trade representatives abroad might lead to?

The seemingly administrative friction that is essentially a serious, deep, social friction, concealed from the rank and file, and makes it absolutely necessary for soviet politics to adapt itself to the three heteregeneous social groups of the population (workers, peasants, and representatives of the former bourgeoisie), constitutes **another cause bringing crisis into our party.** And we can not but pay attention to this cause. It is too characteristic, too pregnant with possibilities. It is, therefore, the duty of our party in behalf of party unity and future activity to ponder over this cause and derive a necessary lesson from the wide-spread dissatisfaction generated by it in the rank and file.

As long as the working class, during the first period of the revolution, felt itself as being the only bearer of communism there was perfect unanimity in the party. In the days immediately following the October revolution none could even think of "ups" as something different from "downs," for in those days the advanced workers were busily engaged in realizing point after point in our class-communist program. The peasant who received the land did not at that time assert

himself as a part of and a full-fledged citizen of the Soviet republic. Intellectuals, specialists, men of affairs—the entire petty-bourgeoisie class and pseudo-specialists climbing at present up the soviet ladder rung by rung, under the guise of "specialists," in watchful waiting stepped aside, giving freedom for the advanced working masses to develop their creative abilities.

At present, however, it is just the other way. The worker feels, sees and realizes at every step that specialists, and, what is still worse, untrained illiterate pseudo-specialists, and practical men, throw out the worker and fill up all the high administrative posts of industrial and economic institutions. And the Party, instead of putting the brakes on this tendency from the elements which are altogether foreign to the working class and communism, encourages it and seeks salvation from the industrial chaos not in the workers, but in these very elements. Not in the workers, not in their union organizations does the Party repose its trust, but in these elements. The working masses feel it, and instead of unanimity and unity in the party there appears a break.

The masses are not blind. Whatever words the most popular leaders might use in order to conceal the deviation from the clear-cut class policy and the compromises made with the peasants and world capitalism, and the trust that they place in the disciples of the capitalist system of production, the working masses feel where the digression begins.

The workers may cherish an ardent affection and love for such personalities as Lenin; they may be fascinated by the incomparable flowery eloquence of Trotzky and his organizing abilities; they may revere a number of other leaders, as leaders, but when the masses feel that they and their class are not trusted, it is quite natural that they say: "No, halt. We refuse to follow you blindly. Let us examine the situation. Your policy of picking out the middle ground between the three socially opposed groups is a wise one indeed but it smacks of the well-tried and familiar adaptation and opportunism. For the present day we may gain something with the help of your sober policy, but let us beware lest we find ourselves on a wrong road that through zig-zags and turns will lead from the future to the debris of the past...

Distrust of the leaders toward the workers is steadily growing, and the more sober these leaders are getting, the more clever statesmen they become with their policy of sliding over the blade of a sharp knife between communism and compromise with bourgeoisie past, the deeper becomes the abyss between the "ups" and the "downs," the less understanding there is and the more painful and inevitable becomes the crisis within the party itself.

The third reason enhancing the crisis in the party is that in fact, during these three years of the revolution the eco-

nomic situation of the working class, of those who work in factories and mills, has not only not been improved, but become more unbearable. This nobody dares to deny. The suppressed and widely spread dissatisfaction among workers (**workers**—mind you) has a real justification.

Only the peasants gained directly by the revolution; as far as the middle classes are concerned they very cleverly adapted themselves to the new conditions, together with the representatives of the rich bourgeoisie who had occupied all the responsible and directing positions in the soviet institutions (particularly in the sphere of directing state economy), in the industrial organizations and the reestablishment of commercial relations with foreign nations. Only the basic class of the Soviet republic which bore all the burdens of the dictatorship as a mass ekes out a shamefully pitiful existence.

The workers' republic controlled by the communists, by the vanguard of the working class which, to quote Lenin's words, "has absorbed all the revolutionary energy of the class," has not had time enough to ponder over and improve the conditions of all the workers (those not in individual establishments which happened to gain the attention of the Council of the People's Commissars in one or another of the so-called "shock industries,") but of all the workers in general and lift their conditions of life to a human standard of existence.

The Commissariat of Labor is the most stagnant institution of all the commissariats. In the whole of the soviet policy there was never seriously raised on a national scale and discussed, the question: what must and can be done in the face of an utter collapse of industry at home and a most unfavorable external situation, in order to improve the workers' conditions and preserve their health for productive labor in the future, and to better the lot of workers in the shops?

Until recently the soviet policy was devoid of any worked-out plan for improving the lot of the workers and their conditions of life. All that was done in this field was done rather incidentally, or at random, by local authorities under the pressure of the masses themselves. During these three years of civil war the proletariat heroically brought to the altar of the revolution their innumerable sacrifices. They waited patiently, but at present, at the turn of affairs, when the pulse of life in the republic is again transferred to the economic front, the rank and file worker considers it unnecessary "to suffer and wait." Why? Is he not the creator of life on the communist basis? Let us ourselves take up this reconstruction for we know better than the gentlemen from the centers where it hurts us the most.

The rank and file worker is very observant. He sees that so far the problems of hygiene, sanitation, improving conditions of labor in the shops—in other words, the betterment of the workers' lot has occupied the last place in our policy.

Further than housing of workers' families in the inconvenient bourgeois mansions we did not go in our solution of the housing problem, and, what is still worse, so far we have not even touched the practical problem of housing in regard to workers. To our shame, in the heart of the republic, in Moscow itself, they are still living in filthy, overcrowded and unhygienic working men's quarters, one visit to which makes one think that there was no revolution at all. We all know that the housing problem can not be solved in a few months, even years, and that due to our poverty its solution is confronted with serious difficulties, but the facts of ever growing **inequality** between the **privileged** groups of the population in Soviet Russia and the **rank and file workers,** "the frame-work of the dictatorship," breed and nourish the dissatisfaction.

The rank and file worker sees how the soviet official and the practical man lives and how lives he—he on whom rests the dictatorship of the proletariat? He can not but see that during the revolution the life and health of the workers in the shops commanded the least attention; that where prior to the revolution there existed more or less bearable conditions, they are still maintained by the shop committees, and where the latter did not exist, where dampness, foul air and gases poisoned and destroyed the workers' health, these conditions remained unchanged. "We could not attend to that; pray, there was the military front." And yet whenever it was necessary to make repairs in any of the houses occupied by the soviet institutions they were able to find both the materials and the labor power. What would happen if we tried to shelter our specialists or practical men engaged in the sphere of commercial transactions with foreign capitalists in those huts, in which the masses of workers still live and labor? They would raise such a howl that it would become necessary to mobilize the entire housing department in order to correct "the chaotic conditions" that interfere with the productivity of our specialists.

The service of the Workers' Opposition consists in that it included the problem of improving the workers' lot together with all the other secondary demands of workers into the general economic policy. The productivity of labor can not be increased unless the life of workers will have been organized on the new communist basis.

The less that is undertaken and planned out (I do not speak of something that has been carried out) in this sphere, the deeper is the misunderstanding, the estrangement, and still greater is the mutual distrust between the directing centers of the party and the rank and file workers. There is no unity, no sense of their identity of needs, demands and aspirations. "The leaders are one thing, and we are something altogether different. Maybe it is true that the leaders know better how to rule over the country, but they fail to understand our needs, our life in the shops, its requirements, and immediate needs;

they do not understand, and do not know." From this reasoning follows the instinctive leaning toward the unions, and consequent dropping out of the party. "It is true that they are a part of us, but as soon as they get into the centers, they leave us altogether; they begin to live differently; if we suffer what do they care; our sorrows are not theirs, any longer."

And the more our industrial establishments and unions are drained of their best elements by the party which sends them either to the front or to the soviet institutions, the weaker becomes the direct connection between the rank and file workers and the directing party centers. A chasm is growing, and at present, therefore, this division manifests itself even in the ranks of the party itself. The workers through their Workers' Opposition ask: Who are we? Are we really the prop of the class dictatorship, or are we just an obedient flock that serves as a support for those who, having severed all ties with the masses, carry out their own policy and build up industry without any regard to our opinions and creative abilities under the reliable cover of the party label?

Whatever the party leaders might do in order to drive away the Workers' Opposition the latter will always remain that growing healthy class force, which is destined to inject vitalizing energy into the rehabilitation of the economic life as well as into the communist party which begins to fade and bend low to the ground.

Thus, there are three causes that bring about a crisis into our party; there are first of all the supreme objective conditions under which communism in Russia is being carried out and realized (the civil war, economic backwardness of the country, its utter industrial collapse as an aftermath of the long years of war); the second cause is the heterogeneous composition of our population—(7 millions of workers, the peasantry, the middle classes, and, finally, the former bourgeoisie, men of affairs of all professions, who influence the policy of soviet institutions and penetrate into the party); the third cause is the inactivity of the party in the field of immediate improvement of the workers' life coupled with the inability and weakness of the corresponding soviet institutions to take up and solve these problems.

What then is that the Workers' Opposition wants? What is its service?

If its service consists in that it put up before the party all the perturbing questions, that it gave form to all that heretofore was causing only a subdued agitation in the masses and led the non-partisan workers ever further from the party; that it clearly and fearlessly shouted to the leaders: "stop, look and think! Where do you lead us? Do we not go off the right road? It will be very bad for the party to find itself without the foundation of the dictatorship, the party will

remain by itself, and the working class by itself. In this lies the greatest danger to the revolution."

The task of the party at its present crisis is to fearlessly face the mistakes and lend its ear to the healthy class call of the wide working masses: Through creative powers of the rising class in the form of industrial unions we shall go toward reconstruction and development of creative forces of the country; toward purification of the party itself from the elements foreign to it; toward correction of the activity of the party by means of going back to democracy, freedom of opinion and criticism inside the party.

THE PART TO BE PLAYED BY THE TRADE UNIONS, AND THEIR PROBLEMS

In a basic yet brief outline we have already explained what it is that causes the crisis in our party. Now we shall make clear what are the most important points of the controversy between the leaders of our party and the Workers' Opposition. There are two such points: **The part to be played, and the problems confronting the trade unions during the reconstruction period of the national economy, coupled with the organization of production on the communist basis, and the question of self-activity of the masses coupled with bureaucracy in the party and soviets.**

Let us answer the first question, as the second is the sequence of the first. The period of "making theses" in our party has already ended. Before us we find six different platforms, six party tendencies. Such a variety and such minute variations of shades in its tendencies our party has never seen before, and the party thought has never been so rich in formula on one and the same question. It is, therefore, obvious that the question is a basic one and very important.

And such it is. The whole controversy simmers down to one basic question: **Who** shall build the communist economy, and how shall it be built? This is, moreover, the essense of our program; this is its heart. This question is not less, if not more important, than the question of seizure of the political state by the proletariat. Only the Bubnoff group of so-called political centralism may be so nearsighted as to underestimate its importance and to say: "The question concerning trade unions at the present moment has no importance whatsoever, and presents none of the theoretical difficulties."

It is, however, quite natural that the question seriously agitates the party as it is in reality the question: in what direction shall we turn the wheel of history—shall we turn it back or move it forward? It is also natural that there is not a single communist in the party who would remain noncommittal during the discussion of this question. As a result we have six different groups.

If we begin, however, to carefully analyze all the theses of these most minutely divergent groups we find that on the basic question—who shall build the communist economy and organize the production on the new basis—there are **only two points of view.** One is that which is expressed and formulated in the statement of principles of the Workers' Opposition, and the other is one that unites all the rest of the groups, differing only in shades, but identical in substance.

What does the statement of the Workers' Opposition stand for, and how does the latter understand the part that is to be played by the trade unions, or, to be more exact, by the industrial unions at the present moment? "We believe that the question of reconstruction and development of the productive forces of our country may be solved only if **the entire system of control over the people's economy** is changed." (From Shliapnikoff's report, Dec. 30th). Take notice, comrades,—"only if the entire system of control is changed." What does it mean? "The basis of the controversy,"—goes on the report,—"revolves around the question: by what means during this period of transformation can our Communist party carry out its economic policy:—whether by means of workers organized into their class unions, or—over their heads— by bureaucratic means, through canonized functionaries of the state." The basis of the controversy is namely this: whether we shall realize communism through workers or over their heads, by the hands of soviet officials. And let us, comrades, ponder whether it is possible to attain and build a communist economy by the hands and creative abilities of the scions from the other class, who are imbued with their **routine of the past?** If we begin to think as Marxians, as men of science, we shall answer categorically and explicitly—no.

The root of the controversy and the cause of the crisis lies in the supposition that "practical men," technicians, specialists and managers of capitalist production can suddenly release themselves from the bonds of their traditional conceptions of ways and means of handling labor, which had been deeply ingrained into their very flesh through the years of their service to capital, and acquire the ability to create new forms of production, of labor organization and of incentives to work.

To suppose that, is to forget the incontestable truth **that a system of production can not be changed by a few individual geniuses, but by the requirements of a class.**

Just imagine for a moment that during the transitory period from the feudal system founded on slave labor to the system of capitalist production, with its alleged free hired labor in the industries, (the bourgeois class lacking at that time the necessary experience in the organization of capitalist production), were to invite all the clever, shrewd, experienced managers of the feudal estates who had been accustomed to deal with servile chattel slaves, and entrust to them the task of organ-

izing production on a new capitalist basis. What would happen? Would these specialists in their own sphere, depending on the whip to increase productivity of labor, succeed in handling a "free," though hungry, proletarian, who had released himself from the curse of involuntary labor and had become a soldier or a day laborer? Would not these experts wholly destroy the newly born and developing capitalist production? Individual overseers of the chattel slaves, individual former land-lords, and their managers were able to adapt themselves to the new forms of production, but it was not from their ranks that the real creators and builders of the bourgeois capitalist economy were recruited.

The class instinct whispered to the first owners of the capitalist establishments that it is better to go slowly and use common sense in place of experience in search of the new ways and means in establishing relations between capital and labor, than to borrow the antiquated useless methods of exploitation of labor from the old outlawed system. The class instinct quite correctly told the first capitalists during the first period of capitalist development that in place of the whip of the overseer they must apply another incentive: rivalry, **personal ambition** of workers facing unemployment and misery. And the capitalists, having grasped this new incentive to labor, this new conqueror of labor, were wise enough to use it in order to promote the development of bourgeois capitalist forms of production by increasing the productivity of "free" hired labor to a high degree of intensity.

Five centuries ago the bourgeoisie acted also in a cautious way carefully listening to the dictates of their class instincts. They relied more on their common sense than on the experience of the skillful specialists in the sphere of organizing production on the old feudal estates. The bourgeoisie was perfectly right as history has showed us.

We possess a great weapon that can help us to find the shortest road to the victory of the working class, diminish suffering along the way, and more quickly bring about the new system of production—communism.

This weapon is the materialistic conception of history. However, instead of using it, widening our experience and correcting our researches in conformity with history we are ready to throw this weapon aside, and follow the encumbered circuitous road of blind experiments.

Whatever our economic distress happens to be we are not justified in going to such an extreme degree of despair, for despair can overcome only the capitalist governments standing with their backs to the wall; after exhausting all the creative impulses of capitalist production they find no solution to their problems.

As far as toiling Russia is concerned, for whom since the October revolution has been opened new unprecedented op-

portunities of economic creation, as well as development of new unheard-of forms of production, with an immense increase in productivity of labor, there is no room for despair.

It is only necessary not to borrow from the past, but, on the contrary, give complete freedom to the creative powers of the future. This is what the Workers' Opposition is doing. Who can be the builder and the creator of communist economy? That class—and not individual geniuses of the past—which is organically bound with newly developing, painfully born forms of production of a more productive and perfect system of economy. Which organ—the pure class industrial unions, or the heterogeneous soviet economic establishments—can formulate and solve the creative problems in the sphere of organizing the new economy and its production? The Workers' Opposition considers that it can be done only by the first, that it, by the workers' collective, and not by the functional bureaucratic socially-heterogeneous collective with a strong admixture of elements of the old capitalist type, whose mind is clogged by the refuse of capitalistic routine.

"The workers' unions from the present position of passive assistance to the economic institutions must be drawn into an active participation in the management of the entire economic structure" (the theses of the Workers' Opposition). To seek, find, and create new and more perfect forms of economy, to find new incentives to the productivity of labor—all this can be done only by the workers' collectives that are closely bound with the new forms of production; only they from their everyday experience may draw certain, at first glance only practically important, and yet exceedingly valuable theoretical conclusions in handling the new labor power in a new labor state where misery, poverty, unemployment and competition on the labor market ceases to be the incentives to labor.

To find a stimulus, an incentive to work—this is the greatest task of the working class standing on the threshold to communism. None other, however, but the working class itself in the form of its class collective is able to solve this great problem.

The solution of this problem, as it is proposed by the industrial unions, consists in giving complete freedom to the workers as regards experimenting, class training, adjusting and feeling out the new forms of production, as well as expression and development of their creative abilities, that is, to that class which alone can be the creator of communism. This is the way the Workers' Opposition handles the solution of this difficult problem from which follows the most essential point of their theses. "Organization of control over the social economy is a prerogative of the All-Russian Congress of producers, who are united in the trade and industrial unions which elect the central body directing the whole economic life of the republic." (Theses of the Workers' Opposition). This

point secures freedom for the manifestation of class creative abilities, not restricted and crippled by the bureaucratic machine which is saturated with the spirit of routine of the bourgeois capitalist system of production and control. The Workers' Opposition relies on the creative powers of its own class—the workers. From this premise is deducted the rest of the program.

But right at this point there begins the deviation of the Workers' Opposition from the line that is followed by the party leaders. Distrust toward the working class (not in the sphere of politics, but in the sphere of economic creative abilities) is the whole essence of the theses signed by our party leaders. They do not believe that by the rough hands of workers, untrained technically, can be created those basic outlines of the economic forms from which in the course of time shall develop a harmonious system of communist production.

To all of them—Lenin, Trotzky, Zinovieff and Bucharin—it seems that production is such a "delicate thing" that it is impossible to get along without the assistance of "directors." First of all we shall "bring up" the workers, "teach them," and only when they grow up shall we remove from them all the teachers of the Supreme Council of Natural Economy and let the industrial unions take control over the production. It is, after all, significant that all the theses written by the party leaders coincide in one essential feature: for the present we shall not give control over the production to the trade unions; for the present we "shall wait." It is also true that Trotzky, Lenin, Zinovieff and Bucharin's points of view differ in stating the reason—why the workers should not be entrusted with running the industries just at present, but they all unanimously agree that just at the present time the management over the production must be carried on **over the workers' heads** by means of a bureaucratic system inherited from the past.

On this point all the leaders of our party are in complete accord. "The center of gravitation in the work of the trade unions at the present moment—assert the "Ten" in their theses—must be shifted into the economic industrial sphere. The trade unions as class organizations of workers built up in conformity with their industrial functions must take on themselves the **major work** in organization of production (boldface ours). **"Major work"** is a too indefinite term which permits of various interpretations, and yet, it would seem, the platform of the "Ten" gives more leeway for the trade unions in running the industries than Trotzky centralism. Is this the case, however? Further, the theses of the Ten go on to explain what they mean by "major work" of the unions. "The most energetic participation in the centers which regulate production and control, register and distribute labor power, organize exchange between cities and villages,

fight against sabotage and carry out decrees on different compulsory labor obligations, etc." This is all. Nothing new and nothing more than what the trade unions have already been doing, and which can not save our production nor help in the solution of the basic question—raising and developing the productive forces of our country.

In order to make clear the fact that the program of the "Ten" does not give to the trade unions any of the directing functions, but assigns to them only an auxiliary role in the management of production, the authors of it say: "In a developed stage (not at present, but in a developed stage) the trade unions in their process of social revolution must become organs of the social authority, working as such, in subordination to other organizations, toward carrying out the new principles of organization of the economic life." By this they meant to say that the trade unions must work in subordination to the Supreme Council of National Economy and its branches. What is the difference then with that and "joining by growth" which was proposed by Trotzky. The difference is only in methods. The theses of the "Ten" strongly emphasize the educational nature of the trade unions. In their formulation of problems for the trade unions, mainly in the sphere of organization, industry and education, our party leaders as clever politicians suddenly convert themselves into "teachers."

This peculiar controversy is revolving not around the system of management in industry, but mainly around the system of bringing up the masses. In fact when one begins to turn over the pages of the stenographic minutes and speeches made by our prominent leaders, one is astonished by the unexpected manifestation of their pedagogic proclivities. Every author of the theses proposes the most perfect system of bringing up the masses, but all these systems of "education" lack provisions for freedom of experiment, for training and expressing creative abilities by those who are to be taught; in this respect all our pedagogues are also behind the times.

The trouble is that Lenin, Trotzky, Bukharin and others limit the functions of the trade unions not to the control over production or taking over the industries, but to a mere school of bringing up the masses. During the discussion to some of our comrades it seemed that Trotzky stands for a gradual "absorption of the unions by the state"—not all of a sudden, but gradual, and wants to reserve for them the right of ultimate control over production, as it is expressed in our program. This point, it seemed at first, put Trotzky on a common ground with the Opposition at a time when the group represented by Lenin and Zinovieff, being opposed to "the absorbtion by the state," sees the object of the union activity and their problem in "training for communism." "Trade unions,"—thunder Trotzky and Zinoview—"are necessary for the rough work" (page 22 of the report, Dec. 30th). Trotzky himself, it would seem, understands the task somewhat dif-

ferently; in his opinion the most important work of the unions consists in organizing production. In this he is perfectly right; he is also right when he says: "Inasmuch as unions are schools of communism they are such schools not in carrying on general propaganda (for in such a case they would play the part of clubs), not in mobilizing their members for military work or collecting the produce tax, but for the purpose of **all-round education of their members on the basis of their participation in production.**" (Trotzky's report, December 30th). All this is true, but there is one grave omission; the unions are not only **schools for communism,** but they are its creators as well.

Creativeness of the class is being lost sight of. Trotzky substitutes it by initiative of "the real organizers of production," by communists inside the unions (from Trotzky's report, Dec. 30th). What communists? According to Trotzky, those communists who are appointed by the party to responsible administrative positions into the unions for reasons that quite often have nothing in common with considerations of industrial and economic problems of the unions. Trotzky is frank. He does not believe in workers' preparedness to create communism, and through pain and suffering to seek, to blunder, and still create new forms of production. He has expressed this frankly and openly. He has already carried out his system of "club education" of the masses, and of their training for the role of "master" in the Central Administrative body of Railways by adopting all those methods of educating the masses which were practiced by our traditional journeymen upon their apprentices. It is true that a beating on the head by a boot-stretcher does not make an apprentice a successful shop-keeper after he becomes a journeyman, and yet as long as the boss-teacher's stick hangs over his head he works and produces.

This, in Trotzky's opinion, is the whole essence of shifting the central point "from politics to industrial problems." To raise even temporarily productivity by every and all means is the whole crux of the task. Toward this end must be, in Trotzky's opinion, also directed the whole course of training in the trade unions.

Comrades Lenin and Zinovieff, however, disagree with him. They are "educators" of "a modern trend of thought." It has been stated many a time that the trade unions are schools for communism. What does that mean—schools for communism? If we take this definition seriously, it will mean that in school for communism it is necessary first of all **to teach** and bring up, but not **to command** (this allusion to Trotzky's views meets with applauses). Further on Zinovieff adds: the trade unions are performing a great task both for the proletarian and communist cause. This is **the basic** part to be played by the trade unions. At present, however, we forget this, and

think that we may handle the problem of trade unions too recklessly, too roughly, too severely.

It is necessary to remember that these organizations have their own particular tasks—not of commanding, supervising or dictating, but tasks in which all may be reduced to one—drawing of the working masses into the channel of the organized proletarian movement." Thus, teacher Trotzky went too far in his system of bringing up the masses, but what does comrade Zinovieff himself propose? To give within the unions the first lessons in communism, "to teach them (the masses) the elementals of the proletarian movement." How? "Through practical experience, through practical creation of the new forms of production (just what the opposition wants)? Not at all. Zinovieff-Lenin's group favors a system of bringing up through reading, giving moral precepts and good, well chosen examples. We have 500,000 communists (among whom, we regret to say, there are many "strangers"—stragglers from the other world) to 7,000,000 workers.

According to comrade Lenin the party has drawn into itself "the proletarian vanguard," and the best communists, in co-operation with specialists from the soviet economic institutions, are searching hard in their laboratories for the new forms of communist production. These communists working at present under the care of "good teachers" in the Supreme Council of National Economy or other centers, these Peters and Johns are the best pupils, it is true, but the working masses in the trade unions must look to these exemplary Peters and Johns and learn something from them without touching with their own hands the rudder of control, for it is too early as yet as they have not learned enough.

In Lenin's opinion, the trade unions, that is, the working class organizations, are not the creators of the communist forms of people's economy for they serve only as a connecting link of the vanguard with the masses,—"the trade unions in their everyday work **persuade** masses, masses of that class . . ." etc.

This is not Trotzky's "club system," not a medieval system of education. This is the Froebel-Pestalozzi's German system founded on studying examples. Trade unions must do nothing vital in the industries, but to **persuade** masses, and keep the masses in touch with the vanguard, with the party, which (remember this!) does not organize production as a collective, but only creates the soviet economic institutions of a heterogeneous composition, and whereto it **appoints communists.**

Which system is better?—this is the question. Trotzky's system, whatever it may be in other respects, is clearer, and, therefore, more real. On reading books and studying examples taken from good-hearted Peters and Johns one can not advance education too far. This must be remembered, and remembered well.

Bucharin's group occupied the middle ground or, rather, attempts to coordinate both systems of bringing up; we must notice, however, that this also does not recognize the principle of independent creativeness of the unions in industry. In the opinion of Bucharin's group the trade unions play a double role (so it is proclaimed in its theses); on one hand it (obviously "the role") takes on itself the functions of a "school for communism," and, on the other hand, the functions of an intermediary between the party and the masses (this is from Lenin's group); it takes, in other words, the role of a machine injecting the wide proletarian masses into the active life (notice, comrades—"into the active life, but not into the **creation of the new** form of economy, and search for new forms of production). Besides that, they (obviously the unions) in **ever increasing degree** must become the component part both of the economic machine and the state authority. This is from Trotzky's "joining together."

The controversy again revolves not around the trade union problems, but around the methods of educating the masses by means of unions. Trotzky stands, or rather, stood for, a system which, with the help of that introduced among the railway workers, might hammer into the organized workers' heads the wisdom of communist reconstruction, and by means of "appointees," "shake-ups," and all kinds of miraculous measures promulgated in conformity with "the shock system" could remake the unions so that they might join the soviet economic institutions by growth and become obedient tools in realizing economic plans worked out by the Supreme Council of National Economy.

Zinovieff and Lenin are not in a hurry to join the trade unions to the soviet economic machine. The unions, they say, shall remain unions. As regards production it will be run and managed by men whom we choose. When the trade unions have brought up obedient and industrious Peters and Johns we will "inject" them into the soviet economic institutions and thus the unions will gradually disappear, dissolve.

The creation of new forms of national economy we entrust to the soviet bureaucratic institutions; as to the unions we leave to them the role of "schools." Education, education, and more education. Such is the Lenin-Zinovieff slogan. Bucharin, however, wanted "to bank" on radicalism in the system of union education, and, of course, fully merited the rebuke from Lenin together with the nickname of "Simidicomist." Bucharin and his group, while emphasizing the educational part to be played by the unions in the present political situation, stand for the most complete workers' democracy **inside the unions,** for wide elective powers to the unions—not only for the elective principle generally applied, but for **non-conditional** election of delegates nominated by the unions. Pray, what a democracy! This smacked of the very Opposition itself, if it were not for one dif-

ference. The Workers' Opposition sees in the unions the managers and creators of the communist economy whereas Bucharin together with Lenin and Trotzky leave to them only the role of "schools for communism," and no more. Why should he not play with the elective principle when everybody knows that it **will do no good** or bad for the **system of running the industry?** For, as a matter of fact, the control over the industry will still remain **outside** the unions, beyond their reach, in the hands of the soviet institutions. Bucharin reminds us of those teachers who carry on education in conformity with the old system by means of "books."—"You must learn that far, and no further" while encouraging "self-activity" of the pupils in organizing dances, entertainments, etc.

In this way the two systems quite comfortably live together, and square one with another. But what the outcome of all this will be, and what duties will the pupils of these teachers of eclectics be able to perform—this is a different question. If comrade Lunacharsky were to disapprove at all the educational meetings "eclectic heresy" like this the position of the People's Commissariat on Education would be precarious, indeed.

However, there is no need to underestimate the educational methods of our leading comrades in regard to the trade unions. They all, Trotzky included, realize that in the matter of education "self-activity" of the masses is not the least factor. Therefore, they are in search of such a plan, where the trade unions without any harm to the prevailing bureaucratic system of running the industry, may develop their initiative and their economic creative powers. The least harmful sphere where the masses could manifest their self-activity as well as their "participation in active life" (according to Bucharin) is the sphere of betterment of the **workers' lot.** The Workers' Opposition pays a great deal of attention to this question, and yet it knows that the basic sphere of class creation is the creation of new industrial economic forms, of which the betterment of the workers' lot is only a part.

In Trotzky and Zinovieff's opinion the production must be created and adjusted by the soviet institutions while the trade unions are advised to perform a rather restricted, though useful, work of improving the lot of the workers. Comrade Zinovieff, for instance, sees in distribution of clothing the "economic role" of the unions and explains: "there is no other more important problem than that of economy; to repair one bath house in Petrograd at present is ten times more important than delivering five good lectures."

What is this? A naive mistaken view, or a conscious substitution of organizing creative tasks in the sphere of production, and development of creative abilities by restricted tasks of home economics, house-hold duties, etc? In somewhat different language the same thought is expressed by Trotzky. He very generously proposes to the trade unions to develop the greatest initiative possible in the economic field.

But where shall this initiative express itself? In "putting glasses" in the shop window or filling up a pool in front of the factory (from Trotzky's speech at the Miner's Congress). Comrade Trotzky, take pity on us! For this is merely the sphere of "house-running," and if you intend to reduce the creativeness of the unions to such a scope then the unions will become not schools for communism, but places where they train people for janitors. It is true that comrade Trotzky attempts to widen the scope of the "self-activity of the masses" by letting them participate not in an independent improvement of the workers' lot, on the job (that far goes only the "insane" Workers' Opposition), but by taking lessons from the Supreme Council of National Economy on this subject.

Whenever a question concerning workers is to be decided, as, for instance, about distribution of food or labor power, it is necessary that the trade unions must know exactly (not participate themselves in the matter, but only know), not in general outline, as mere citizens, but know thoroughly the whole current work that is being done by the Supreme Council of National Economy (speech of Dec. 30th). The teachers from the Supreme Council of National Economy not only force the trade unions "to carry out" their plans, but they also "explain to their pupils their decrees." This is already a step forward in comparison with the system that functions at present on the railways.

To every thinking worker it is clear, however, that putting in glasses, being as useful as it may, has nothing in common with running the industry. Productive forces and their development do not find expression in this work. The really important question still is: how to develop them, how to build such a state of economy by squaring the new life with production, in order to eliminate the unproductive labor as much as possible. A party may bring up a red soldier, a political worker, or executive worker to carry out the projects already laid out, but it cannot develop a creator of communist economy, for only a union offers an opportunity for developing the creative abilities along new lines.

Moreover, this is not the task of the party. The party task is to create conditions, that is, give freedom to the working masses united by common economic industrial aims, so that they could bring up a worker-creator, find new impulses for work, could work out a new system to utilize labor power, and might know how to distribute workers in order to reconstruct society, and thus to create a new economic order of things founded on the communist basis. Only workers can generate in their mind new methods of organizing labor as well as running industry.

This is a simple Marxian truth, and yet at present the leaders of our party do not share it with us. Why? Just because they place more reliance on the bureaucratic technicians, descendants of the past, than in the healthy elemental class

creativeness of the working masses. In every other sphere we may hesitate as to who is to be in the control—whether the workers' collective or the bureaucratic specialists, be that in the matter of education, developing of science, organization of the army, care of public health, but there is one place, that of the economy, where the question as to who shall have the control is very simple and clear for every one who has not forgotten history.

It is well known to every Marxian that reconstruction of industry and development of creative forces of a country depend on two factors: on the development of technique, and the efficient organization of labor by means of increasing productivity and finding new incentives to work. This has been true during every period of transformation from a lower stage of economic development to one higher throughout all the history of human existence.

In a labor republic the development of productive forces by means of technique plays a secondary role in comparison with the second factor, that of the efficient organization of labor, and creation of a new system of economy. Even if Soviet Russia succeeds in carrying out completely its project of general electrification without introducing any essential change in the system of control and organization of the people's economy and production it would only catch up with the advanced capitalist countries in the matter of development.

Yet, in the efficient utilization of labor power and building up a new system of production Russian labor finds itself in exceptionally favorable circumstances, which give her the opportunity to leave far behind all the bourgeois capitalist countries in the matter of developing the productive forces. Unemployment as an incentive to labor in Soviet Russia has been done away with. Therefore, there are open new possibilities for the working class that had been freed from the yoke of capital, to say its own new creative word in finding new incentives to labor and creation of new forms of production which will have had no precedent in all human history.

Who can, however, develop the necessary creativeness and keenness in this sphere? Whether bureaucratic elements, heads of the soviet institutions or the industrial unions whose members in their experience in regrouping workers in the shop come across creative, useful, practical methods that can be applied in the process of reorganizing the entire system of the people's economy? The Workers' Opposition asserts that administration of the people's economy is the trade unions' job, and, therefore, it is more Marxian in thought than the theoretically trained leaders.

The Workers' Opposition is not so ignorant as to wholly underestimate the great value of the technical progress or the usefulness of technically trained men. It does not, therefore, think that after electing its own body of control over the

industry it may safely dismiss the Supreme Council of National Economy, the central industrial committees, economic centers, etc. Not at all. And yet the Workers' Opposition thinks that it must assert its own control over these technically valuable administrative centers, give them theoretical tasks, and use their services as the capitalists did when they hired the technicians in order to carry out their own schemes. Specialists indeed can do valuable work in developing the industries; they can make the workers' manual labor easier; they are necessary, indispensable, as science is indispensable to every rising and developing class, but the bourgeois specialists, even with the communist label pasted on, are powerless physically and too weak mentally to develop productive forces in a non-capitalist state; to find new methods of labor organization, and develop new incentives for intensification of labor. In this, the last word belongs to the working class—to the industrial unions.

When the class of rising bourgeoisie, having reached the threshold leading from medieval to modern times, entered into the economic battle with the decaying class of feudal lords it did not possess any of the technical advantages over the latter. The trader—the first capitalist—was compelled to buy goods from that craftsman or journeyman who by means of hand files, knife and primitive spindles was producing goods both for his "master," the landlord, and for the outside trader, with whom he entered into a "free" trade agreement. Feudal economy having reached a culminating point in its organization, ceased to give any surplus, and there began a decrease in the growth of productive forces; humanity stood face to face with an alternative of either economic decay or of finding new incentives for labor, of creating, consequently, a new economic system which would increase productivity, widen the scope of production, and open new possibilities for the development of productive forces.

Who could have found and evolved the new methods in the sphere of industrial reorganization? None, but those class representatives who had not been bound by the routine of the past, who understood that the spindle and cutter in the hands of a chattel slave produce incomparably less than in the hands of supposedly free hired workers behind whose back stands the incentive of economic necessity.

Thus, the rising class having found where the basic incentive to labor lies, has built on it a complex system great in its own way; the system of capitalist production. The technicians have come to the aid of capitalists only much later. The basis was the new system of labor organization, and the new relations that were established between capital and labor.

The same is true at present. No specialist or technician imbued with the routine of the capitalist system of production can ever introduce any new creative motive and vitalizing innovation into the fields of labor organization, in creating

and adjusting the communist economy. Here the function belongs to the workers' collective. The great service of the Workers' Opposition is that it has put up this question of supreme importance frankly and openly before the party.

Comrade Lenin considers that we can put through the communist plan on the economic field by means of the party. Is it so? First of all let us consider how the party functions. According to comrade Lenin, "it attracts to itself the vanguard of workers"; then it scatters it over various soviet institutions (only a part of the vanguard gets back into the trade unions, where the communist members, however, are deprived of an opportunity of directing and building up the people's economy). There these well trained, faithful, and, perhaps, very talented communist-economists disintegrate and decay in the general atmosphere of routine, which pervades all our soviet economic institutions. In such an atmosphere the influence of these comrades is weakened, marred or entirely lost.

Quite a different thing with the trade unions. There the class atmosphere is thicker, the composition of forces is more homogeneous, the tasks that the collective is faced with are more closely bound with the immediate life and labor needs of the producers themselves, of the members of factory and shop committees, of the factory management, and the unions' centers. Creativeness, research of new forms for production, for new incentives to labor, in order to increase productivity, may be generated only in the bosom of this natural class collective. Only the vanguard of the class can create revolution, but only the whole class can create through everyday experience and practical work of its basic class collective.

Whoever does not believe in the creative spirit of a class collective—and this collective is most fully represented by the trade union—must put a cross over the communist reconstruction of society. Neither can Krestinsky or Preobrajensky nor Lenin and Trotzky push to the forefront by the means of their party machine, without a mistake, those workers who are able to find and point out new approaches to the new system of production. Such workers can be advanced only by life-experience itself from the ranks of those who actually produce and organize production at the same time.

Nevertheless, this consideration, very simple and clear to every practical man, is lost sight of by our party leaders. It is impossible to decree communism. In can be created only in the process of practical research, through mistakes, perhaps, but only by the creative powers of the working class itself.

The cardinal point of controversy that is taking place between the party leaders and the Workers' Opposition is this: In whom will our party place the trust of building up the communist economy—in the Supreme Council of National Economy with all its bureaucratic branches or in the Industrial Unions? Comrade Trotzky wants "to join" the trade unions to the Su-

preme Council of People's Economy so that with the assistance of the latter it might be possible to swallow the first. Comrades Lenin and Zinovieff, on the other hand, want to "bring up" masses to such a level of communist understanding that they could be painlessly absorbed into the same soviet institutions. Bucharin and the rest of the factions express essentially the same view, and the variation consists only in the way they put it, the essence is the same. Only the Workers' Opposition expresses something entirely different, defends the class proletarian viewpoint in the very process of creation and realization of its tasks.

The administrative economic body in the labor republic during the present transitory period must be a body directly elected by the producers themselves. All the rest of the administrative economic soviet institutions shall serve only as executive centers of the economic policy of that all-important economic body of the labor republic. All else is a goose-stepping that manifests distrust toward the creative abilities of workers, distrust which is not compatible with the professed ideals of our party whose very strength depends on the perennial revolutionary creative spirit of the proletariat.

There will be nothing surprising if at the approaching party congress the sponsors of the different economic reforms, save the single exception of the Workers' Opposition, will come to a common understanding through mutual compromises and concessions since there is no essential controversy among them.

The Workers' Oposition alone will not and must not compromise. This does not, however, mean that it "drives to a split." Not at all. Its task is entirely different. Even in the event of defeat at the congress it must remain in the party, and step by step stubbornly defend its point of view, save the party, and clarify its class lines.

Once more in brief: what is it that the Workers' Opposition wants?

1) To form a body from the workers—producers themselves—for administering the people's economy.

2) For this purpose, viz.: for the transformation of the unions from the role of passive assistance to the economic bodies, to that of an active participation and manifestation of their creative initiative, the Workers Opposition proposes a series of preliminary measures to **an orderly and gradual** realization of this aim.

3) Transferring of the administrative functions of industry into the hands of the union does not take place until the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the trade unions has found said unions as being able and sufficiently prepared for the task.

4) All appointments to the administrative economic posi-

tions shall be made with consent of the union. All candidates nominated by the union are non-removable. All responsible officials appointed by the union are responsible to, and may be recalled, by it.

5) In order to carry out all these proposals it is necessary to strengthen the rank and file nucleus in the unions, and to prepare factory and shop committees for running the industries.

6) By means of concentrating in one body the entire administration of the public economy (without the existing dualism of the Supreme Council of National Economy and the All-Russian Executive Committee of the trade unions) there must be created a **oneness of will** that will make it easy to carry out the plan and put into life the communist system of production. Is this syndicalism? Is not this, on the contrary, the same as what is stated in our party program, and are not the statements of principles signed by the **rest of the comrades** deviating from it?

ON BUREAUCRACY AND SELF-ACTIVITY OF THE MASSES

Whether it be bureaucracy, or self-activity of the masses? This is the second point of the controversy between the leaders of our party and the Workers' Opposition. The question of bureaucracy was raised and only superficially discussed at the 8th Soviet Congress. Herein, just as in the question on the part to be played by the trade unions and their problems the discussion was shifted to a wrong channel. The controversy on this question is more fundamental than it might seem. The essence of it is this: what system of administration in a workers' republic during the period of creation of the economic basis for communism secures more freedom for the class creative powers—whether a bureaucratic state system or a system of wide practical self-activity of the working masses? The question relates to the system of administration, and the controversy arises between two diametrically opposed principles—**bureaucracy or self-activity.** And yet they try to squeeze it into the scope of the problem that concerns itself only with the methods of "animating the soviet institutions." Here we observe the same substitution of the subjects discussed, as the one that occurred in the debates on the trade unions. It is necessary to state definitely and clearly that half-measures, changes in relations between central bodies, local economic organizations, and other such petty non-essential innovations as replacing responsible officials or injecting party members into the soviet institutions, where these communists are subjected to all the bad influences of the prevailing bureaucratic system, and disintegrate among the elements of the former bourgeois class, will not bring "democratization" or life into the soviet institutions.

This is not the thing, however. Every child in Soviet Russia knows that the vital problem is to draw the wide toiling masses of workers, peasants, and others into the reconstruction of economy in the proletarian state, and change the conditions of life accordingly, in other words the task is clear: **To wake up initiative and self-activity in the masses,** but what is being done in order to encourage and develop that initiative? Nothing at all. Quite the contrary. It is true that at every meeting we call upon the working men and women "to create a new life, build up, and assist the soviet authorities," but no sooner do the masses or individual groups of workers take our admonition seriously and attempt to carry it out into life than some of the bureaucratic institutions, feeling that they are being ignored, are in haste to cut short the efforts of too zealous initiators.

Every comrade can easily recall scores of instances when workers themselves attempted to organize dining rooms, day nurseries for children, transportation of wood, etc., and when each time a lively immediate interest in the undertaking died from the red tape, interminable negotiations with various institutions that brought no definite results, or refusals, new requests, etc. Wherever there was an opportunity under impetus of the masses themselves the masses by their own efforts to equip a dining room, to story a supply of wood or to organize a nursery refusal always followed, refusal from the central institutions with explanations that there was no equipment for the dining room, lack of horses for transporting the wood, and absence of an adequate building for the nursery. And how much bitterness is generated among working men and women when they see and know that if they had been given the right, and an opportunity to act, they themselves would put the project through. How painful it is to receive a refusal of necessary materials when they had already been found and procured by the workers themselves. Therefore, the initiative is slackening and the desire to act is dying out. It that is the case "let officials themselves take care of us." As a result there is generated a **most harmful division:** we are the toiling people, and they are the soviet officials, on whom everything depends. This is the whole trouble.

Meanwhile, what are our party leaders doing? Do they attempt to find the cause of the evil, and to admit openly that the very system itself, which was carried out into the life through the soviets, paralyzes and deadens the masses, though it was meant **to encourage** their initiative? No, our party leaders do nothing of the kind. Just the opposite—instead of finding means to encourage the mass initiative which shall perfectly fit into our flexible soviet institutions under certain conditions, our party leaders all of a sudden appear in the role of defenders and knights of bureaucracy. How many comrades, while following Trotzky's example, repeat that "we suffer not because of adopting the bad sides of bureaucracy but

just because we have failed so far to learn the good ones." ("On one common plan," by Trotzky.)

Bureaucracy, as it is, is a direct negation of mass self-activity, and, therefore, whoever accepts the principle of attracting the masses to an active participation in directing the affairs as a basis for the new system in the labor republic cannot look for good or bad sides in bureaucracy, but must openly and resolutely reject this useless system. Bureaucracy is not a product of our misery, as Comrade Zinovieff tries to convince, neither is it a reflex of "the blind subordination" to superiors generated by militarism, as others assert. This phenomenon has a deeper cause. It is a by-product of the same cause that explains our policy of double-dealing toward the trade unions: the growing influence in the soviet institutions of those elements which are hostile in spirit not only to communism, but to the elementary aspirations of the working masses as well. Bureaucracy is a scourge that pervades the very marrow of our party as well as of the soviet institutions, and this fact is emphasized not only by the Workers' Opposition but is also recognized by many thoughtful comrades not belonging to this group.

The restrictions on initiative are put not only in regard to the activity of non-partisan masses (this would be only a logical and reasonable condition in the suppressed atmosphere of the civil war), the initiative of party members themselves is also restricted. Every independent attempt, every new thought that had not passed through the censorship of our centre is considered as "heresy," as a violation of the party discipline, as an attempt to infringe on the prerogatives of the centre, which must "foresee" everything, and "decree" anything and everything. If anything is not decreed one must wait, for the time will come when the centre at its leisure will decree, and then within sharply restricted limits one may express his "initiative." What would happen if some of the members of the Russian Communist party—those, for instance, who are very fond of birds—decided to form a society for preservation of birds. The idea itself seems very useful, and does not in any way undermine the "state projects," but it only seems this way. All of a sudden there would appear some bureaucratic institution, and claim its right to the management of that particular undertaking; that institution would immediately "incorporate" the society into the soviet machine, deadening, thereby, the direct initiative; and instead of it there would appear a heap of paper decrees and regulations which would give enough work for other hundreds of officials and more complicate the work of mails and transport.

The harm in bureaucracy lies not only in the red tape, as some comrades would want us to believe when they narrow the whole controversy to the "animation of soviet institutions," but also in the solution of all problems not by means of an open exchange of opinions or by immediate efforts of all

concerned, but by means of formal decisions handed down from the central institutions, and arrived at either by one person or by an extremely restricted collective, wherein the interested people quite often are absent entirely. Some third person decides your fate, this is the whole essence of bureaucracy.

In the face of the growing suffering in the working class brought about by the confusion of the present transitory period, bureaucracy finds itself particularly weak and impotent. The miracle of enthusiasm in stimulating the productive forces, and alleviating the labor conditions can be performed only by **the animated initiative of the interested workers themselves, not restricted and repressed at every step by a hierarchy of "permissions and decrees."**

All Marxians, bolsheviki in particular, have been strong and powerful in that they never stressed the policy of immediate success of the movement(this line, by the way, has always been followed by the opportunists-compromisers), but always attempted to put the workers in such conditions which would give them the opportunity to temper their revolutionary will, and develop the creative abilities. The workers' initiative is indispensable for us, and yet we do not give it a chance to develop.

Fear of criticism and freedom of thought by combining together with bureaucracy quite often produce ridiculous forms.

There can be no self-activity without freedom of thought and opinion, for self-activity manifests itself not only in initiative, action, and work, but in **independent thought** as well. We are afraid of mass-activity. We are afraid to give freedom to the class activity, we are afraid of criticism, we have ceased to rely on the massas, hence, **we have bureaucracy with us.** That is why the Workers' Opposition considers that bureaucracy is our enemy, our scourge, and the greatest danger for the future existence of the Communist party itself.

In order to do away with the bureaucracy that is finding its shelter in the soviet institutions, **we must first of all get rid of all bureaucracy in the party itself.** That is where we face the immediate struggle against this system. As soon as the party—not in theory but in practice—recognizes self-activity of the masses as the basis of our state, the soviet institutions will again automatically become those living institutions which are destined to carry out the communist project, and will cease to be the institutions of red tape, laboratories for dead-born decrees, into which they had very rapidly degenerated.

What shall we do, then, in order to destroy bureaucracy in the party and introduce in it the workers' democracy? First of all it is necessary to understand that our leaders are wrong when they say: "Just now we agree to let the reins loose somewhat," for there is no immediate danger on the military front, but as soon as we shall feel again the danger, we will go back to "the military system" in the party. They are not

right because we must remember that heroism saved Petrograd, more than once defended Lugansk, other centres, and whole regions. Was it the Red army alone that put up the defense? No, there was besides the heroic self-activity and initiative of the masses themselves. Every comrade will recall that during the moments of supreme danger the party always appealed to the self-activity of the masses, for it saw in them the anchor of salvation. It is quite true that at times of threatening danger the party and class discipline must be more strict, there must be more self-sacrifice, exactitude in performing duties, etc., but between these manifestations of the class spirit and "the blind subordination" that is being developed lately by the party there is a great difference.

The Workers' Opposition together with a group of responsible workers in Moscow in the name of party regeneration and elimination of bureaucracy from the soviet institutions demands complete realization of all democratic principles, not only for the present period of respite, but also for times of internal and external tension. This is the first and basic condition of the party regeneration, of its return to the principles of the program, from which in practice it is more and more deviating under the pressure of elements that are foreign to it.

The second condition, fulfillment of which with all determination is insisted upon by the Workers' Opposition, is the **expulsion from the party** of all non-proletarian elements. The stronger becomes the soviet authority the greater is the number of middle class, and sometimes even openly hostile elements, joining the party. The elimination of these elements must be complete and thorough, and those in charge of it must take into account the fact that all the most revolutionary elements from the non-workers had joined the party during the first period of the October revolution. The party must become a **workers' party** for only then will it be able to repeal with force all the influences that are being brought to bear upon it by the petty-bourgeois elements, peasants, or by the faithful servants of capital—the specialists.

The Workers' Opposition proposes to register all members who are non-workers and who had joined the party since 1919, and reserve for them the right to appeal within three months from the decisions arrived at, in order that they might join the party again.

At the same time it is necessary to establish " a working status" for all non-working elements which will try to get back into the party, by providing that every applicant to membership in the party must have worked a certain period of time at manual labor under general working conditions before he becomes eligible for enrollment into the party.

The third decisive step toward democratization of the party is the elimination of all non-workers' elements from all the administrative positions; in other words, the central, provincial, and county committees of the party must be composed so that

workers closely connected with the working masses would have the preponderant majority therein.

In close connection with this point of the Oppositions' demands stands the other of converting all our party centres, beginning from the Central Executive Committee and including the provincial county committees, from institutions taking care of routine, every day work, into **institutions of control over the soviet policy.**

We have already remarked that the crisis in our party is a direct outcome of the three distinct cross-current tendencies that correspond to the three different social groups, viz.: the working class, the peasantry together with the middle class, and the elements of former bourgeoisie, that is, specialists, technicians, and men of affairs.

The problems of state wide importance compel both the local and central soviet institutions, including even the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, to lend ear to and conform with these three distinct tendencies of the groups that compose the population of Soviet Russia; as a result the class line of the general policy is blurred, and the necessary stability is lost. Considerations of the state interests begin to outweigh the interests of workers.

In order that the Central Committee and party committees may stand firmly on the side of our class policy, and call all our soviet institutions to order each time that a decision in the soviet policy becomes obvious (as it happened, for instance, in the question dealing with the trade unions) it is necessary to **disassociate the prerogratives** of such responsible officials who at one and the same time fill up responsible posts both in the soviet institutions and in the Communist party centres. We must remember that Soviet Russia so far has not been a socially homogeneous unit, but, on the contrary, represented a heterogeneous social conglomeration, and, therefore, the state authority is compelled to reconcile all these, at times, even hostile interests by choosing the middle ground.

In order that the Central Committee of our party could become the supreme directing centre of our class policy, the organ of class thought and control over the practical policy of the soviets, and the spiritual personification of our basic program it is necessary, particularly in the Central Committee, to restrict to a minimum the multiple office holding by those who, while being members of the Central Committee, occupy high posts in the soviet government. For this purpose the Workers' Opposition proposes formation of party centres, which would really serve as organs of ideal control over the soviet institutions, and would direct their actions along clear-cut class policies. Moreover, in order to increase party activity it is necessary to carry out everywhere the following measure: at least one-third of the actual party members in the centres must be permanently forbidden to act as party members and soviet officials at the same time.

The forth basic demand of the Workers' Opposition is this: **the party must reverse its policy to the elective principle.**

Appointments must be permissible only as exceptions, but lately they began to prevail as a rule. Appointments are very characteristic of bureaucracy, and yet at present they are a general, legalized and well recognized daily occurrence. The procedure of appointments produces a very unhealthy atmosphere in the party, and disrupts the relationship of equality among the members by rewarding friends and punishing enemies as well as by other no less harmful practices in our party and soviet life. Appointments lessen the sense of duty and responsibility to the masses in the ranks of appointees, for they are not responsible to the masses. This condition makes the line of division between the leaders and the rank and file members still sharper.

Every appointee, as a matter of fact, is beyond any control, for the leaders are not able to watch closely his activity while the masses cannot call him to account, and discharge him if necessary. As a rule every appointee is surrounded by an atmosphere of officialdom, servility and blind subordination, which infects all subordinates, and discredits the party. The practice of appointments rejects completely the principle of collective work; it breeds irresponsibility. Appointments by the leaders must be done away with, and replaced by the elective principle all along the party line. Candidates shall be eligible to occupy responsible administrative positions only when they have been elected by conferences and congresses.

Finally, in order to eliminate bureaucracy and make the party more healthy it is necessary to revert to that state of things where all the cardinal questions of party activity and soviet policy are submitted to the consideration of the rank and file and only after that are supervised by the leaders. This was the state of things when the party was forced to carry on its work in secret—even as late as the time of signing the treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

At present the state of things is altogether different. In spite of the widely circulated promises made by the All-Russian party conference held in September, no less important question than that of concessions was decided for the masses quite unexpectedly. And only due to the sharp controversy that arose within the party centres themselves was the question dealing with the trade unions brought out into the open to be thrashed out in debates.

Wide publicity, freedom of opinion and discussion, right to criticize within the party and among the members of the trade unions—such is the decisive step that can put an end to the prevailing system of bureaucracy. Freedom of criticism, right of different factions to freely present their views at party meetings, freedom of discussion—are no longer the demands of the Workers' Opposition alone. Under the growing pressure from the masses a whole series of measures that were demanded by

the rank and file long before the All-Russian conference was held, are recognized and promulgated officially at present. If one only reads the proposals of the Moscow Committee in regard to the party structure he becomes proud of the great influence that is being exerted on the party centres. If it were not for the Workers' Opposition the Moscow Committee would never have taken such a sharp "turn to the left." However, we must not overestimate this "leftism," for it is only a declaration of principles to the congress. It may happen, as it has happened many a time with the decisions of our party leaders during these years, that this radical declaration will be forgotten for, as a rule they are accepted by our party centres only just as the mass impetus is felt, and as soon as life again swings into normal channels the decisions are forgotten.

Did not this happen to the decision of the 8th Congress, whereby it resolved to free the party of all elements who joined it for some selfish motives, and to use discretion in accepting non-working elements? What has become of the decision taken by the party conference in 1920, when it was decided to replace the practice of appointments by recommendations? The inequality in the party still exists in spite of the repeated resolutions passed on this subject. As far as the persecutions inflicted on those comrades who dare to disagree with the decrees from the above are concerned they are still being continued. There are many such instances. If these decisions are not enforced then it is necessary to eliminate the basic cause that interferes with their enforcement, that is, to remove from the party those who are **afraid of publicity, strict accountability before the rank and file, and freedom of criticism.**

Non-working members of the party, and those workers who fell under their influence, are afraid of all this. It is not enough to clean the party of all non-proletarian elements by registration, to increase the control in time of enrollment, etc., for it is also necessary to create opportunities for the workers to join the party; it is necessary to simplify the admission of workers to the party, to create a more **friendly atmosphere** in the party itself, so that the workers might feel themselves at home, that in the responsible party officials they see not superiors but more experienced comrades, who are ready to share with them their knowledge, experience and skill, and consider seriously, workers' needs and interests. How many comrades, particularly young workers, are driven away from the party just because we manifest our impatience with them by our assumed superiority and strictness, instead of teaching them, bringing them up in the spirit of communism.

Besides the spirit of bureaucracy an atmosphere of officialdom finds a fertile ground in our party. If there is any comradeship in our party it exists only among the rank and file members.

The task of the party congress is to take into account this unpleasant reality, and ponder over the question: why the

Workers' Opposition insists on introducing equality, on eliminating all privileges in the party, and placing under a more strict **responsibility** to the masses, those administrative officials who are elected by them.

Thus, in its struggle for establishing democracy in the party, and the elimination of all bureaucracy, the Workers' Opposition advances three cardinal principles:

(1) Return to the principle of election all along the line with elimination of bureaucracy, by making all responsible officials answerable to the masses.

(2) Introduction of wide publicity within the party both concerning general questions, and where individuals are involved; paying more attention to the voice of the rank and file (wide discussion of all questions by the rank and file, and their summarizing by the leaders; admission of any member to the meetings of party centres, save when problems discussed require particular secrecy); establishment of freedom of opinion and expression (giving the right not only to criticize freely during discussions, but to use funds for publication of literature proposed by different party factions).

(3) Making the party more of a workers' party with limitations imposed on those who fill offices both in the party and the soviet institutions at the same time.

This last demand is particularly important and essential for the reason that our party must not only build communism, but prepare and educate the masses for a prolonged period of struggle against world capitalism, which may take on unexpected and new forms. It would be too childish to imagine that having repelled the invasion of the white guard and imperialism on the military fronts, we are free from the danger of a new attack from the world capital which is striving to seize Soviet Russia by roundabout ways; to penetrate into our life, and use the Soviet republic for its own ends. This is the potent danger that we must stand guard against, and herein lies the problem for our party—how to meet the enemy well prepared, how to rally all the proletarian forces around the clear-cut class problems—(the other groups of the population will always gravitate to capitalism). To carry on preparations for this new page of our revolutionary history is the duty of our leaders.

The most correct solution of the question will be possible only when we succeed in uniting the party all along the line, not only together with the soviet institutions, but with **the trade unions** as well. In the latter case the filling up of offices in both—in the party and in the trade unions—does not only tend to deviate the party policy from the clear-cut class line, but, on the contrary, renders the party more immune to the influences of world capitalism during this coming epoch; influences that

are exerted through concessions and trade agreements. To make the Central Committee one of workers is to create such a central committee wherein representatives of the lower layers connected with the masses would not stop to play the role of "parading generals" or a merchant's wedding party and become closely bound with the wide non-partisan working masses in the trade unions, being enabled thereby to formulate the slogans of the time, to express workers' needs, their aspirations, and direct the policy of the party along the class line.

Such is the line of the Workers' Opposition. Such is its historic task. And whatever derisive remarks the leaders of our party may employ in order to drive away the Opposition, it is the only vital active force with which it is compelled to contend, and to which it will have to pay attention.

HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF THE OPPOSITION

Now it remains to answer: Is the Opposition necessary? Is it necessary on behalf of the world workers' liberation from the yoke of capital to welcome its formation or is it an undesirable movement, detrimental to the fighting energy of the party, and destructive to its ranks?

Every comrade not prejudiced against the Opposition, and, who therefore wants to approach the question with an open mind, and analyze it, not in accordance with what the recognized authorities tell him, will see even from these brief outlines that the Opposition is useful and necessary. It is useful primarily because it has awakened slumbering thought. During these years of the revolution we have been so preoccupied with our pressing affairs that we had ceased to appraise our actions from the standpoint of principle and theory. We have been forgetting that the proletariat can commit grave mistakes not only during the period of struggle for political control, and turn toward the morass of opportunism—but that even during the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat such mistakes are possible, particularly when on all sides we are surrounded with stormy waves of imperialism, and when the Soviet republic is compelled to act in the capitalist environment. At such times our leaders must be, not only wise "statesman-like" politicians, but also be able to lead the party and the whole working class along the line of class **reconcilability and class creativeness,** and prepare it for a prolonged struggle against the new forms of seizure of the Soviet republic by bourgeois influences of world capitalism. "Be ready, be clear—but along the class lines"—such must be the slogan of our party now more than ever.

The Workers' Opposition has put these questions into the order of the day, rendering thereby its historical service. The thought begins to move, members began to analyze what has already been done, and wherever there is criticism, analysis,

where thought moves and works, there is life, progress; advancement forward toward the future. There is nothing more frightful and harmful than sterility of thought and standards of routine. We have been retiring into routine, and might inadvertently have gone off the direct class road leading to communism, if it were not for the Workers' Opposition injecting itself into the situation at a time when our enemies were about to burst into joyful laughter. At present this is already impossible. The Congress and, therefore, the party will be compelled to contend with the point of view expressed by the Workers' Opposition, and either to compromise or make essential concessions under its influence and pressure.

The second service of the Workers' Opposition is that it has brought up for discussion the question as to who, after all, shall be called upon to create new forms of economy, whether it shall be the technicians, men of affairs who by their psychology are bound-up with the past, and soviet officials with communists scattered among them, **or the working class collectives which are represented by the unions?**

The Workers' Opposition has said what has long ago been printed in "the Communist Manifesto" by Marx and Engels, viz.: "Creation of communism can and will be the work of the toiling masses themselves. Creation of communism belongs to workers."

Finally, the Workers' Opposition has raised its voice against bureaucracy, and has dared to say that bureaucracy binds the wings of self-activity and the creativeness of the working class; that it deadens thought, hinders initiative and experimenting, in the sphere of finding new approaches to production, in a word—it hinders development of new forms for production and life.

Instead of a system of bureaucracy it proposes a system of self-activity for the masses. In this respect the party leaders even now are making concessions and "recognizing" the deviations as being harmful to communism and detrimental to the working class interests (the rejection of centralism). The Tenth Congress, we understand, will make another series of concessions to the Workers' Opposition. Thus, in spite of the fact that the Workers' Opposition appeared just as a mere group inside the party only a few months ago, it has already fulfilled its mission, and has compelled the directing party centres to listen to the workers' sound advice. At present, whatever might be the wrath toward the Workers' Opposition, it has the historical future to support it.

Just because we believe in the vital forces of our party we know that after some hesitation, resistance and circuitious political moves our party ultimately will again follow that path which has been blazed by the elemental forces of the class organized proletarian. There will be no split. If some of the groups shall leave the party they will not be the ones that make up the Workers' Opposition. Only those will

fall out who attempt to evolve into principles our temporary deviations from the spirit of the Communist program, which were forced upon the party by the prolonged civil war, and will hold to them as if they were the essence of our political line of action.

All that part of the party which has been accustomed to reflect the class point of view of the ever growing giant-proletariat will absorb and digest everything that is wholesome, practical and sound in the workers' Opposition. Not in vain will the rank and file worker speak with assurance and reconciliation: "Ilyich (Lenin) will ponder, think over, listen to us, and then will decide to turn the party rudder toward the Opposition.)Ilyich will be with us yet."

The sooner the party leaders will take into account the Oppositions' work, and follow the road marked by the rank and file members, the quicker we shall pass through the crisis in the party at such a difficult time, and the sooner we shall step over the destined line beyond which humanity, having freed itself from the objective economic laws and, profiting by the rich scientific treasure of the workers' collective, will consciously begin to create the human history of the Communist epoch.

THE END.

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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Introduction

RUSSIA of the days of 1917, the inspiration of the world's proletariat: What is transpiring behind its endless boundaries? What forces are shaping themselves on its millions of square miles? Those 180 millions of people; peasants and workers, what of them? How have they fared since the November days of 1917? Are the programs and slogans of those thrilling November days being carried out or is it true that the initiative and revolutionary ardor of the workers in Russia have been stifled by the iron-rule of a party dictatorship? How do the workers and peasants, the great lower layer of the Russian masses, look upon their present government? Is it true that the Russian Soviet Government is a party government and that the workers have no voice in choosing or electing their delegates to the soviets?

Such questions as the above, were they asked a year or two ago by any radical, would have been howled down as heresy. But at the present day and on the eve of Russian recognition by the capitalist powers, the questions above suddenly assume great importance and demand an answer one way or another. And they are being answered as all such questions are, in various ways, depending on what influence prompts the reply. Formerly the capitalist press carried its daily quota of polished news depicting conditions in Russia. But generally these tales were concerned only with the misfortune of the bourgeois class, and lately there is noted from that source a sudden stillness about Russian atrocities and in its place appear conciliatory articles that portend—what?

During the time that has elapsed since 1917 a few people have come from Russia carrying information with them which has, however, only been of a general nature and political in character. Such information because of its vague nature served to create a false impression about Russian conditions, until at present a sharp controversy is manifest between the various elements of the radical movement. In the light of the present day knowledge concerning Russia, even if it is slight, it is beyond doubt that much of the information previously circulated in America about Russia is misleading and some of it basely false. Who needs to be reminded of the many tales circulated about Russia, in which the conditions of the workers there have been O. K.d and in which they have been reported as masters of their destinies? Generally the whole text of the

news that have been circulated seemed to concern itself with describing the impossible qualities of certain Russian leaders. What a strange coincidence it is that the real extent of the power wielded by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia is never referred to and yet such a power could not have escaped the notice of a sincere investigator.

It is quite likely that the description of Russia in this book will be greeted in various ways. By some as a source of comparative knowledge; by others in a spirit of rage. Vilification and praise will follow in its wake.

The Communists of America are now busy constructing a great bogy with which they can silence and scare away the critics of their program. They call this bogy "anarchist," "counter-revolutionary," etc. These tactics are peculiar to parties of a political nature, but they are mere puffs of wind which "stirreth not even the leaves."

It is only an act of justice to the reader if we qualify the investigations of the author—Augustin Souchy—by telling briefly who he is.

Souchy is truly an "internationalist". Properly he is a member of the German syndicalist movement, but his activities in the European labor movement have taken him to most of the countries of Europe, and whenever there is an important meeting or a conference of the progressive forces of European labor one can nearly always look for Souchy's name on the list of delegates. The authorities of all countries keep their eyes on him and he has been deported from several countries, notably from Scandinavia. He was a delegate to the Second Congress of the Communist International at Moscow in 1920 and also participated in the conference that organized the Provisional Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, the forerunner of the present R. L. U. I. In these conferences he opposed, on philosophical grounds, the political theories that dominated these conferences. The investigation of conditions in Russia as set down in this book was made in the same period as his attendance to the above mentioned bodies. (1920).

In this book will be found a chapter dealing with Machno who has been variously represented in this country as a bandit, murderer, anarchist and a friend of the upper classes of the Ukraine peasants. It is certain that around this particular person there will always be a fierce dispute as to his real motive. His importance as a figure in the Russian revolutionary period will always base itself on the fact that he had a large following among the peasants of the Ukraine. Historically his intentions and what he sought to accomplish will always be an open question. In short he will always have friends and enemies. The author of the book—Souchy—pictures him in a favorable light. He sees him as a friend af the lower classes of peasants as against the higher element of that class, even to the extent of carrying on open warfare against the

Soviet Government. Perhaps he is justified by his observations in this stand. Be that as it may, his opinion is his own, but his record of this historical figure is as much entitled to consideration as those who tell a different story.

The writer of this introduction was a delegate from the I. W. W. to the first Congress of the Red Labor Union International at Moscow and personally witnessed a stormy debate at the closing session over Machno which developed from the following circumstances:

During the first days of the sessions a movement was launched by the syndicalist delegates of France and Spain to secure the release of some anarchists who were then in Russian prisons. As a result of a petition which was signed by many of the delegates, an interview was arranged between some of the leading figures of the Russian Soviet government (Lenin was present) and a committee of delegates who had signed the petition. At this meeting an agreement was reached that everything possible would be done to have them released under the condition that they would leave the country in the company of the French delegates at the end of the congress, and it was further understood that no issue would be made of this matter in the Congress of the Red International. The delegates left this meeting and said nothing more about it. Suddenly, on the last day of the Congress, just before adjournment, Bukharin appeared as a representative of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party with a statement accusing the imprisoned anarchists of being "Machnovtzi" (members of Machno's band) and raised some question about releasing all of them.

Bukharin's appearance concerning the imprisoned anarchists raised a fierce storm of protest especially from a part of the French delegates who charged the Soviet government with bad faith in bringing up the subject when they had formerly agreed to keep it quiet.

Bukharin, representing the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, reported their action on the subject of the imprisoned anarchists which accused them generally with supporting Machno and indicating that they were in prison on that account. Whether or not these anarchists were supporters of Machno I cannot say, neither do I know whether these particular anarchists were ever released. I heard later that some of them had refused to agree to leaving Russia when released and were on a hunger strike.

Machno at that time was a strange name to me but his prominence in this controversy on the floor of the Red International Congress aroused my interest and I began to inquire about him. But I soon realized that trying to find out who and what Machno is was like trying to uncover the identity of the devil. Thus, Machno was like a sore boil to the communist elements and they emphasized him as a murderer, bandit and

counter-revolutionist. By the non-communist element, anarchists, many syndicalists, and others, Machno is highly praised. Some again, anarchists, and even communists, described the Machno movement as originally having good purposes, but claimed that it had become permeated with elements who were using it for their own particular purposes. When I left Moscow and summed up what I had learned about Machno I was forced to the opinion that this figure will never be quite understood by anyone. His motives will be appreciated or condemned according to the faction his appraisers adhere to. From this viewpoint then, the subject of Machno is important only because he presents one of the problems of the Russian situation. In short, it is not the personal qualities of Machno that we are concerned with, but the movement he has grouped around him.

There is abundant proof that the Russian revolution was not the venture of one particular party, but that it was the spontaneous outburst of the Russian masses. Only after the crash of Czarism do we see the various political parties coming out and manoeuvering for favorable positions. After a period of political moves the Bolsheviki stepped into power on promises and slogans that do not exist today. In fact they are in the same position now as when Kerensky's coalition government assumed their short term of power. But the Bolsheviki or Communists of Russia must undergo, because of their altered revolutionary policy, the same critical examination as any other group. That it still clings to revolutionary phrases is not a cause for adopting a watch-and-wait policy. Conditions, not words, are our chief concern, and only with a knowledge of the conditions of the Workers and Peasants in Russia can we apply the measure of the revolutionary yard-stick.

There are many ways of judging the Russian revolution at its present stage. Many excuse the present policy of the Soviet Government on the ground that the workers and peasants are a dark depraved mass of low intelligence, floundering around in a dumb state of mind, which makes them fertile ground for White-guard activity. Because of this, a strong central dictatorship is necessary to curb their aimless reactionary tendencies. Therefore they have been stripped of every right which they might even have enjoyed under such a rule as the former Czar. But those who say this are as ignorant as they claim the workers and peasants are. If this is the case then the Bolsheviki would have never assumed power. Nor if we judge the situation correctly would there have ever been a revolution. What is paradoxical about this argument is that the old czarist regime acted on the assumption that the workers and peasants were just the opposite and they likewise suppressed them vigorously on the same grounds. But whatever they can make out of the above argument, the communists in any case will never explain away their fierce suppression and abolition of all human rights from the very masses who lifted them

into power. This will always be a blemish that will cling to them like a birth-mark and like the legendary writing on the wall can be never be wiped out.

Another way of judging the Russian situation is the theory that as long as the present government retains a tight hold on the powers of government they can at any period liquidate the new capitalistic economic program for the benefit of the Russian proletariat. This is a high-flown theory, as this book in its discussion of Russia will demonstrate, not in a direct, conscious manner perhaps, as the author did not have this particular phase before him at the time of his investigations, but by acquainting the reader with the development of the Russian revolution up to his time. The Russian revolution to date shows one thing clearly: "that successful revolutions are not the product of the abstract human will." Human will power expressed only by the masses, counts as a factor in social changes. Revolutionary tacticians flounder helplessly trying to regulate social laws to fit their particular plans. They hide their failure in such terms as "transition periods" or "economic retreats." One is as vague as the other and neither means anything.

Whatever explanations are advanced on the Russian situation everybody must admit that for the present at least we can dismiss from our minds any remaining hope that capitalism has not been invited back to Russia, and from this viewpoint we must then inquire why the Russian revolution was forced into this position. Dismissing, too, any wrong idea that any set of individuals were the direct cause, we must search amongst the ruins for the reason and ask: What force obstructed the path of the Russian masses in their surge towards emancipation? And for those who read this book with a mind bent on investigation it is certain that much valuable information can be obtained. Regardless of whatever antipathy the reader may develop because this author holds certain views, there are facts in this book that compel serious thought.

This book deserves praise mainly because it is a study of conditions in Russia, and not men, leaders perchance, of a revolutionary government, because after all is said and recorded about the personal qualities of this or that prominent person in Russia, the Russian revolution cannot ever be correctly judged unless the conditions of the great masses are known and understood. Labor laws, regulations and libertarian decrees are, finally, nothing but dried ink and signify nothing. Soviet institutions are corrupted by much the same methods as any other governing body.

Particular notice is due to the chapters that describe the many socialist parties of Russia as well as the Anarchists and Syndicalists. These various factions are representative of the sociological ideas that dominate the minds of the Russian people. The Chart on page 16, especially, makes a study

of these movements more simple and assists the reader to a clearer understanding of the following chapters.

Lest the point be missed it is necessary to call to the readers' attention, that the principal point which the author has sought to show is that the Soviet government has failed not alone in the sphere of production, but also in the field of distribution. Thus it is that the Soviet government allows a certain amount of latitude to the labor unions as producing organs, but it liquidates entirely into the state the once powerful co-operative societies which were an integral part of the Russian national life. These co-operative societies flourishing and alive under their former mode of operation, in becoming state organs for distribution, and henceforth bureaucratically managed have withered like a cut flower and become lifeless. Free trade inaugurated in the spring of 1921 is an indication of this decay.

Some of the features of bolshevik rule described in this book have now disappeared due to the rapid changes that are being made in the policy of the bolsheviks, but each such feature should be recorded and rescued from oblivion. The failures and the mistakes of the bolsheviks are the red danger lanterns along our own road and will save us in the future from running into the same obstacle, just as the red lanterns hung out by street pavers and sewer workers save us from running into holes or piles of debris. The author of this book hangs out these danger lanterns where everybody can see them. The information the author gathered in 1920 will never be out of date as long as we ourselves have not achieved the great social transformation in this country.

Together with the publishing of this book in America comes the news of a speech made by Lenin on October 17, 1921, in which the prophetic writings of this book are verified. Lenin says in the speech:

> "Our new economic policy consists essentially in this, that we in this respect have been thoroughly defeated and have started to undertake a strategic retreat; before we are completely defeated, let us retreat and DO EVERYTHING OVER AGAIN, but more steady. Communists can not have the slightest doubt that we on the economic front have suffered an economic defeat, and a very serious defeat at that."

He also says, in connection with the former policy of food requisition, the following:

> "On the economic front we have, with the attempt to go over to a communist society, suffered a defeat in the spring of 1921, more serious than any previous defeat suffered at the hands of Denekin, Kolchak or Pilsudsky, a defeat which has taken expression in the fact that our economic policy in its superstructure has proven to be cut

off from the substructure and did not create the stimulation of the productive powers, which in our party program is recognized as the fundamental and immediate problem.

"The requisition system in the country and the communist method of solving the organization problem in the cities, these are the policies that prevented the increase in the productive powers and proved to be the main cause of the deep-going economic and political crisis with which we collided in the spring of 1921.

"There you have the cause of what has happened, which, from the viewpoint of our general policy, cannot be called anything else than a thorough defeat and a retreat."

But the defeat that Lenin admits and which he terms "our defeat" should not be construed to mean a defeat of all revolutionary principles. It is wholly, and only, a defeat of the political theory of revolution.

Bukharin is perhaps the frankest of all when he says in an article entitled, "The Soviets' New Policy":

"When the state apparatus is in our hands we can guide it in any desired direction. But unless we are at the helm we can give no direction at all.

"Consequently we must seize power and keep it and make no political concessions. But we may make many economic concessions. **But the fact of the matter is we are making economic concessions in order to avoid making political concessions.**

"We shall agree to no coalition government or anything like it, not even equal rights to peasants and workers. We cannot do that."

The above quotations are but proof that when defeats are spoken of they are meant as defeats of political centralism; of party policies. The reasons of these defeats are shown by the contents of this book.

GEO. WILLIAMS.

Feb. 10th, 1922.

Author's Preface

WHEN the Russian Revolution broke out and czarism was overthrown, there was not a socialist who did not greet this revolution with joy. All, from the most moderate state socialist and reformist to the most radical anarchist, yes, even the liberals of Europe, saw progress in the overthrow of czarism. When later *Kerensky* wanted to steer the wreck of the Russian ship of state into the safe harbor of the entente, and continued the war against Germany, dissatisfaction arose among the Russian masses, for was it not *peace* that the revolution was going to bring them! When Kerensky, with the coalition Miljukov and Gutschkov, threw himself in the arms of the entente, he, naturally, could not fulfill the peace wishes of the Russian people. It was evident that the revolutionary wave would not stop but keep on rolling further in the direction of peace. *For that reason, the party that put peace on its program had the greatest prospect of winning. And that party was the bolsheviks.*

The political reasons for a bolshevik victory were at hand. *To these political reasons were added psychologic and economic reasons.*

The psychologic reasons: The Russian people had for centuries lived under the rule of czarism. The autocracy at the top did everything to keep alive the respect for authority at the bottom. This *respect for authority* has penetrated so deeply into the life of the people that it even had set its mark on the relations between the peasants themselves in their daily life. Symbolic of this is the word "Little Father." One of the strongest factors for preserving this respect was *religion.* The catholicism of the Orthodox Greek Church has even today its strongest support in Russia. The revolution has shaken faith in czarist authority, but has not completely eradicated it. Faith in authority continues to live in Russia and is even to-day stronger than in England or America. For this reason it was natural that the new political system would become *authoritarian* to the extent that faith in authority still existed. *Bolshevism is an authoritarian system.* Theoretically it professes to be Marxian, *i. e.*, authoritarian-socialist.

The economic reasons: Already during the Kerensky period dissatisfaction grew, and with it the demand for independence grew also among the workers. The workers, represented by the Workers' Councils or the Factory Committees, did not want to remain the wage slaves of the factory owners any longer. They

wanted to dispossess the factory owners and *take over the factories* themselves. After a long-drawn struggle they finally succeeded in this, in a favorable moment. But, as they were in no way prepared to take over production, and as *they had no unions, which could have undertaken that task,* the first period after the taking over of the factories by the workers was notable for a general break-down. The workers did work for *themselves* but not for *society.* They had no industrial unions of their own; what little organization they had was too little developed, and, consequently, in this general break-down, a strong centralistic party was the only power that could in any way combat chaos. One might even say that it was lucky that the bolshevik party was at hand and was vigorous enough to undertake it. Otherwise, perhaps, a non-socialist party, the Cadets, might have paved the way for immediate reaction. Thus, as it happened, the ideal of socialism was not realized, but under the given circumstances it was the only way out. Another economic factor was the support of *the effort made by the peasants to take the land away from the large land owners.* The economic factors in city and country were consequently, favorable to a bolshevik victory.

To-day there are numerous socialists who disapprove of bolshevik rule in Russia. They are adversaries of the bolsheviks because the conditions in Russia under bolshevik rule are not socialistic. And, to be true, if we put the measuring stick of socialism or communism on Russian conditions, then it is really not difficult to find that in Russia no socialism or communism exists, and from that high observation point one can then condemn bolshevism.

We can distinguish *three kinds of opponents of bolshevism.*

The first are the representatives of capitalism and the capitalist order of society. These are all the states which during the war formed the entente against Germany and Austria-Hungary and which now have united in the League of Nations, and besides there is America. Add thereto capitalist Germany. All these combat bolshevism, not because it did not bring them what they had hoped for—they were, on the contrary, enemies of bolshevism from the start—but because they felt themselves threatened by it; they fear that a bolshevik Russia may be a constant revolutionary danger to all other countries. But above everything else they fear a revolution in their own country, as they would then lose their privileges, and first of all their private property, on which rests the whole social order of to-day. In addition to these general, international, capitalist interests there are special nationalistic interests. Thus, France belongs to-day to the bitterest opponents of bolshevism, because French capitalists more than all others are interested with their money in Russia. They want, under all circumstances, to get the money back that they had lent to czarist Russia. Although the bolsheviks time and again declared that they were willing to do this—at the start the bol-

sheviks cancelled all the debts of czarism—the French capitalists are not satisfied; they also want to do business in the future with Russia, so rich in natural resources. And this applies also to all other capitalist states. For these reasons they fight Soviet Russia with all the means at their disposition: through open or secret war, and through support given to the Russian counter-revolutionaries.

The second kind of opponents of bolshevism are the moderate and reformist social-democrats. These were, in the first place, opponents from the start to bolshevik revolutionary tactics, i e., of the bolshevik approval of the dispersion of the Constituent Assembly by the anarchists (the bolsheviks were, to some extent, implicated in this dispersion); in the second place, they later became opponents of the anti-democratic and anti-humanitarian measures of the bolsheviks, such as, the suppression of the freedom of the press and assembly. They were also opponents by principle to the immediate and absolute expropriation of the capitalists and of the land owners without compensation. According to their opinion the bolsheviks should have sought co-operation with the democrats of the West. They invoked the aid of Marx and said that socialism could only come about by a development through capitalism. *Politically, there should first have come democracy in Russia after the overthrow of czarism, and economically, capitalism. Thereupon, after this development had slowly taken place, Russia would be ripe for socialism.* Socialism must come through a progressive development; it is a product of evolution. Russia was not yet ripe for socialism. They also oppose the liberty-crushing tendencies of the bolsheviki, their extraordinary commissions, etc. But when they are in power, they by no means allow themselves to be guided by humanitarian viewpoints in their policies. A Noske, who is one of this group, as minister of defense, has not behaved more humanely, but perhaps more hypocritically, than the bolsheviks. On the whole, this group of social-democrats, social patriots and reformists, or whatever you call them, turn down the principles, methods and tactics of the bolsheviks, because the bolsheviks are too radical for them. These social democrats, furthermore, combat the bolsheviks secretly or openly—mostly secretly—with all the means of force. They help the armed counter-revolution, support the blockade against Russia, etc. During the social democratic reign in Germany that government did all it could against bolshevik Russia.

To the third kind of opponents of the bolsheviks belong, finally, the anti-authoritarian socialists, the anarchists and the syndicalists. While the two first-mentioned are opponents of the revolution as such, this third kind are entirely revolutionary. And they are not adversaries of bolshevism in the same sense as the two former. They are rather opponents of bolshevik teachings, opponents of the bolshevik authoritarian world philosophy; they are philosophical opponents. They fight the bolsheviks on the intellectual field. While the reformist socialists are against the bolsheviks, because they went too far, the syndicalists and

the anarchists take a negative position towards the bolsheviks, because for them they did not go far enough. They make the objection against the bolsheviks that their methods do not remove the foundations of the old world order of the state and capitalism radically enough, that they have made too great concessions to the spirit of authority, to the discretion of the state, and to the system of wage slavery, and that they in this manner have hindered the revolution in its further development. They reproach the bolsheviks that they have set up *a new state* and thus led the revolution into the wrong channels. They show the bolsheviks the inconsistency of their position, when they, on the one hand, maintain that the state is an institution of oppression and class rule, and that a free society only can exist without the state, but, on the other hand, concentrate all their power on making this class state as powerful as possible, as formidable as it ever was, and perfect it through the strongest kind of centralism. The revolutionary syndicalists and anarchists furthermore say that the bolsheviks through the establishment of this state and this centralism are *not getting nearer to liberty but are getting further away from it.* As opponents of the conquest of political power they make the objection to the bolsheviks that, through the conquest of political power, they have become power-seeking politicians and have pushed the more important side of socialism and communism in the back-ground. When they once struck out on the path leading to political power, they were compelled to it. From this follows suppression of the other socialist parties and tendencies, suppression of the right of free press and assembly, etc. They are also opponents of bolshevik methods of conquering political power, of centralism and of state socialism. But it is hardly necessary to state that they, like the bolsheviks, are bitter enemies of private property, capitalism, bourgeois democracy and any kind of a national assembly.

As will be easily understood, the capitalists and social-reformists are the strongest opponents and political adversaries of the bolsheviks. The anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists, on the other hand, are also opponents on principle of the bolshevik methods, but if the bolsheviks really honestly desire the destruction of the state, then they ought to approach them and the opposition might grow into a fighting alliance. As the matter now stands, the anarchists and the revolutionary syndicalists take a negative position towards the bolsheviks, when it is not downright hostile.

To take refuge behind the cloak of "objectivity" often signifies cowardice, for nobody is capable of free judgment without any subjective views, and least of all when personalities are concerned. For that reason I freely admit that I am a revolutionary syndicalist. But when I, like those sharing my views, do not approve of all the methods and the tactics of the bolsheviks, it would be tactless in the highest degree for the bolsheviks to brand us as counter-revolutionists, as they are so inclined to do, in

order to discredit the revolutionary syndicalists and anarchists before the revolutionary workers. Before the outbreak of the revolution, and before the war, it would not have occurred to any Russian bolshevik to label a revolutionary syndicalist and an anarchist as a counter-revolutionist, only because he rejected the state, the dictatorship of the proletariat and centralism as well as capitalism. On the contrary, at that time, the anarchist and syndicalist would have had far more right to give the bolsheviks that surname. But, of course, he did not call the bolsheviks by any such name. But now the matter has changed. The bolsheviks are the ruling party. Their theories, their methods and their tactics are now no longer platonic; they have become a cold reality which often is quite perceptible to the Russian people. The theories and methods which formerly were more or less useful material for discussion in the papers, are to-day in Russia regulations, decrees and laws for the Russian people. When we to-day enter into polemics against these theories and tactics, we are also compelled to take a stand on the decrees. But when we do this the bolsheviks brand us, if our criticism happens to be disapproving, as counter-revolutionaries. We can, of course, just as little abstain from this criticism now as before. But the difference is that we to-day have a concrete basis while we formerly worked with only an hypothesis. One thing is necessary to note, however: the difference between decrees and laws and regulations which spring from the theories, and those which can be traced to conditions in Russia. A criticism of the latter would be a criticism of the revolution itself, seeing that the bolshevik party is a revolutionary party. But such a criticism we cannot yet enter into, particularly as revolutionaries. A criticism of the former we hold to-day to be just as necessary as formerly the discussion between the different socialist groups. But, besides, we must investigate the effects upon the people of both kinds of decrees and laws, those that spring from theories, and those that are traceable to the conditions. As little as we believe in decrees and laws, still we must admit that they produce a reaction among the people. The popular reaction to these decrees is partly friendly, partly hostile, according to their nature and the wishes of the people. For there are decrees that release the revolutionary powers of the people and stimulate them, and there are decrees that dam them up and annihilate revolutionary initiative.

Such an investigation is very difficult, however. The classification of the decrees and the laws into such as originate in the theories and such as are traceable to the conditions is, namely, in practice not possible in the case of all of them. A number of decrees are the result of a mixture of both elements. If the effects are altogether or partially stimulating to the revolution or are hostile to liberty, and the people reacts accordingly, then one could easily get in the peculiar position of wanting to approve of 60 per cent of them and condemn 40 per cent. But a social revolution is no problem in arithmetic; it is a question of whether

one accepts of the revolution (and then also the unbeautiful things) or one does not accept of it at all.

But for our purpose it is not at all necessary to undertake such an impossible analysis of social events by which we would ascertain the percentage of every component part. It is not here, in the first place, a question of criticizing bolshevism, but the question is of getting a clear understanding of the revolution in Russia and what it has given to us. The main purpose is that the revolutionary workers, for whom this book is written, may learn a lesson from it, and that they, at the outbreak of a revolution in their own country, may have the experiences of the Russian revolution at their disposition. *The purpose of this book is, consequently, not counter-revolutionary but revolutionary. If the workers after a true and exact description of the conditions in Russia should come to a partial or entire rejection of such conditions for their own country, it should not be allowed to mean a rejection of the social revolution, but only a lesson, how not to do it when revolution breaks out in their own country.* This is the main purpose of this book, and the descriptions from Russia which I give, true to facts and without coloring or concealing, should be subordinated to this purpose.

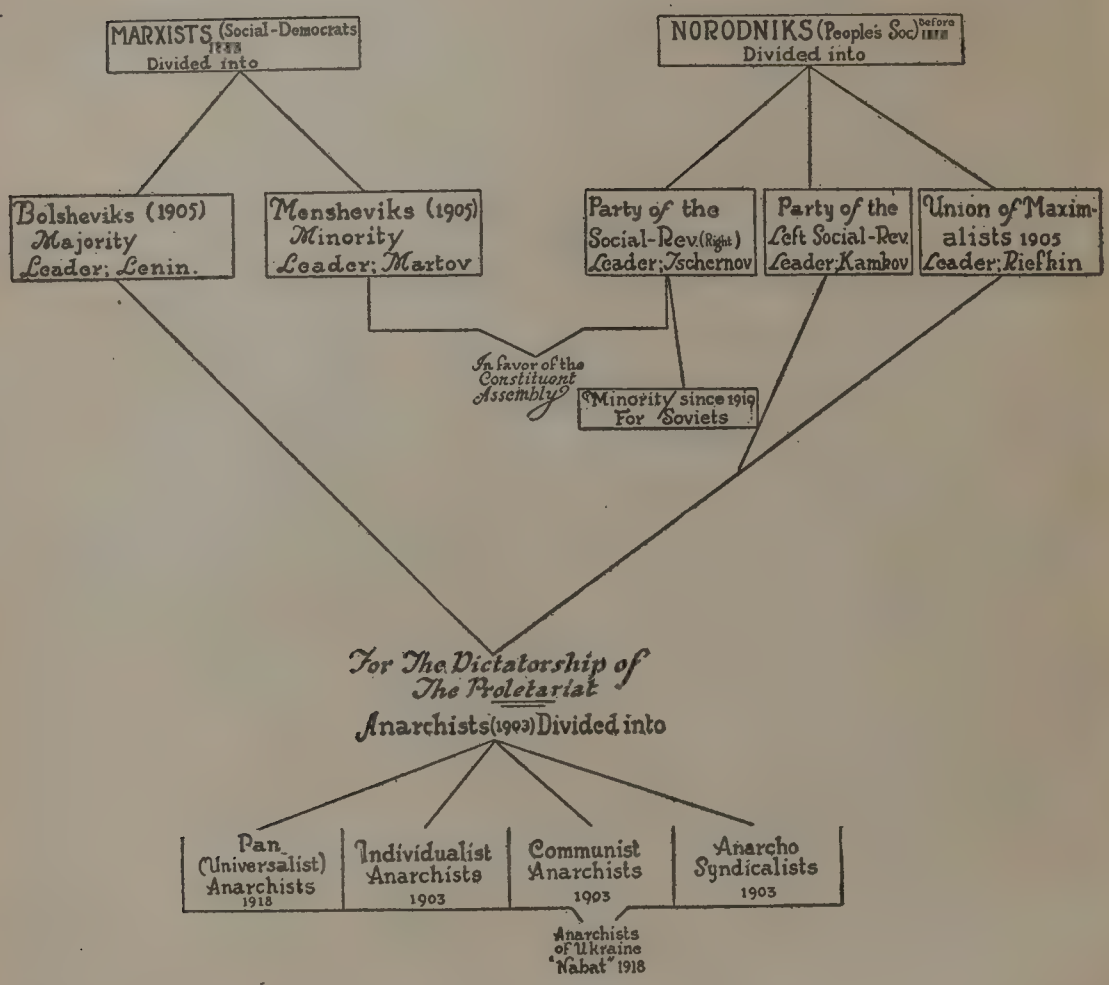
If conditions in Russia are not such as many a man has hoped, or as he had pictured to himself the advent of the social revolution, he should consider that the Russian revolution did not come at a time when the Russian workers and peasants in their great masses were prepared to organize their economic and political life according to the principles of liberty, but that *the revolution found the workers entirely unprepared.* Adding thereto the comparatively low technical development of the Russian worker, one might thereupon ask oneself whether one had imagined that the revolution would come in the forms it took in the brain of a few theorists or far-advanced revolutionaries.

Let us put this question to ourselves: Being that the Russian revolution did not bring what we had hoped for, would we rather wish that it had not come? Only an anti-revolutionist could have such a negative wish. But every revolutionary must stand by the revolution like a soldier with rifle at his side, with his heart, with his whole feeling and sympathy. And how could we otherwise? We, who have always striven for, hoped for, and worked for the revolution, should we now, when she has come, whom we have sung about in our songs, draw back from her, like a loveless mother from a misshapen child? No, the revolution is here. It is not what we had hoped. It is a deformed, perhaps partly substituted child. But it is our child. We are the parents. It is up to us to recognize the child, to take care of it, to bring it up, to change its form and to make it into as strong and free and proud a child as possible.

AUGUSTINE SOUCHY.

Berlin in December, 1920.

Diagram of the Socialist and Anarchist Movements of Russia and Ukraine



See chapter, "The Socialist Movement in Russia", pages 17 to 31
also chapter "The Socialist Movement in Ukraine", pages 129 to 133

If a book is worth reading it is worth studying.

Workers and Peasants in Russia and Ukraine

The Socialist Movement in Russia

AS the main purpose of this book is to give a presentation of the Russian revolution and the conditions it has created, the socialist parties or movements which exist in Russia will be described only to the extent that it is necessary for an understanding of Russian conditions and the revolution.

The Marxists (Social-Democrats)

The Russian socialist movement was in the beginning not social-democratic. Even the kind of socialism that Bakunin represented had not arisen on the ground of social-democratic theories. It was a kind af socialism that grew out of the particular agricultural character of the country. This socialism called itself *the movement of the Narodniks.* This movement was a special *Russian school* of socialism. Later there also arose in Russia, under West-European influence, a special *social-democratic school* of socialism. Principal founder of this school was *Plechanov,* who formed his views under the influence of Marx and Engels. Thus there were formed in the year 1883 the beginnings of the social-democratic-marxist party. As this school did not fetch the corner stones of its theories from the tendencies of the Russian labor and peasant movement but from other countries and developed particularly by leaning on the German labor movement, its principles and theories will be familiar to the West-European workers and to the German workers in particular. *It is Marxism.* Under the rule of the Russian knout a revolutionary fighting spirit has, naturally, flourished among them, like among all Russian revolutionaries, as they were compelled to be radical against czarism.

The social-democratic party of Russia became, however, very early divided in a right and a left wing. In the year of 1905 it came to an open break and a split between the two wings. The radicals were in the majority and called themselves "The Majority" or *Bolsheviki.* The moderates were in the minority, in Russian *Mensheviki.* With the minority, the mensheviks, remained Plechanov, and to them belonged also Martov and Abramo-

vitch. *The leader of the bolsheviks was Lenin.* Plechanov died soon after the outbreak of the Russian revolution. He was considered the father of Russian social-democracy.

The program of the mensheviks is similar to that of the left wing of German social-democracy or the right wing of the independents. They consider themselves of the same standpoint as the right of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany. (U. S. P. D.)

We are here more interested in *the program of the bolsheviks,* because that party is in power and has become the ruling party of Russia. It is, consequently, their program which is more or less realized. And even if we cannot trace the Russian conditions completely to their program, as life always turns out different from the wording of the program, still, the program of this party has, without doubt, had influence on the development since the bolsheviks took the power, as well as on the present situation, if we admit at all that man can exert influence on social events. If we now pick out the most important points in the bolshevik program, we have in a sense a criterion on, to what extent the conditions in Russia are traceable to the politics and the theory of the bolsheviks and to what extent they are traceable to the revolution itself.

To the fundamental principles of the Russian bolsheviks belongs the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the conquest of political power through the social-democratic party, which is falsely said to mean through the proletariat; the *confiscation* of the factories, mines, shops, furnaces, in short, of the whole industry as well as the land, and *transforming it into state property*; *the organizing of economic life through the state.* It says word for word in their program: "The state power ceases to be a parasitical apparatus which stands above the process of production; it begins to change into an organization which easily fills the function of managing the economic life of the country." The suspension of the political rights of the exploiting class, as well as all other curtailments of freedom which proved to be necessary for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the organizing of consumption through the obligatory membership of all citizens of the state in the Consumers' Unions, are necessary consequences. These are then state organs.

We have now briefly sketched the principles and the program of *the bolshevik party, which later, after it had conquered the power, took the name of the Communist Party. According to Lenin's explanations it took the name of "The Communist Party" because it wished to differentiate itself from the social-democrats and at the same time wanted to draw over the workers which before were in the anarchist and revolutionary-syndicalist movement.* We shall later have the opportunity to see to what extent the party has been able to impress its program upon the social life of Russia.

The Narodniks (National or People's Socialist)

The Social-Revolutionaries of the Right

While the Marxists, the bolsheviks as well as the mensheviks, are a foreign growth on Russian soil, *the socialism of the narodniks is of a purely Russian origin.* Narod means "people." The socialism of the narodniks was the socialism of the people, a special *national* product. One of the first and most prominent men in this movement was *Lavrov. Tschernitschevsky* also belonged to them. This movement is older than the Marxian movement. Later they called themselves also the Social-Revolutionary Party. *While the Marxians, in accordance with their theory, ascribe a greater importance to the city proletariat, the Social-Revolutionary Party was mainly a peasant party.* It was more a peasant socialism than a socialism of the city proletariat. As Russia is an agrarian country it was natural that the Social-Revolutionary Party was the most popular among the population, which to more than 80 per cent consists of peasants. To this party belonged the Grandmother of the Revolution, Breschkovskaja, "Babuschka"—as she was called, who after she was freed from Siberian imprisonment through the revolution, went abroad, after the fall of the Kerensky government, and made common cause with the American capitalists.

As was the case with the Marxians, this party also developed a left and a right wing.

The right wing was in favor of the constituent assembly, i. e., it was parliamentarian, like the mensheviks. Its intellectual leader was *Tschernov.* They also had other things in common with the mensheviks, although they were not Marxians, nor are so yet. They were for a coalition government with the Constitutional Democrats (Cadets), and they formed, together with the cadets Gutschkov and Miljukov and the mensheviks, the coalition government under Kerensky. Kerensky himself belonged to the right wing of the Social-Revolutionary Party. According to the program of the social-revolutionaries of the right the National (Constituent) Assembly should have the power to decide over the constitution of the country as well as over socialization and all important questions. It was and is the program of a bourgeois democracy.

The Social-Revolutionaries of the Left

Different was *the Left Wing of the social-revolutionaries.* These revolutionaries were *the old Terrorists* against the czarist system. They are still terrorists to-day but differ from the bolsheviks in this that they *recognize only the personal terror but reject the systematic, organized terror.* They are in favor of murdering a despot (the czar) but against the use of deterrent measures through a special institution formed for that purpose, as the Ochrana was during the czar and The Extra-ordinary Commission (Tscheka) during bolshevik rule.

The revolutionary process accelerated *the split in the large Social-Revolutionary Party.* Even after the revolution, up to November, 1917, the left wing, the party opposition, took a stand against the coalition government; it represented, principally, the international standpoint, and, finally, in November, 1917, it constituted itself *The Social Revolutionary Party of the Left.*

This new party was formed mainly by the active peasantry, and their intellectual leaders strove to pull the masses of the peasantry away from the influence of the Social-Revolutionary Party of the Right. Besides, it wished to pull those elements into the revolutionary process who were strange to Marxism and which had mainly developed in the Russian school of the "Narodnitschestvo": federalism, the ethical viewpoint and activism. Up to the peace of Brest-Litovsk the party of the left social-revolutionaries worked in solidarity with the bolsheviks in all soviets and in the government. Of the seven People's Commissariats it took over Agriculture, which is of such great importance in Russia, in order to carry into effect the law of socialization of the land.

As the party, in connection with the peace of Brest-Litovsk, could not agree with German Imperialism, it stepped out of the government. From the time the party ceased to be a government party, the politics of the Soviet Government were dictated solely by the bolsheviks. Now began the system of terror, the system of forcible requisition of bread from the peasants, the supremacy of the police organs and the re-introduction of capital punishment. All these measures the Social-Revolutionary Party of the Left disapproved of, the same as other socialist parties. In July, 1918, at the time of the V. Soviet Congress, the party already had 40 per cent of the mandates. At that time, however, the party wished to turn with all their might against bolshevik co-operation with German imperialism. This took expression in the act of murdering Count Mirbach, the German ambassador in Moscow.

This act gave the bolsheviks cause and pretense for a settlement with the competing party, and they started a system of persecution, which extends to the present, that is, over two years. All party papers were suppressed, many members were shot and hundreds and thousands of soviet delegates who belonged to that party were excluded from the soviets. The result of this was that the party became illegal, and their most active members came in prison, whereby the party lost the possibility of influencing the masses, especially the work-village. The active peasantry, which in the soviet representatives no longer saw representatives of their class, was driven to a course of desperate insurrections. But the peasant rebellions were suppressed with force and led still closer to the abyss which separates the bolshevik power from the village.

I have given this description of the development of this party after the account of one of its leaders, who in the first period after the overthrow of the Kerensky government was a member of the Council of People's Commissars, *Isaak Steinberg,* who had

the People's Commissariat of Agriculture in charge. Also in the presentation of their program I shall follow his account.

The so-called period of transition does not appear to this party as an epoch which in principle differs from the socialist epoch. The period of transition ought not, in its initial forms, to realize any other principles than those which are intended for socialist society. If one speaks of "the dying out of the state," one must not allow state ideology and state compulsion to be realized in the highest degree. One must not depend on the provisional character of these periods of transition, for world history has already often enough proven that *the provisional has perpetuated itself.*

The Social-Revolutionary Party of the Left does not believe in accomplishing the social revolution by means of a daring minority, perchance a communist party. It takes the standpoint that, insofar as the social revolution means not only the transfer of the means of production from the hands of one owner into the hands of another owner, but also a radical overturning of all social and intellectual habits of men, as well as the remodeling of the process of production and distribution, the result of the revolution can be made safe only by means of the free and active participation of the masses themselves. But this does not mean that the party is parliamentarian. It is, on the contrary, anti-parliamentarian and also opposed to the Constituent Assembly.

Nor is this party for the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," but *for the Dictatorship of the active majority.* But in agrarian countries, such as Russia, the foundation of the social revolution must be a union of the active peasantry and the city proletariat, not necessarily in an arithmetic equality on the part of the peasant majority, but in the form of participation with equal rights of these two main classes.

In contradistinction to the bolshevik party the social-revolutionaries of the left *stand on a federalist basis.* The whole social structure of the transition period must be built on the principles of federalism, political as well as economic. The party is a soviet party and demands that the elections to the soviets, which constitute the political axis of the period of transition, only take place on the condition of free elections for the working masses, and that in the activities of the councils the most far-reaching principles of democracy be preserved; otherwise, the whole council or soviet system is, in their opinion, turned into a mockery of the will of the workers, as at present, and forces the working masses, in a sense of disillusionment, to again long for the universal and free franchise and all the other formal principles of bourgeois democracy. The function of the councils or soviets shall only be to serve as an extension structure of socialist society, politically and in a general cultural aspect, and for that reason all branches of labor and all groups of workers must be represented in them. The economic function, the production and distribution of goods, should rest exclusively in the hands of producers and consumers,

which implies labor unions and consumers' unions. The party, consequently, does not demand a nationalization of production, and this on the ground that it means only the turning over of all the economic processes to the state and the worst kind of state capitalism. *The socialization of the means of production and distribution should not mean the transfer of the same into the "ownership" of the state, but their transformation into the common wealth of all the workers,* as the party had outlined it in the land socialization law, which has been almost repealed by the present government. The party advocates the creating of productive societies by the active peasantry. But the distribution of goods shall be in the hands of the workers' and peasants' consumers' societies. The federative co-ordination of these two kinds of economic organs creates the social pyramid which connects the economic activity of the village and the city, through which arrangement the role of the state—including the soviet state—is replaced with the active participation of all the organized citizens.

The party of the social-revolutionaries of the left has from the beginning recognized *individual terror* as one of the fighting methods, with the precaution that it be used with the greatest care. But it rejects completely terrorism as a system of government and as a system for the realization of socialism. For that reason it also rejects capital punishment, which was again introduced by the bolsheviks.

On the *international field* the party wants to enter into connection with all organizations and social-revolutionary movements, which defend other than purely Marxian methods for the building of a socialist society.

I have treated the program of this party a little more at length than that of the bolsheviks, because bolshevik literature has inundated all Europe, and hence it may be assumed that most of the politically interested hand and brain workers know this program. On the other hand, hardly anything is known about this party outside the boundaries of Russia, and it is therefore an act of equalizing justice.

The Maximalists

Out of the great movement of the narodniki or social-revolutionaries there grew, during the pangs of the revolution of 1905, *the Maximalist movement.* At the congress of the social-revolutionaries of 1904, a wing, under *Riefkin,* placed itself to the extreme left. It put up *a maximum program* and rejected not only the minimum program of the Social-Revolutionary Party, but also the program of all other parties, such as the then still united Marxist parties. All other parties, the present bolsheviks included, were then minimalists.

Already at the congress of 1904 they wished to have nothing to do with the reform program of the other parties. They did

not want to be reformists, but revolutionaries, and *demanded of a revolution the realization of the maximum that a revolution can bring.* Already then, one of their theoreticians represented the idea of the soviets. *The maximalist Tagin was the man who put forward the idea of soviets,* and together with the anarchists he represented the most pronounced maximalism.

When the maximalists could not come to any unity with the minimalists, they cut loose from the other parties and founded an independent organization. But they *did not call themselves a party, but a union,* being that they did not believe in the revolutionary qualities of a party. In a party, tendencies towards power are always noticeable, which never allow the revolutionary principle of freedom to come to full development. For that reason they rejected the centralist party and formed a federalist union.

Already from the start the maximalists took an anti-parliamentarian standpoint. They never took part in the elections to the Duma and were, together with the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists, the first and most passionate adversaries of the Constitutent Assembly. The Maximalist Union was recruited from the ranks of the poorer peasants and the city proletariat. They have the qualities of a fighting class organization and are in the highest degree active class militants. They always emphasize with the greatest force the staking of the personality and differ on this point from the Marxists. They were also terrorists; they are still adherents of the personal terror, but like the left social-revolutionaries, they reject governmental terror and the system of terror.

As already indicated, they are a soviet movement, yes, in fact, they belonged to those who first came forward with the soviet idea. They differ, though, from other soviet parties, for instance, from the ruling Bolshevik Party, in that they *take exception to party soviets.* One of their mottoes is: *All power to the soviets—not to the party soviets but to the class soviets.* They demand class power but not party power, while the bolsheviks, in their opinion, demanded only power for the party. Principally from these reasons they are also opponents of the Bolshevik Party.

In the beginning of the revolution, after the overthrow of Kerensky, they had, in common with the anarchists, their greatest influence in such places as Kronstadt, Samara and Kursk. They were not organized according to centralist, but decentralist principles. In many places their faction was the strongest one in the soviet. But the faction was not tied down by party discipline in the voting. Everybody could vote as he desired. This connects with the fact that they did not want to acquire the power. The bolsheviks, on the other hand, who for fifteen years had prepared themselves for the power, were naturally compelled to resort to a different, much more rigid principle of organization. The iron party discipline of the bolsheviks required absolute obedience to the party orders issued. This centralism and this discipline helped

the Bolshevik Party to power, although it was by far not the strongest party in every place.

As the program of the maximalists in many respects coincides with the program of the social-revolutionaries of the left, a separate presentation is unnecessary. *Since* 1905 *the motto of the maximalists was: In unity of hammer, plow and thought lies power and right, and since* 1919: *All power to the soviets; no power to the party.*

As, at present, during the rule of the Bolshevik Party, all parties have become illegal, they have retired to the place where it still is most possible to bring their ideas before the people, namely to Ukraine. Thus the maximalists and the anarchists, etc., especially under Machno, had the best possibility in Ukraine to propagate their ideas. Besides the maximalists, there is still another union of left social-revolutionaries, who have also developed out of the narodniki and now call themselves *Barbists.* The name Barbists comes from the name "barba," struggle. They are fighters. In principle they do not differ from the maximalists.

The agrarian program of the maximalists and the barbists rests on the mir-organization. As far as possible the peasants shall cultivate the land on communist lines. The land of the large land owners and the kulaks (rich peasants) shall be delivered into the possession of the commune. The peasants shall thereafter cultivate it in common. Where the peasants divide up the land between themselves they shall not be stopped with force, but care should be taken that nobody receives more than he himself can cultivate. The peasants of a village, both those who cultivate their own land and those who cultivate the land in common, form a commune. They enter into exchange relations with other communes and the cities. In so far as the exchanged objects consist of larger agricultural implements, agricultural machinery and so on, they go into the possession of the commune. The peasants shall be guaranteed the greatest independence, politically and economically.

These currents have developed principally in Ukraine, and even the anarchists of Ukraine accept this or a very similar program, so that all these movements differ only in their shadings, but not in principle. They are all decentralist, anti-parliamentarian, anti-state and federalist.

The Anarchists

Besides the above mentioned movements there is still another group which belongs to the socialist world in Russia, namely *the anarchists.* If we disregard single personalities, such as Bakunin and Kropotkin and the Russian anarchists in foreign countries, we can trace the definite establishment of the anarchist movement in Russia to the year of 1903.

As among the social-democrats and the narodniks, there are also many currents among the anarchists. The *Individualist*

Anarchists have no movement worth mentioning. *The Communist Anarchists* and *the Anarcho-Syndicalists,* on the contrary, had at the outbreak of the revolution in 1917, and later, a mass movement. But as they did not want to conquer power but only destroy it, in accordance with their principles, they have to-day again lost their importance. *The anarcho-syndicalist tendencies are stronger among the working people, and the anarchist ideas gain a footing among the peasantry of Ukraine.*

There was. and is now, in Russia, *anarchist-narodniks,* that is, the native movement of the people, and the *anarchist-emigrants.* The ideas of the anarchists are the same as in other countries. Of importance here is only the position taken by the anarchists to the revolution. .*The Tolstoyan Anarchists* were in the minority. The revolutionary anarchists have taken a very active part in the revolution and played a prominent role, particularly in the beginning of the revolution, in its destructive period against czarism and Kerensky. They were, self-evidently, against the Constituent Assembly, according to the formula: All power to the soviets; and all this before the bolsheviks adopted these mottoes. *In many places the anarchists began the revolution.* For instance, in Jekaterinburg in the Ural the anarchists had carried out the revolution earlier than the workers of Petrograd. Already on June 5, 1917, the workers demonstrated under the leadership of anarchists in Moscow and Petrograd against the Kerensky government with the motto: *All power to the soviets.*

The credit for dissolving the constituent assembly does not belong to the bolsheviks, but to the anarchists. It was the anarchist Anatol Gregorevitch Zelesniakoff who, in January, 1918, at the head of the Kronstadt sailors, broke into the session of the Constituent Assembly and told the gentlemen representatives that they had now talked enough and that they could now go home, or the sailors would help to get them started on the road. First after they, through the direct action of the workers and soldiers with anarchist leanings, were faced with a fait accompli (an accomplished fact), the parties accepted the situation, and subsequently Lenin also gave this fact his approval. Zelesniakoff fell in the fight against Denekin's white guardists at Jekaterinoslav on July 26, 1919, after Denekin had put a price on his head of 400,000 rubles.

The Syndicalists

The position of the *Anarcho-Syndicalists* is best explained by their resolutions. In their first congress after the revolution, on August 25, 1918, the following decisions were adopted by the Congress of the Confederation of the All-Russian Anarcho-Syndicalists:

1. To battle against the power of state and capitalism.
2. To co-ordinate according to federalist principles the in-

dependent soviets and to break way for uniting the independent productive organizations of workers and peasants.

3. To recommend to the workers the forming of free soviets and to combat the institutions of the Councils of Commissars of the People, as this is an organization that is injurious to the workers.
4. To dissolve the military armies and arm the workers and the peasants; at the same time making clear to them the absurdity of the idea of a "socialist vaterland"; for the workers and the peasants can only have the world for their country.
5. To battle against the counter-revolutionary Czecko-Slovaks and all other attempts of the imperialists in the most forcible way, not forgetting, however, that the extremely revolutionary bolshevik party has become stationary and reactionary.
6. To transfer the distribution of the food stuffs and other necessities into the hands of the organizations of the workers and peasants directly and to discontinue the armed excursions into the country, for through these measures the farmers become the enemies of the workers, the solidarity between workers and peasants weakens, and the revolutionary front is played into the hands of the counter-revolutionists.

But no hard and fast program has been put up by the anarcho-syndicalists. In order to get a clear understanding of their standpoint one must turn to the resolutions in their congresses and their publications. For this reason I have asked one of the most notable anarcho-syndicalists of Moscow, *A. Shapiro*, for an explanation of his standpoint and here I will give the most important points:

1. Fundamental rule: Outside the proletariat, the policy of the present state of society is anti-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary. Parliamentarism, consequently, is counter-revolutionary. while it lies outside the proletariat. The policy inside the ranks of the proletariat is in the most intimate manner connected with the economic life. Revolutionary economic policy and revolutionary proletarian policy are the driving forces of the social revolution.
2. If a revolution is to assume a social character it must be laid out on the broadest foundation, that is, the annihilation of the existing state machinery, the overthrow of capitalism and all its resources; bourgeoisie, liberalism, phrase socialism, middle class; the organization of a new society must be worked out on the basis of economic independence under negation and abolition of the wage system.

3. The dictatorship of the proletariat, so-called, must not be anything but a tool in the hand of the revolutionary people. Characteristic of every dictatorship is that it hides within itself the tendency to autocracy, in so far as it is a true dictatorship. A dictatorship of the proletariat can, consequently, never exist. When the class struggle comes to such a stage that the working class is on top and the other classes underneath, the other classes will always try to get their property back. It will, therefore, be a small part of the proletariat that carries the responsibility. But no party can do this, neither a communist, nor an anarchist. The parties have the knowledge, the theoretical basis, and also the great ideals, but they have not the spirit of the transition. A party must with necessity always be dogmatic.

4. A social revolution is an economic revolution. The annihilation of capitalism, the control of all the industries and of the economic life through the workers. The enemy class cares little about the form of the state, it cares for capitalism, the economic system, the factories, etc. On this ground *the most natural and best qualified carrier of the social revolution is the revolutionary labor organizations, the unions. Without the participation of these no social revolution can be successful.*

5. On this ground one could, at most, speak of the dictatorship of the revolutionary labor organizations inside the proletariat. The deeper the revolutionary political parties dive down into the revolutionary proletarian mass, the shorter will be the period of transition.

6. It is not in the first place a question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but of the building of a body which is created by the proletariat for the maintenance of the social gains of the revolution. The dictatorship of one party over the proletariat leads to a soul-less mechanism, being that the party recognizes the principles of discipline and not the tactics of true life.

7. Dogmatic, mechanical party dictatorship leads to dogmatic, mechanical centralization, as a party is not able to control the economic life of a country in any other manner. Dogmatic and mechanical centralism kills every initiative and destroys more than it builds up. It is characterized by destruction and not by construction.

8. Axiom: In building a house one first lays the foundation and the roof comes last! In Russia it was the opposite way. The central decides what there is to do. The structure falls to pieces halfway up because there is no responsive action from below. The Industrial Councils must not be tools in the hands of a central body, they

must be the initiators, and their activity should only be regulated by the central body.

9. The soviets must not be tools in the hands of a centralist body but the real source of life in their field of activity. Russia teaches us through dearly bought experience that our motto must be "from the bottom to the top". Centralist dictatorship is not necessary, and least of all for all branches of life. Every branch should itself decide what is to be centralized.

10. Political and economic activity must be melted together into one. When political and economic problems go hand in hand, they become social problems. Economics is the organization of the conditions of life. Social politics is the relations between man and man in all the conditions of life.

The anarcho-syndicalists are also for the soviets but against the soviets of political parties. From their resolutions on soviets one can learn the difference between them and the bolsheviks in this respect. Among other things they contain:

"In consideration of the role which the soviets play in the struggle against counter-revolution, we have to note the following:

1. That the dissatisfaction of the workers with the bolshevik tactics in regard to soviets and other organizations is on the increase.

2. That the dictatorship of the bolsheviks over the soviets and other organizations of labor is pulling the workers over on the side of the Constituent Assembly.

3. That it is necessary for the working masses to have a clear understanding of the soviets to carry on a successful revolutionary struggle.

"The anarcho-syndicalists declare themselves for the soviets, the purpose of which is to destroy the present centralist form of the state. We reject, on the contrary, the soviets of the people's commissars, as these are in contradiction of the essence of the soviets and paralyze the workers in the true soviets of the workers and peasants.

"We are for the soviets of the active population who are elected under such conditions that the workers from the factories and the peasants from the village are directly represented and that the delegates are no party politicians, who cause the soviet meetings to be degraded into talking orgies.

"We are for free soviets, who make their decisions only in accordance with the wishes of the electorate. Hence, the congress decides that all anarcho-syndicalist fellow workers

have to take part in the provincial soviets in which the bolshevik party is not yet the ruling power, and where it is still possible to act in freedom."

Besides these anarcho-syndicalists there are also the *Anarchist-Universalists* and the *Pan-Anarchists,* who have come into development first after the revolution. These two tendencies are represented by the brothers *Gordin.* These tendencies are still new and unripe, and it would be too early to describe these ideas in this connection.

The "Nabat" Anarchists

Besides those already mentioned there is *in Ukraine a special anarchist movement,* which has come into existence since the revolution: *The Nabat Federation.* "Nabat" means alarm or trumpet blast. In their last conference, which took place in Charkov in the beginning of September, 1920, they formulated their standpoint as follows:

1. The statement of anarchist deserters that the Russian revolution has corroborated the weakness of anarchist theories, is completely without foundation. On the contrary, the fundamental principles of anarchist doctrine remain unshaken and are being confirmed through the test they have gone through in the Russian revolution. The experiences confirm us in this that we remain strongly opposed to any form of power and to capitalism.
2. The anarchists have never denied that between the first days of the revolution in the anarchist sense and the final purpose of anarchism, or the anarchist commune, is a period of time during which the rest of the old servitude slowly disappears and the new forms of a new society gropingly struggle into life. These periods, full of faults and errors and uninterrupted efforts towards perfection, can be given different names: the period of gathering experiences in living without masters, the period of deepening the social revolution, or the first step to the anarchist commune. One may also call it the period of transition, in order to denote the characteristic features which lead from the imperfect to the perfect form of social life. We prefer, though, not to use this demarcation, because it has already acquired a distinct meaning in the socialist movement of the last 50 years. With the term "period of transition" is connected something statistical and stiff. The expression "period of transition" in the program of international social-democracy is so penetrated by the historic-marxian spirit of slowness and historically conditioned predestination that it is unacceptable to us anarchists.

3. We are not of the opinion that the anarchist-communist system must be preceded by a syndicalist step, as a period of transition from state to anti-state anarchist-communism. In the theory of the syndicalist order, which shall come in the place of the soviets, is plainly discernible the influence of the orthodox, Marxist theory of the stepping stones which according to the relentless iron laws of social development must follow upon one another.

4. We also reject the use of the expression "dictatorship of labor," in spite of the efforts of some comrades who advise us to accept it. This "dictatorship of labor" means nothing else than the widening of the formula "dictatorship of the proletariat", which is now so conspicuously gone into bankruptcy. It must, finally, unavoidably lead to the dictatorship over the masses of a part of the proletariat, the party, the officials and some leaders. It is impossible to co-ordinate anarchy with any kind of dictatorship, even with a dictatorship of the class-conscious workers over the others, even if it were in the interest of the others! We are agreed that the period of deepening of the social revolution may be designated as the gathering of anarchist experiences or, if one so desires even the dictatorship of labor, on the ground that in this period the interests of the workers will stand higher than the interests of the parasites. One could just as well call these periods "the period of the dictatorship of consumption", "dictatorship of justice", "dictatorship of agreement" or by some other equally foolish name. We are compelled to exclude the contents of the word "dictatorship". With the idea of dictatorship is connected the idea of Ludendorff and Rennenkampf, the idea of unbridled brutal force and government power. The introduction of the idea of the dictatorship into the anarchist program would cause an unpardonable confusion in the minds.

5. The revolution that anarchism strives for, the revolution in which the parole of no rulership and of communism determines the course of events, finds many obstacles to its development. The strength of the active resistance on the part of those who are interested in the maintenance of capitalism and power, the inertia and the ignorance of the broad masses of the workers, can create conditions under which the rising anarchist commune will be driven far from their ideal. To concretely fix the eventual social forms of the future is impossible for the moment, because we cannot foresee the quantitative and qualitative contents of the forces which determine the reality of the future. For this reason we consider it useless to elaborate a program which should be applied to something that we do not know. We do not come forward with any minimum

program but step upon the ground of present events with full rights and full conviction before the working masses, in order to show them the ideals of anarchism and communism in their purity".

These anarchists are also strong opponents of the bolsheviks and the present soviet government and not only declare that the bolsheviks have ceased to be revolutionary but stamp them openly as counter-revolutionary and reactionary. The "Nabats" are not identical with the Machno movement; they have, on the contrary, in another resolution taken quite strong exceptions to Machno and see in him only a revolutionary but not an anarchist. They are also vigorously fought and persecuted by the bolsheviks, recommend illegal work, and many are in prison.

The Land

THE abolition of private property in land is perhaps the deepest change which the Russian revolution has brought into the social life of our private capitalist age. It was this that gave the Russian revolution the character of a social, or an economic, revolution. *The German revolution* has not shaken the foundation of the social order of private capitalism and for that reason *did not go beyond the boundaries of a political revolution.*

Now the Russian revolution has shown us that, on account of the poor knowledge of the Russian workers on the technical field, the expectations of the socialists of all shades that private property could be abolished have not been fulfilled. It has also shown that for economic equality, such as communism presupposes, is further required the elimination of the organized power of the capitalists and the taking over of all these functions through the proletariat itself. This, however, cannot happen in a revolution of one or two years but requires a period of time, the length of which depends upon the development and the ability of the proletariat of the country. But the first and principal step has been taken by the Russian revolution. The land no longer belongs to the large land owners. In an agrarian country like Russia, the land question is the most important one. We will therefore start with this question.

The taking away of the land from the owners of great estates was such an elementary peasant demand, that it did not require any socialist theories to induce them to it. On the contrary, the peasants were glued to the land. Frequently they did not wait for the law, which was to transfer to them the possessions of the large land owners; they confiscated it themselves. Already during the Kerensky regime the peasants started with this confiscation.

In Russia, before the revolution, the land tenure was different from land tenure in Germany. The peasants still had to a great extent *remains of the old Mir organization.* They still had common pastures and similar common economic interests. Part of them also had their own land, but had to pay such great taxes to the Czarist state, as well as rent to the estate owner, that they, in spite of it, lived in very poor circumstances.

Nevertheless, 76.3% of the total arable land belonged to the peasants and 23.7% to the estate owners. In Ukraine only 55.5% of the land belonged to the peasants and 44.5% to the

estate owners. In Ukraine the power of the land owners was still greater than in the rest of Russia.

When the revolution of 1917 broke out, the peasants took the largest part of the land of the estate owners and divided it between themselves. In Russia about 90% of the land fell into the hands of the peasants through the revolution while the state obtained only 10%. *Now* (1920) 96.7% *of the arable land belongs to the peasants and* 3.3% *to the government.* In Ukraine 96.2% of the land belongs to the peasants and 3.8% to the government. The land which the state took over was changed into *government estates.* Where formerly the owners of an estate ruled, there rules now the state. In many cases the present form is more agreeable to the peasants. Frequently the fine mansions of the former estate owner are in the possession of the peasants, who have fitted them up into meeting and amusement halls as well as schools. But quite often these gentry mansions are now put at the disposition of soviet employees who spend their summer vacations there or send their children there. Others have been changed into homes for children, and according to the nature of the new arrangement the peasants are satisfied or dissatisfied. If it is at their own or their children's disposition, then they feel satisfied. But if the "Sowbur", as the peasants call the soviet employees, have taken possession, then the peasants are dissatisfied.

In some of these mansions *children's colonies* have been established, as already stated. In the gouvernement of Saratoff a large estate was nationalized. In the large buildings and gardens 120 children have been accommodated. Nearly all are war orphans or children of red soldiers. The children are well taken care of and are given schooling which according to Russian standards is good but, compared to German standards, deficient.

The form of nationalizing the estates is, to be sure, no ideal of socialism or communism. Under the circumstances (war, the peasants' faith in authority, demoralization, etc.), however, it would have been more difficult to drive through a different form. According to the account of an Armenian secretary of the organization of agricultural workers in Saratoff the fact of the matter, in that gouvernement, was that *the agricultural workers, after driving away the owners of the estates, took no pains to maintain agricultural production.* They sold part of the implements or took them along for their own personal needs; furthermore, they did only as much work as was necessary for their own maintenance, so that the state saw itself compelled to take the estate under its centralistic management, as it desired to obtain from this gouvernement, which belongs to the most fertile in Russia, the grain which it required for its army and for the cities. Through this arrangement the agricultural workers are certainly no better off than they were before. The only difference is that formerly they were exploited by the estate owner and now by the state. Thus the Armenian in question ended his story. I may remark in this connection that

this man belonged to no party and, consequently, did not look at things through any party glasses.

All agricultural workers who labor on these soviet estates are organized in the union of agricultural workers. In the gouvernement Saratoff this union has 7000 members, among them 70 communists, of whom 50 are state employees, leaving 20 communists among the real agricultural workers.

Through their union the agricultural workers receive their implements and other use-objects furnished by the state, when there is anything to be had. *The workers on the soviet estates are the only country laborers or peasants who are industrially organized. All other peasants are unorganized.*

In the whole gouvernement of Samara there are 120 soviet estates. On an average there are 100-300 workers on each estate. I visited estate No. 6. There, 100 workers are employed. Of these 7 are office people. The estate is 500 dessiatins in area, but only 200 dessiatins are cultivated (1 dessiatin - 2.7 acres). The permanent workers are paid 2000 rubles per month. With "bonus" they may come to 4000 rubles. Day laborers receive 100 rubles per day. The working day is 8 hours. In the summer, however, they worked 2 hours overtime, for which they were paid 3 hours wages. The buying power of money in this neighborhood is: a pair of new shoes 16,000 rubles; a pair of old shoes 8,000 rubles; an earthenware teacup with saucer 750 rubles.

The Economic Position of the Peasants

The land is not to be sold, but under the formula: each one receives only as much land as he can cultivate, shuffling can take place. Thus: in the district of Seelman in the German Volga colony, the poor peasants give one dessiatin of land for 6 lbs. of butter and 10 eggs. They need food stuffs. Land they can always get again, if they only want to cultivate it.

The German colonies on the Volga have existed for 163 years. The capital is Katrinenstadt, but is now re-baptized to Marxstadt. The second, i. e., the soviet revolution broke out there 3½ months later, in February 1918. There also the peasants of the whole colony *took the land from the large land owners before the decree was issued which adjudged them the land.* Already under Kerensky they took the land unto themselves.

Besides the government estates there are two other forms of possessing and working the land. First, there is the *personal ownership.* There are richer peasants and there are poorer peasants, exactly as in Germany there are smaller and bigger peasants and cottagers. Second, we have the so-called *artels.* An artel is a Russian workers' partnership. In this case it means a peasant partnership, mostly inside a commune or a village. There is still a *third collective form* of working the land. In the spring and the fall the peasants work the land by *mutually assisting one another* with plowing, sowing and reaping.

The *bolshevik-communists oppose this form of possessing and working the soil.* In their VIII. party convention during the past year they have *adopted a program in which they specify their position on the peasant question, as follows*:

"Considering that small peasant husbandry will continue to exist for a long time, the Communist Party of Russia is trying out a series of endeavors which have for their purpose to increase the productivity of peasant labor. To such measures belong the regulation of the cultivation of the peasant's soil (discontinuance of the three-fallow system, the narrow strip field, etc.)."

Inequality of wealth and the difference in the standard of living is still by no means evened out among the peasants. They did divide the land between themselves, but, according to my observations, the individualist tendencies of the peasants were more conspicuous in this partitioning of the land than the communist tendencies. In the village of Riliensko, in the gouvernement of Nischni-Novgorod, there was government land when the revolution broke out. The peasants divided this land so that each peasant received one dessiatin. This proves that they preferred personal possession to communal possession. In the village of Wuskristiansk in the gouvernement of Samara each peasant has now more land than before. A family of five persons receives 4 dessiatins of land. This village has 10,000 inhabitants. Among these are 250 communists, while the social-revolutionaries are a little more numerous.

That there are still rich and poor peasants in the country is traceable to the circumstance that the richer ones have rescued a larger stock of cattle and agricultural implements for their own part from pre-revolutionary times. The "kulaks" were the rich peasants who generally had a store in the village and became more well-to-do than their neighbors. But the cattle was not confiscated. Although the government fixed certain rules about the permissible maximum and requisitions what was above the maximum, the buying and selling of horses and cattle continues. A peasant, whom I know, bought a horse in the gouvernement of Tambov for 300,000 rubles, while in the gouvernement of Moscow it would have cost him 500,000 rubles. In the above mentioned village of Riliensko the peasants are allowed to keep from 3-5 sheep, 1-2 horses, and several cows, according to the size of the family. In that village there are peasants who still have five cows.

In the village of Novo Djevitsch, in the gouvernement of Samara, with a population of 5,000, there are 7,000 head of cattle and 120 horses. A further reason why some peasants are getting along better than others is, that the formerly well-to-do still have satisfactory agricultural implements. But the poor peasants, who have nothing, and can get nothing from the state, are compelled to lean on the richer peasants. The rich ones lend them their implements, but require, in return, labor from the

poorer ones or compensation in some other manner. In this village there is not a single communist.

The social inequality among the peasants which is created through the difference in wealth is still further accentuated through the lack of all kinds of manufactured articles and industrial products. *The misery of the poor peasants is on the increase.* Plows and harrows, if they happen to get to the village, which is very seldom, are, on account of their scarcity, not distributed to the peasants personally but to the communal management. If it now happens that a rascal hides under the mask of a communist commissar, he keeps, of the two plows consigned to the village, one for himself and the other he gives to the whole village. Hardly any but "communists" were made commissars.

The foregoing is an actual case which I have observed. It took place in the village of Strokino in the gouvernement of Moscow. *The commissar nuisance* causes other similar things to happen. In the Marxstadt district, in the German Volga colony, there are commissars who requisition the cows from the peasants, in order to put them in their own barn. What the government can give the peasant of manufactured articles is so insignificant that it in no manner covers even the most pressing needs. In Novo Djevitsch each peasant obtained, in three months, not more than 1 lb. (400 gram; 0.88 American lb.) of salt. Once they also received 4 archins of cloth (1 archin equal to .71 meter or 2 1-3 ft.).

The Russian peasant's hunger for manufactured articles and industrial products is insatiable. Furthermore, the peasants are *compelled to turn over their grain to the state.* In the village of Novo Djevitsch the peasants must every year surrender 32 pud of flour. For their own needs they can keep a minimum of 20 pud (1 pud equals 34 lbs.). Besides, *the peasants must pay taxes.* The taxes are, generally, very low. In the villages the taxes are delivered mostly in natural products. The paper of the communist party among the Volga Germans writes on May 12, 1920, about an *"Order for collection of the natura tax in the Marxstadt district"*: "According to decision of the Marxstadt District Executive Committee the natura tax for the year 1919 shall be collected from the villages of Strassenfeld, Otrogovska, Morgentau-Sujedino (and 19 others)."

Besides these taxes the peasant *must further deliver certain products.* In number 83 of the same paper of May 9 appears a decree, signed by Lenin, as president of the Council of People's Commissars, by manager Bonch-Brujevitch and secretary Fotijeva, concerning the *obligatory delivery of butter and eggs.* Article 3 of this decree reads:

"The butter quantum prescribed by the People's Commissar of the Foodstuffs Commissariat for the year of 1920 for all rayons of European Russia, which have no dairies, amounts on an aver-

age to three lbs. of melting-butter for each cow. The total of butter delivered and placed at the disposition of the public organs shall be paid for at the receiving points at fixed prices.

Article 9 says: "Careless or slow delivery of the prescribed duties will cause the state to take recourse to the strictest measures against persons guilty of such neglect, such as loss of right to their share of goods, exacting of a double quantum of butter, requisition of their cows, in order to turn them over to persons who have punctually complied with their duties, arrest of the guilty and his turning over to the local courts."

A good deal has been said about the bad relationship between the soviet government and the peasants as a result of *the requisition policy of the government.* I have also heard much, very much, of it in Moscow. Not from the counter-revolutionists, but partly from the left social-revolutionaries, maximalists, and anarchists, and partly also from the communists themselves.

But I shall say nothing about it, except what I myself have learnt from direct sources. The other information, perhaps, can be proven by others, but not by myself. For the cases that I state, I have no other proof than that I can refer to the fact that the peasants themselves have told it to me.

For the cities and the armies *the state needs grain more than anything else. The peasants need industrial products,* textile goods, manufactured articles and hardware, etc. But the state cannot supply them with these, because it has nothing or next to nothing for the great needs. But it cannot allow the soldiers to go hungry on that account. Hence it is compelled to demand the grain from the peasants. It pays them a *maximum price* for it. This maximum price of the government is in proportion to the government's maximum price for industrial products. If the peasant could obtain the needed industrial products from the government he would, no doubt, give his grain to the state without delay. But such is not the case. *The peasant must buy the industrial products in open smuggle trade in the open market at usury prices.* From the government he receives 100 rubles for one pud of flour. But for a roll of yarn he has to pay 3,000 to 5,000 rubles and for a pound of soap from 800 to 1,200 rubles. In order to buy what he necessarily must have, he is compelled to also sell his grain or his flour at usury prices in the market. Then he receives 20,000 rubles for a pud of flour. That enables him to cover his most pressing needs.

The peasant is, consequently, not inclined to turn over his grain to the state. The reason for this we have just seen. They are obvious. *But as the state must have the flour for its existence, it sends soldiers into the villages who requisition the grain from the peasants,* waiving the question of right or wrong. The peasants hide their grain. If it is found, then one may often say: "May God have mercy on them." We have previously quoted a decree of Lenin's, which deals with punishment of the peasants. Not infrequently it happens that the requisitioning soldiers take

more rights than the decrees give them. It is also easy to understand that it is not the most honorable proletarians which form the requisition companies, but it is mostly the worst elements, which have been brutalized by the war. Finally, the peasants themselves are no aestheticizing philosophers or pacifists, but naturally coarse, and as a consequence *it frequently comes to a collision,* in which the peasants generally come out second best, as they are either unarmed or poorly armed.

Single instances may be picked out at will. Although these do not give a whole picture, they can serve as illustrations of the events. In the Seelman district of the German Volga colonies, 2,000 soldiers made their entry into the villages about the end of May, in order to take the last grain supplies away before the new harvest. In the village of Novo Djevitch there were peasant riots three times, each time suppressed. I have also heard of similar cases in the Ukraine.

Another cause for peasant rebellions or discontent is *the law about mobilization of labor power.* By means of this law the peasants can be compelled to fell trees. Frequently the peasants do not want to go. They prefer to go after their work in the fields. I came to a village in which a government deputation had just arrived, in order to make the peasants start felling trees. *The women were also required to go along.* They did not want to do it, and they began to cry. But finally they went. The peasants were willing to fell trees at some other time, they said, but not then. But it was easy to understand that they would rather not go at all. And why should they? They reaped no advantage from so doing. The pay which they were to receive for it is so insignificant, that they do not want to work for the state.

On the other hand, the state has succeeded in considerably improving *the fuel situation* through these energetic, frequently quite draconic measures. In the cities of Moscow and Petrograd it has this winter (1920-1921) been a good deal better than it was last year. The city dwellers, including the city proletariat, are the ones who are benefited by this, and not only the bolsheviks but everybody else concedes that the providing of fuel now is somewhat improved. Nevertheless, there are many non-bolsheviks, such as mensheviks, social-revolutionaries and even anarchists who reject the tactics through which the bolsheviks have exacted these performances.

The precarious position of the cities and their dependence upon the country for provisions and, partly, for fuel leads to *opposition between city and country.* The peasants are hostile to the cities. But above everything they hate the requisitioning soldiers, and they are no friends of the state, as they get nothing from the state, or as good as nothing, while the state wants to get a good deal from them. The opposition, and in a certain sense, the hostility between the peasants and the state took expression, from the side of the peasants, in hostility to the city. There is a danger lurking in this fact, which, however, will be

removed as soon as the state (which to the peasants means the city) can again supply them with industrial products.

Through all these circumstances and *through the distress in which the peasant finds himself, he has lost his inclination to cultivate the soil. The peasants no longer cultivate the land as intensively as before. The productivity has diminished.* When in Germany it is said in influential government circles, that only work, only the raising of the intensity of labor can save German economic life, it is very true. The capitalists, of course, mean the labor of wage slaves, while the socialists, who can also accept this formula, mean the work of the whole population, with elimination of the capitalist coupon clipper, snobs and idlers. But this applies in still greater measure to Russia. For, without doubt, Russian economic life is a hundred times more disarranged than German economic life. Just as little as the German proletarians obey their government's call for more intensive labor but, on the contrary, rather decrease the intensity where possible, so the Russian workers also do not think of any increase of production. Like the German proletarians they say to themselves: "For whom? The fruits of this do not go to me."

Thus it may be recorded that *the cultivated area in Russia has considerably decreased.* According to the reports of the soviet government the cultivated area in the gouvernement of Charkov has gone down 65% in the year 1920, in the gouvernement of Jekaterinoslov 40%, in the gouvernements of Cherson, Poltava and Odessa 15%. But it is to be noted that in the gouvernements of Jekaterinoslav and Poltava large parts have been covered by the war operations, and still the cultivated area has not decreased as much as in the Charkov district, which, since Denikin was beaten, has been free from every kind of invasion and from armies. *These figures are of extra-ordinary importance.* Unfortunately, it has not been possible for me to get figures for the other gouvernements, particularly from Central Russia.

The decrease in the cultivated area on the part of the peasants corresponds to the falling off in the productivity of the industrial workers and the city proletarians. But, while in regard to the proletarians we must seek the principal reason in poor nourishment and in the general nervous break-down after years of war-like efforts, that is, in unconscious factors, and only partly in conscious will, springing from revolutionary class consciousness (with the Russian proletarians it is almost exclusively the first named causes), we must seek it elsewhere when it concerns the peasants. Only to a small extent are they affected by break-down and indifference due to many years of war. The principal reason lies in the simple words: *We have nothing to gain by it.*

To all this comes another circumstance: *The shortage of seed grain.* In many villages the peasants use up the seed grain or the seed potatoes for other purposes. Frequently the government was compelled to requisition the seed grain of the peasants for other gouvernements.

But the distribution has been undertaken by means of the worst sample of Russian organization, so bad, that it could not be worse even under czarism. Russian bureaucracy is a chapter of its own, but the distribution of the seeds interests us in this connection. The bolshevik paper "The Ural Worker" gives the following picture of the conditions. In an article of May 19, 1920, number 119, the paper writes, under the heading: "It is impossible to delay any longer":

> "To supply the need of seed grain of the farms there is needed ,according to the reports of the district committees, 2,910,487 pud of grain (1 pud equals 34 lbs.), outside of vegetable seeds and seed potatoes. But the gouvernement committee has delivered only 26.25% of the seeds, that is, little more than one quarter of the quantity needed. Of this the district Schadrinsky has received 9.5%, the district Irbitsky and Krasnoufimsky 17.5%, but the district Kamischlovsky 51%. How can such an unjust and unequal distribution of the seed be explained?" The writer of the article seeks the reason in the incompetency and lack of good will of the persons on the distribution committee.
>
> As a matter of fact there obtains in the Food Stuffs Committees of the gouvernements (these committees are called "Gubprodkom") *a terrible bureaucratism,* which in the most intimate manner connects with the system of centralism.
>
> The paper further relates that in the gouvernement of Jekaterinburg in Ural a total of 461,136 pud of seed potatoes were required. Up to May 9 there was available only 10,000 pud, or about 2.2%. But even this insufficient quantity was not divided in a regular way, but it was all sent, with the exception of 2,600 pud, to four districts, while six districts received nothing. Of the remaining 2,600 pud the consumers' society of the commune took 1,000 pud for its own part. (Since the bolshevik victory the consumers' societies in Russia have been made state organs.) The figures quoted show plainly in what position the government finds itself when it comes to ability to deliver and distribute seed grain, particularly seed potatoes.
>
> "I shall not look for the causes of this bankruptcy, but must point out that the 'Gubprodkom' in its present composition has leaders to whom momentary effect is the main thing, instead of organizing the work rationally. The measures adopted by the leaders of the 'gubprodkom' stand far behind the real needs in the place concerned."

(Quoted from the report of a committee of the Food Stuffs Commissariat before the council of the first labor army, of May, 1920, No. 1743.)

The author of the article sought a way out of the dilemma by allowing the collective peasant organizations, the partnerships and the communes, as well as other organizations, to buy the seed

grain and the vegetable seeds and seed potatoes in open trade. He refers to the gouvernement of Petrograd, where this remedy was found. In the gouvernement of Petrograd permission has been given to the communal vegetable gardens, the soviet organizations and other organizations to practice free buying of seeds, and better results have been obtained. More than 10,000 dessiatins of land were supplied with seed grain.

From these reports it is evident that *the unsatisfactory delivery of seeds and seed grain is an important cause of the unsatisfactory cultivation of the soil.*

I am not here concerned with criticizing Soviet Russia; that is a thing which we in the present period must leave to the Russian workers themselves. What interests me here is to depict the economic conditions of the peasants. That this condition is not brilliant the descriptions given have proven. *The Russian peasants are suffering want, dire want, but less for want of food than for want of industrial products.* If the Russian revolution, the party ruling at present, succeeds in appeasing the hunger for industrial products, then the revolution will develop into freer forms, then no reaction can any longer interrupt its progress; but, if not, then the fate of the revolution is in the dark.

As I am writing down my experiences not that they may merely be condemned to an archive existence as dead matter, nor in order to give the counter-revolutionaries water on their mills, nor in order to call on the German workers for a spiritless and ape-like imitation of the Russian bolshevik and revolutionary policy, but rather have been inspired with the sincere desire that the revolutionary workers should benefit from the experiences of the Russian revolution and learn from it, I cannot abstain from pointing out that the world's hand and brain workers, as well as the peasants, *must guard against turning over the organization of distribution to a soulless and lifeless state bureaucracy—even if it be a communist bureaucracy.* Revolutionary workers! You see from the examples of Russia that the state was not able to get the seed grain and the vegetable seeds and the seed potatoes to the peasants, through its organs! You have also learnt that the peasants, when they had a free hand to supply their own needs themselves, as happened in the gouvernement of Petrograd, solved these problems quicker, easier and better. May this be an admonition and a hint for the world's workers *not to trust too much to the state and its omnipotence.* Even a communist-proletarian state is no exception to this; yes, in such a state it might be still more difficult, because, to begin with, the workers are not trained and accustomed to organizatory state work, and because the old bureaucrats will sabotage as far as possible. This is also what they did in Russia. Besides, the state is compelled, in all urgent cases, to turn the matter over to free organizations or private persons, who are then better able than the state to find the right way and complete the organization. With this we will not say that the private initiative of the capitalist ought to be restored—

although this also is done in Russia, inasmuch as more important purveying for the army and other similarly important matters were turned over to private parties; *we only wish to point out that there is no more incompetent apparatus for organizing the economic life than the state.* The bolsheviks may try to maintain as often as they please that it was not possible to organize all this in a satisfactory manner, as long as it was necessary to concentrate all power on the war, but that now, the war being over, the economic side of reconstruction can begin. The fact that during the war time, when the state made its greatest efforts to solve all problems quickly, when the knife was on its throat and it did not shrink from any measures, it was not able to solve the problems that confronted it, but placed the most difficult matters in the hands of free organizations or even individual persons, is a striking proof of the incapacity of the state, for when it cannot make good at a time when it is strongest, when idealism is in danger, then it is still less capable of doing it in less dangerous times.

The Political Conditions of the Peasants

That the economic life is of great significance for the political form, that is something one can easily admit without being a Marxist. Thus, taking possession of the land by the peasants is in more than one respect an economic and a political act at the same time. *The new form of political life, the soviets (the councils), connects in the most intimate manner with the economic transformation.* In many places the peasants divided the property of the landowner. In order to divide this in a just manner between themselves, and for the purpose of arranging the new relationships with neighboring villages as well as its relations to the whole country, they elected councils. Here we already have the roots of the soviet system. The building of this soviet system could, naturally, not be the same among the peasants as with the city proletariat. The peasants could not elect their soviets by the factory. They elected them by the communes or by the districts. They did not elect them according to economic units but according to territorial units. The state soviet communes, however, also elect according to their agricultural occupations.

The local soviets, the smaller district soviets and the gouvernement soviets of the peasants had, and have, mostly economic functions, if we except a few educational and school questions. It is a question of regulating traffic, roads, transportation to connect with the cities for trade purposes or, speaking socialistically, for exchange, and similar things. *The economic and political life are here very intimately connected.* But all these things have nothing to do with party politics. Although most of the peasants belong to no party, they still have elected their soviets according to party. This, of course, was done in party interest, not in the

interest of the peasants; but that springs from historic reasons. Still, the peasants frequently elect non-partisan soviets.

Naturally, all the parties tried their luck among the peasants in the beginning of the revolution. For *he who in Russia has the peasants behind him is building on a strong power.* Thus the bolsheviks gained great sympathies among the peasants when Lenin made the peace at Brest-Litovsk. Later they lost these sympathies again by sending the soldiers into the villages to requisition grain.

To-day the peasants are no longer so much interested in the parties as they were in the beginning of the revolution. They are still for the soviets and will probably always remain in favor of them, but the parties are not of such a stable nature as the soviet idea. It has often happened that the peasants have showed themselves against all parties. Socialism, or rather, communist husbandry and mode of living, does not strike the peasants as a party matter. For that reason the soviets are not identical with communism, as many workers think. Still, libertarian communism has always been connected with a kind of council system. For when the peasants or the workers in a place manage their own affairs, then they always elect their councils, or soviets, which decide on all matters that cannot be decided by each one separately. At the present time there are in Russia many peasants who are not communists but who take a stand for the soviet system. The soviet system is then for them only a form of direct political representation with elimination of all interferences from a central body in the local self-government. But, as in the historic moment of the outbreak of the revolution the parties still exerted some power of attraction over the peasants, we have to note that one party finally succeeded to gain and assert influence and power in the councils. But *to the extent that the party succeeded in gaining power and control in the soviets, to that extent the free soviets lost their power.* Of course, the larger the party is, the less this loss of freedom is felt. If most of the soviets consist of representatives elected as party members, then the party members feel correspondingly free, provided they agree with the tactics and politics of the party. But it often happens that the peasants have not put any party lists in the field for the soviet elections. Particularly in the Ukraine have I found instances of this. I have been present at several meetings of the executive committee of the district soviets and gouvernement soviets, as well as once in the congress of all the gouvernement soviets in Samara. The deliberations turned upon the economic situation. But I noticed that the economic policy was determined in accord*ance with the program of the bolshevik party.* The higher authorities, such as the Council of People's Commissars, issue decrees through the different People's Commissariats and their department for agriculture, for education, for traffic and transportation, and *the soviets are the organs which have to carry out these decrees* or see to it that they are carried out.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the District Soviet in the province of Charkov on Sept. 13, 1920, there were two matters under discussion: (1) The provisioning of the army, and (2) The procuring of fire wood. According to the decrees of the Council of People's Commissars, each precinct had to deliver a certain quantity of wood and provisions, according to its possibilities. A representative reported how the peasants in one precinct refused to help out with the wood cutting because they received no pay. He thought it would be necessary to, at least, give the peasants promises of delivery of goods to them, after which they would probably help out. Without such help of the peasants it would be impossible to obtain the required quantity of wood. Another representative spoke of the fact that there were bands of men in the woods which made the wood cutting difficult for the peasants. It would be necessary to induce the peasants to drive these bands away, but this the peasants do not want to do. (The reason why the peasants did not want to do this was that many of them belonged to these "bands" themselves.) There was also a speech by a delegate from the department for care of the wounded soldiers from the Polish and the Wrangel fronts. He described the misery of the wounded in lurid colors, in order to prevail upon the representatives of the Executive Committee of the Soviets to send them the means of life on a greater scale than before.

From these accounts it is evident that the business and the political functions of the soviets are limited to a certain circumscribed field outside of which it cannot go. For the biggest part it is no longer an organization working from the bottom to the top, but, on the contrary, from the top to the bottom; and it could hardly be otherwise for a state with a war-time administration of its national husbandry.

For the peasants this administration from above frequently proves oppressive and disagreeable, not to use a more powerful term. This comes plainly to expression in the soviet commune, where the administration in many cases is not in the hands of a locally elected soviet or manager, but in the hands of a person selected by a Supreme Council of National Economy, or an agricultural commissariat. The peasants thus feel anything but free. To begin with, the estate is in the hands of the state, as we have already shown. The peasants do not feel as owners of the soil they cultivate. In the second place, the appointed manager frequently carries on a regime comparable to that of the old land owner. Thus we read in the "Pravda," a well known bolshevik paper, of July 1, 1919, No. 141:

> "The manager ("Sovchos") is often like the dog in the hay who does not eat it himself but won't let anybody else eat it, either. The whole establishment is in a state of collapse. (It refers to a soviet establishment in the gouvernement Tver.) The manager, an ex-land-owner, is a dirty, run-down old man of melancholy aspect, who seems already to belong

to another world. The peasants feel only hatred towards such a "sovchos" or "spez" (specialist). In every gouvernement or local district one may hear angry attacks on such management. The result of such an agrarian policy is an aggravation of the strained relations between the peasants and the soviet power."

It is clear that when the "Pravda" writes this it also has reason for so doing, as it is calling the attention of the government to these conditions. The government has, of course, no interest in aggravating such conditions, but, on the contrary, in removing them. But it appears from the numerous attempts that it is very difficult And we must not blame it on lack of good will on the part of the government or gouvernements, for the leaders of the soviet republic do not lack good will, but *the cause of it is the system of nationalization,* the system of indirect relations of the peasants to the soil and to the management in working the soil.

The ideal of the peasants is to feel free and to work on free soil. But that is also the ideal of all socialists. Under the conditions described, the Russian revolution has not yet come to a realization of this ideal, as the quoted lines from the "Pravda" show. It is not to be wondered at that Russian revolutionists make the question whether they would not have come nearer to these ideals if different tactics had been adopted. *The social-revolutionaries of the left, the anarchists, the anarcho-syndicalists, the maximalists, as well as part of the Ukrainian communists* answer "Yes" to this question. Above everything they *are against the requisition policy of the government and, according to their agrarian program, against the nationalization of the land, for a more communal form, for a form that would give the peasants more independence, for such a form of possession and cultivation of the soil as would give the peasants the management, through soviets elected by themselves.*

Against this the bolsheviks declare that they also are for these principles, but that the realization of them is so difficult—the peasants delivered nothing to the armies of the government and the cities—that it became necessary to resort to stern measures. The decree policy of the bolsheviks is in their opinion correct. Lenin says on the question, in a speech on "the position of the bolsheviks to the middle peasantry," made in Moscow in March, 1919:

> "Fundamentally our decrees on agricultural economy are correct. We have not the least occasion to disown or deplore any of them. But if these decrees in themselves are correct, then it is absolutely false to force them upon the peasants with violence. In not a single decree is there any question of this. They are conceived as guides, as a summons to political activities."

But these words of Lenin could not prevent that the practical enforcement of these decrees meant the use of force against the peasants. That is what constitutes *the difference between*

fine-polished theories and rough practice. Although the bolsheviks give the peasant question the greatest attention, well knowing that it is a question of life and death for them, still the peasants repudiate with thanks the attention of the government. It cannot be denied that Lenin is right when he says that these decrees are fundamentally right. He should have added *for us,* but not for the peasants. The decree policy is in the interest of the state. It is, consequently, only the above mentioned anti-state parties who reject the decree policy in principle. But as the realization of socialism, communism and liberty is possible only through the abolition of the state, a change or improvement in the position of the peasants which would make them more satisfied, is attainable only in the anti-state direction. For these ideals cannot be banished from the efforts and the wishes of the people, not even by means of the *article by Trotzky and Radek in which they try to inform the workers and the peasants that free labor is a bourgeois superstition.* But the anti-state movement is characterized by the cancelling of all decrees. Along that road the soviet government is being pressed through the striving of the peasants for self-government and independence. These endeavors are also in harmony with the anti-state tendencies of the maximalists, the anarcho-syndicalists and also the social-revolutionaries of the left. *If the endeavors and movements of the peasants and the tendencies of the anti-state socialists get a better footing and finally press forward to victory, then first will the program of the social revolution have a chance of being realized.* The peasants do not desire any state communism in which everything is accomplished by order from the top, they want communal self-government, communalism, if you so want to call it, which means freedom to regulate their own affairs after their own desires and wishes. But this liberty they do not have under bolshevism, in spite of all well-meaning decrees. *As long as this most important of questions, the peasant question, is not solved to the satisfaction of the peasants, we cannot consider even the first stage of the social revolution completed.* First when this happens, the foundation is created for a peaceful development upward of social life. Under the present conditions, created by the bolsheviks, the suppression of one layer of the people, or class, by the other is still a living fact, carrying with it armed, violent uprisings. Under the rule of the bolsheviks the Russian revolution has not solved the peasant question but only complicated it still more. But that should not cause us to be astonished, for the bolshevik party is a Marxist, a city-proletarian party, and it is natural that the conquest of the state through a part of the city proletariat—in which the peasants have no part—cannot bring them liberation. The emancipation of the peasants can be accomplished only by the peasants themselves. Without doubt the social-revolutionaries of the left or the maximalists would, as peasant parties, have dealt with the question with more understanding than the bolsheviks. The latter are the least fit to solve the peasant question along socialist lines.

The City and Industry

The Development of the Unions

FOR the peasants the principal feature of the revolution was taking possession of the land. *For the proletariat of the cities and the industries the aim was to take possession of the factories, mines and means of transportation.* The problem was easily solved in the country, because no more knowledge than before was necessary for the cultivation of the soil (in Russia scientific cultivation of the soil was not yet introduced), but in industry the situation was more difficult.

In the country the combination of things was easy. But in industry the combination was complicated. In the country there were no intermediate stages. Taking possession of the soil was the immediate aim. In the industrial centers another effort came to the surface in the first period of the revolution and demanded a solution, namely, *workers' control, control of the industries. This rallying word was sounded already during the Kerensky period.* It corresponded to the attempts of the workers to overthrow autocracy in the factories as well as the czar's autocracy in politics. Democracy was desired in industry as well as in economic life. The workers felt that, to make their emancipation a reality, *the revolution in political life would have to be followed by a revolution on the economic field.* That the workers did not immediately demand the turning over of the factories had several reasons. For this purpose the Kerensky government would first have to be overthrown or compelled to resign, but even then they did not feel sure that they were in a condition to conduct production in its entirety without the private owner, who in many cases also was the technical leader. Finally the workers were probably influenced by the circumstance that they felt that the czar ruled over the people but was not the owner of the people, and that he was sovereign in the state but did not own the state. Nor is a general the owner of the soldiers but he rules them just the same. Authority, consequently, is not always based on property. The possibility was thinkable that, even if private property in the factories and in industry was abolished, mastery could still continue. In fact, this instinct of the workers was correct, for at present private property is, on the whole, abolished in Russia, without giving the workers cause to feel that they are controllers of production or masters of the shop. The decree creating individual management of the shops is the cause of this. Con-

trol of industry in the shop is an essential part of proletarian democracy. The proletariat must, consequently, first of all conquer.

Control of industry, which was the demand of the workers in the October days of 1917, *finally became so strong that it resulted in control over the employer. After this, taking possession of the shops came as a matter of course and began soon after. But the taking over of the factories is only the negative side; the positive side is their management. First in the managing of them begins socialist or communist economy.* In the country the case is similar, but there it is much simpler.

The most burning question now, the question which forms the very center of socialization, is: *What organization will undertake to procure the raw material and the disposal of the manufactured products, and what organs will supply the workers with the necessary means of life. Only when the workers have created organizations for this purpose can the taking over of the factories meet with success. The misfortune of the Russian workers was that they had no such organs at their disposition,* that they, under the rule of czarism, were not in a position to create such organs. It was exactly on this rock that socialization in Germany stranded in the November days of 1918. The theoretical foundation of the German trade unions was not of that kind. On this point only the French syndicalist unions have fought themselves through to a clear understanding of the role of the labor organizations for the realization of the social revolution. The German syndicalists also have taken this standpoint, even if not always so clearly, but in their congress of Christmas, 1919, they adopted a clear program. Up to the present time they are the only labor organization in Germany with whom we can find a clear program for the taking over and the organizing of production and consumption by the workers.

The lack of a clear understanding of how the different industries work hand in hand, as well as the lack of proper organizations for the purpose, had for result that the workers, who had no idea of these things and only knew capitalist economic methods, retained the idea of these and kept on running along capitalist lines. But when they had taken over the factories they found themselves in the place of the single private owner, the factory owner, or the capitalist stock companies. That means that they now divided the owners' profits between them. But that did not abolish capitalism; it had only been changed from private ownership into another, collective form of ownership. Capitalist competition, the cheating of consumers, the more favorable position of the workers who produced goods more in demand or more important, all this remained as before, and under similar circumstances it will be the same in any place.

The workers of the world must keep this in sight. That the idea has not yet broken through in the labor movement that the workers are not only exploited as producers but also as consum-

ers, that depends very likely upon the influence of Marx. The whole labor movement which calls itself Marxian has never been directed upon the carrying on of a struggle against the exploitation of the workers as consumers. There was not sufficient attention called to this circumstance in their propaganda. *The workers are not cheated and exploited only in the factory, but also in the satisfying of all their needs.*

Economic life consist of two parts, *production and consumption. In the capitalist system both parts, naturally, offer a chance for the exploitation of the workers.* For that reason the workers should combat both these kinds of exploitation equally, if they want to annihilate the capitalist system and replace it with a socialist or communist system. But they did not do this, and they are not doing it yet. Even to-day their struggle is directed more against the exploitation on the field of production. *Only as producers have they created class struggle organizations,* and only as producers are they fighting the battle against capital. The consumers' societies, which existed in Russia, were not class struggle organizations. Nor are they so in Germany. Even if there are consumers' societies who only have workers as members, they still are only class organizations, but no class struggle organizations. Towards the end they also began to function as such a little, by taking care of workers in strikes. Evident as this matter is, equally regrettable is it that the workers neither have nor had any class struggle organizations on the field of consumption. It can be understood because the workers were, and are, *directly exploited only as producers. But as consumers they are indirectly exploited.* The direct exploitation the workers can easily see and understand, the indirect exploitation they discern with more difficulty. The socialists made use of this circumstance. They showed the workers that they were exploited as producers and called on them to organize and to fight. But this is quite unpardonably thoughtless. It was the duty of the socialist propaganda to point out to the workers that side of the exploitation which was equally important, although not so easy to see and understand. It was, of course, easy to induce the workers to struggle for a higher wage. But what good did this one-sided battle as producers do them? No good at all! *Even if they won the struggle and got higher wages, the capitalists always had the other side of the exploitation open, the side of which the workers had not thought. The capitalist raised the price of his wares and thus rolled the wage increase on the consumers, or, in other words, through the wage increase the exploitation was not diminished by one iota.*

With impetuous force the Russian workers fought for the abolition of private ownership of the establishments by capitalists. And they succeeded. If they had fought with the same impetuosity against the second kind of exploitation, on the field of consumption, then—. But this they could not do; for the Russian workers the abolition of capitalism was equal to the abolition of

the capitalists. They had embodied the exploiter in their own employer. But the exploitation through consumption was not a person; it was a system. *A system, however, can not be removed by removing or driving away persons.* This was also verified on the field of production. An economic system which in the human society fills the functions of supplying the population with all the things that are necessary for life, cannot be removed except by means of another economic system, and only to the extent that this new system is capable, in each single instance, of stepping into the breach of the old.

The development of the Russian revolution shows us this on every point. The German workers and the workers of other countries must learn from this experience. *They have to build up a socialist economic system in their organizations, which steps in the place of the capitalist system. If they do not do this and a political revolution breaks out, then the revolution will remain only political.* For this reason they should begin with it immediately. The workers have to organize themselves into consumers' unions or *create unions which on the day after the revolution are capable of taking consumption into their hands.* Such organizations are the "Bourse du Travail" (labor exchanges), or "Arbeiterboerse," as the Germans call them. Without such organizations they will commit the same errors as the Russian workers did, and capitalism, which they had thrown out through one door and thought they had conquered because its political representative has been made powerless, comes into evidence again from all corners and crevices and overgrows the socialist beginnings, until the workers are able to make it superfluous through their own new-formed economic organizations. *But it is a fatal error to put this new economic system into the hands of the state.*

We left the Russian revolution at the stage where the workers took possession of the factories and, partly at their own expense, produced for themselves without attacking the capitalist system of consumption. This is by some German social-democratic theoreticians, among them Kautsky, being described as "syndicalism." There is nothing more false than such a statement, which they either make out of ignorance or intentional deceit. A glance at the declaration of principles of the syndicalists is sufficient in order to convince any one of this. A thorough refutation of this error or deception is, however, beyond the scope of this book.

That the Russian workers undertook nothing else and were in no position to do anything else is traceable to the circumstance that they had no organization for the purpose. They lacked the unions which as the embryonic cells of the new socialist economic system develop the required abilities and organize for the tasks which enable the workers to crowd out the capitalist economic system with a socialist system.

The Russian unions date back only from the year 1905. After the victory of the reaction they were again dissolved and had mostly to lead an underground existence. After 1910 they

started to develop once more, but during the years of the war they were again fought most strenuously by the czarist government and suppressed.

After the overthrow of czarism in March 1917 the unions began to push forward in a powerful manner, so that, when in July a conference of the unions took place in Petrograd (the third conference), already 1,475,425 members were represented by 220 delegates. At this conference it became apparent of what character the Russian unions were. Two different tendencies were represented; *one left and one right.* The left wing took the stand that the unions should repudiate every thought of class conciliation and of the possibility of co-operation with the bourgeoisie. But this left wing lacked about 15-20 votes of a majority and its propositions did not carry. But resolutions were adopted calling for a greater taxation of the owning classes, for the introduction of maximum prices on the most important products, for control of production, for direct participation in the affairs of the state by the most important branches of production, for rigid bank control, for compulsory syndicating and trustification, for reorganization of the organs of state control. At the same time a declaration was made that the process of control were too difficult for the proletariat to take over, alone or in preponderance.

From the stand thus taken by the unions it will be seen that, in consequence of the revolutionary situation, the unions occupied themselves with problems, which came to the front even in *the German revolution,* — control over production, the right of the workers to a voice in engaging and discharging workers, and so on. In Germany also they have occupied themselves with democratic demands, with the transplantation of democracy into industry, something which the capitalists resisted under the slogan that they were "master of the house". In spite of all the progress that this workers' control signifies, it still is nothing else than the introduction of democracy in the economic life, but it is not the social revolution in itself. Even such organizations which are not in principle for the social revolution may put up such demands for joint control, as for instance the German "free" unions did, unions which were free only in the sense that they did not stand in the service of any socialist ideas.

When later the October revolution broke out and ended in a bolshevik victory, the bolsheviks, as a radical-democratic party, wished to carry the revolution over to the place of work. The workers themselves also, naturally, wanted to make the revolution into a social revolution, that is, altogether eliminate the capitalists.

But then it became evident that this was not so easy as was expected. And why not? Because the workers of Russia were not in a position to abolish capitalism, in the hands of which the whole economic life had rested up to that time, without exposing economic life to the worst kind of crisis. *The social*

revolution confronted the workers with tasks to which they were not equal in their first onrush. But as a party which could only lean on the working class and on no other class (on the peasants only conditionally) had the power in the state, this party also had to take over the responsibility for the economic life, if it did not wish to either leave the capitalists in their position of power on the economic field or again give up its political power. But they could undertake nothing without the workers, as they had no state organs at their disposition for these purposes.

They, consequently, turned to the unions. The workers strove for economic liberty, for elimination of exploitation by the employers. In many cases they chased the employer to the devil; in many cases he left his factory or his works in the lurch, from despair, or from the hope to be able to sabotage production by this means, so that the workers, who would then understand their own incapacity, would call him back again. In a number of cases it has also happened that to-day the old employer is again the leader of the establishment. Not with the old right of ownership, it is true, but as a so-called specialist, who is far better off than the worker.

As the workers now started to run industry, they elected for that purpose committees, so-called factory committees. These factory committees took over the factories. But as the state needed the products created, it entered into indirect contact with the factory committees through the unions. With the factory committees themselves the state could not do business, because for that purpose a large apparatus would have been necessary. The unions thus received the role of negotiating production for the state. The ruling party soon recognized the important role which falls to the unions on the field of production and on the whole economic field in general, and, as many of the party members belonged to the unions (it continued, after all, to be a party mostly composed of workers), it sought, through its members, to place the unions under the influence of the party and make them subordinate to the party. This was the best way for the ruling party to secure control of production and to place the whole of production in their service. The bolshevik party also declared in their program that "the organization apparatus of nationalized industry must first of all rest upon the unions."

The factory committees were, consequently, children of the revolution, sprung from the needs of the workers to create organs of managing the factories. But the workers could not help but soon perceiving that this alone was not sufficient. If they did not want to remain in the capitalist economic system they *were compelled to place consumption also upon an organized fellowship basis.* But for all these tasks they had never prepared themselves. All this was so new to them that they, to begin with, had to go through many experiments, many mistakes. Instinctively, or from very obvious reasons they turned to their unions. In

these they now had to look for their natural agents and representatives. They were further strengthened in their confidence in the unions through the circumstance that the new ruling party, or, to speak more plainly, the state, also turned to the unions with the same errands and wanted to use the unions for the same purpose. As the unions still were of too new a structure and were confronted with functions to which they were unaccustomed, it is easy to understand that they leaned for support more or less on the state and recognized as leader the party which sat at the rudder, especially as it was a proletarian party with many members in their own ranks. But the party, with all the power of the state at its disposition, began an intensive propaganda in the ranks of the unions, in order to get greater influence. And in this it succeeded, but the greater the influence of the party became, the more the unions lost in independence, the more they came under the party whip. To the extent that this development progressed, the rights of the factory councils or committees were circumscribed.

The party, which desired to get control of production through the unions (and it succeeded in getting it) wished to make production as abundant and profitable as possible. But production did not rise; on the contrary, with the decreasing supply of foodstuffs it fell more and more. The party's policy towards the peasants was determined through the grain monopoly. In accordance with this the peasants were to deliver all grain to the state. The peasants did not want to do this. It came to disputes. The state began to requisition the grain. But the grain deliveries were not increased through these means, and *the workers did not receive enough bread. This had a tendency to diminish their productivity.* The factory committees were not energetic enough, and the state took to other means. *It took the management out of the hands of the committees and placed it in the hands of individuals. The managing councils had thus played their role as managers of production to the end and lost their right of self-determination.*

During the period of czarism and capitalism the Russian unions were, in part, organizations similar to the German "free" unions, but a good deal more radical. Their radical position was evident already from the persecution by czarism. They were compelled to be not only relief organizations but also fighting organizations. In how far they served this purpose, we can best learn from the third conference, already mentioned, which took place during the storms of the revolution in November 1917. Already then managing councils were recognized as necessary organs with the function of control over the workers. But during this period the unions were still class struggle organizations. *Later they changed from class struggle organizations to productive organizations.*

The change in the character of the unions was also accompanied by a change in the form of the organization. *While*

they were formerly organized along craft lines, they now became industrial organizations. Without doubt the industrial form of organization is the best one for unions which shall serve as organs of production. For the workers organized along industrial lines are better in position to manage production than the craft unions. This has been shown in America. The organization of the *Industrial Workers of the World* is also built on this principle, as in accordance with its theory it intends to take over production. The I. W .W. are, no doubt, the forerunners of this modern form of union movement. But the Communist Party of Russia(the bolsheviks) contributed to the acceleration of this development. It had, through the above mentioned process, obtained more and more influence in the unions, so that their resolutions always went through at the later congresses. *Through the overwhelming influence of the government party the unions became more and more the tools of the state; they were made into state organs.*

The formal decision to make them state organs was made at the second congress of the unions in January 1919.

> There it says: "that the nationalization of all the means of production and the organization of society on a new socialist foundation requires slow and persevering labor with the rebuilding of the whole state machinery, as well as the creating of new organs of accounting, and organs for control and regulation of the whole system of production and distribution. This requires of the unions a more energetic and more active participation in the exercise of soviet power, through direct representatives in all organs of the state. The whole process of melting the unions together with the organs of state power, must take place as the unavoidable result of their most intimate co-operation."

This would, consequently, mean that the unions have influence on the policy of the state, just as, inversely, the soviet organs have influence on the unions. I was told in Moscow that this was the case, and that the unions had representations in the different commissariats. Thus; the president of the All-Russian Central Council of the Unions, M. Tomski, is also a member of the war commissariat. Besides, there are other members of the Central Council of the Unions in other commissariats, through which arrangement the fusion spoken of in the congress decision and the changing of the unions into state organs (Verstaatlichung) is secured. But this is not so to understand that any union member can become a member of a commissariat of the Council of People's Commissars. In order to have this possibility he must first have been elected to the Council of the Trade Unions. *To this Central Council of the Unions only members of the Communist Party (bolsheviks) can be elected.* I know old revolutionaries who were communists before the social-democratic party of the bolsheviks called itself communist,

who belong to the unions. They are also intelligent and surely have all the qualities which make them suitable for the Central Council of the Trade Unions. But they can never come to this as long as they do not join the Communist Party. Thus they can never participate in the work of the soviets, and the so-called co-operation of the workers through their unions is possible only for the members of the ruling party. *Not the unions as such, but the communist-bolsheviks who are in the unions, have the right to co-operate in the state organs.*

It must be admitted that the revolutionary party could not make use of all workers or employees, organized into the unions, on all kinds of work and, particularly, not in the responsible positions. For in the unions there were, and is now, many who are against the revolution on principle and who, if they had been made use of, without doubt would have done everything to retard and hold up revolutionary progress. But this should not have been done with revolutionaries, only because they had a different opinion or because they belonged to a different party or movement. That means that the bolsheviks seek to monopolize the revolution, that they want to claim the right to the revolution for only one party, while there still are several revolutionary parties in Russia.

The Industrial Union is an advanced form compared with the guild or craft form. The industrial unions of Russia were organized on centralist lines. Thus the soviet government was best in a position to use the unions as their own apparatus. In the mad tempo of the Russian revolution the unions were too unripe to be able to choose their forms of organization. In order to come to some sort of order in the general disorder, the bolsheviks tried for a short while to eliminate the unions and only created Councils, Central Councils or Factory Councils, but these experiments have gone out of fashion. They disappeared after a very short duration; after the unions in their first congress, in January, 1918, had liquidated these central councils of the factory councils,—as they neither wished to have nor could have any competing organizations which only led to mutual provocation and quarrels,— the whole thing was laid into the hands of one central body which was given great authority. Through this central body the state could now place its hands on the smallest body, the outermost points on the circumference. Thus, the form of organization of the unions in Russia was born in the hour of need and carried the stamp of the process upon itself. *The unions have lost their independence, they are tools of the state.* Trotzky is not so very wrong when in his anti-Kautsky book he says: "After once taking the power one cannot accept certain consequences and repudiate others." From the possession of power, which they wanted to keep, and had to keep at any cost, one thing followed the other, *and the workers are again ruled over.*

While the industrial union form is the most proper form of

union for the workers, even of other countries, still, the centralism of these industrial unions, which made the subordination of the union under the party and the soviet government possible, was to be traced to that particular circumstance. But if the Russian bolsheviks want to transfer their own forms of organization upon the rest of the countries, then they make a fatal error. As, the peculiar form of organization called "Labor Bureaus" arose out of French soil, and as the Industrial Unions arose in America, so there grew up in Russia under particular circumstances the dependence of the unions upon the party. *Just as it would be a failure to transfer the French form to American conditions, so it is also a failure to try to carry over the Russian form to other countries, as provided for in the statutes of the Third International.* In Sweden, for instance, the local samorganization is a far better form for that country, not only as a fighting organization but also as a future foundation for socialist production. Anyhow, it would be difficult for the centralistic leadership of a political party to work its way into control of such a form of organization, in fact, it is inconceivable.

The Organization of the Unions

The building of the Russian unions is partly done from the top downward and partly from the bottom upward. But their functions take place exclusively from the top downward. We therefore get a better picture of the general activity of the unions, which at the same time serve as a regulator of production, when we consider their growth outward from the center, as the rules prescribe. In Russia, *membership in the unions is obligatory for all industrial workers.* There are 4½ millions of organized workers in Russia, (1920).

Every organization must be practical, that is, its form must correspond to the functions it has to fill. As the present function of the Russian unions is to manage industry and to fill the tasks given it by the Supreme Council of National Economy, which has production in its hands, the unions must be so organized that they can do justice to these tasks. The shops (factories, furnaces, mines, transport and distribution facilities) are no longer in the hands of private employers but in the hands of the state. When the shops still were in the hands of private employers, a union organization of the kind that exists today was not necessary for capitalist production. But when everything was nationalized and thus became the property of a single owner, (the state), this single owner, also had to be in the position of being able to supervise everything from one central point. We can best illustrate this if we imagine a great capitalist company, which does not either belong to any single person but still all threads run together in one central point. Everything is conducted from this central point. Everything must again come back to that point.

The manager of production is the Supreme Council of National Economy. To production belong two parts: men and things. The organization of the human part is the unions. For this reason the Supreme Council of National Economy must act through the unions. The manner of procedure is this: *The managers of the factories are appointed by the S. C. of N. E. after nominations by the unions.* Furthermore, representatives of the S. C. of N. E. have a seat in the councils of the unions. Besides, the unions have a representative in the Commissariat of Labor. The commissar of the Commissariat of Labor, who at the same time is a member of the Council of People's Commissars is put on this post through the joint selection of the unions.

a) *The Central Council of the All-Russian Unions* consists of 120 members and is elected from a congress of local district committees, gouvernement committees, local district councils and gouvernement councils. The president of the Central Council of the All-Russian Unions is *Michael Tomski.* The members of the Central Committee are eleven. They are, besides Tomski: A. Andrejeff, W. Kossior, E. Holzman, H. Ziperovitch, N. Ivanoff, N. Bucharin, P. Rutzutak, J. Lutovinow and W. Schmidt.

Of these, two sit in the Council of People's Commissars (Sownarkom), one with a deciding vote, Schmidt, as People's Commissar of Labor, and M. Tomski with a consultative voice. Besides, Tomski takes part in the Committee of Defense of the Soviet Republic, with a deciding vote. Both are communists, members of the bolshevik party, to which also all the others mentioned belong. *Non-members of the bolshevik party cannot be elected to the Central Council of the All-Russian Unions.*

The functions of this Central Council of the All-Russian Unions are:

1. Regulating the work and the wages (sanctioning of the wage scale). Dividing of the workers into three groups, by means of which the qualified workers, the premiums and the rations are determined. The establishment of a scientific institute for calculation of the workers' expenditure of energy.
2. The establishment of a labor secretariat to include all unions. 25 instructors are sent to the different gouvernements for the carrying out of this measure in the provinces and to fix membership contributions. At present the contribution amounts to 2% of the wages. It is obligatory and is deducted from the wages.
3. Culture department: Representatives are sent to the presiding board of the Commissariat of Education, in order to organize, under the leadership of that commissariat, continuation schools for the working youth and establish evening courses for all workers.
4. Participation in the work of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

Besides the above mentioned presiding board of eleven persons there is a general session of representatives of the Central Committees of the various industrial unions. This consists of 40 persons.

b) *Gouvernement or Provincial Councils.* In order to transmit these functions to the ranks of the workers, the Central Council sends its decisions (partly of their own making), as well as the decrees of the Supreme Council of National Economy or the Commissariat of Labor to the gouvernement or provincial Councils of the unions in all crafts or industries, as well as to the central committees of the Industrial Unions.

These "gouvernement councils" consist of 7-15 persons. They are elected by the local district councils of all unions. The gouvernement councils comprises all the workers of all occupations in a gouvernement. The functions of a gouvernement council are to carry out the decisions and the tasks referred to it by the Central Council of the All-Russian Unions which are worked out on the basis of the functions outlined in the above mentioned four paragraphs.

c) *The Local District Councils.* They are elected by all the organized workers of the whole local district (in German "Kreis"') They consist of 5-9 members. Their tasks are to carry out the work turned over to them by the gouvernement union councils.

d) *The Central Committee of the Industrial Union.* Besides the above mentioned organs there are the Industrial Unions. The central committees of these industrial unions have a membership of 15-21. These central committees are elected by the local district and provincial committees of the unions in question. The functions of these central committees of the industrial unions are about the same as those of the Central Council of the All-Russian Unions, only they are specially adapted for the particular industry such as metal, textile, or food stuffs. They occupy themselves in particular with the elaboration of tariffs, serve as information and propaganda bureaus, have charge of the central supply of the special kind of working clothes for the workers of their calling, which are necessary for the work, and send instructors to the lower sub-committees. There are also special commissions or boards elected by these central committees in connection with the Supreme Council of National Economy. Such boards formed, with the corresponding departments of the S. C. of N. E., the Central Committee of the Industrial Unions of the foodstuff industry, the machinery industry, the electrical industry and all those which had charge of the provisioning of the country. It was the duty of these boards to take part in the provisioning. In January 1920 there were 32 Industrial Unions and an equal number of central committees. At the last III. congress it was, however decided to undertake amalgamations which *will reduce the number to* 23.

e) *The Provincial Committee* is the next organ with which the Central Committee of the Industrial Unions has direct relations. It consists of 5-9 members. Each union has such a provincial committee. There is a provincial committee of the unions of the metal workers, the foodstuffs workers, etc. This provincial committee is elected by the local district (Kreis) committees and the shop councils. Its functions are to carry out the instructions given it by the Central Committee of the Industrial Unions. To this provincial committee the Supreme Council of National Economy also send a representative, in order to help the committees in their work.

f) *The Local District Committee* is in its functions a daughter organization of the provincial committee. Each union has such a local district committee. Thus, there is one for the metal industry, one for the foodstuffs industry, etc. The local district committee is elected by the shop councils or factory committees.

g) *The Factory Committees.* The lowest organs of the unions, which are also called cells, are the factory committees or shop councils. They are elected by the workers. *Their tasks or functions* were worked out about the middle of 1918 by the Central Council of the All-Russian Unions, which consists only of party communists and were announced to the workers as decrees. They read as follows:

1. The shop councils, according to the decision of the central council of the unions, take all measures desirable for welding together the workers and employees of an enterprise into a productive organization.
2. They establish among the workers and employees a *strict proletarian discipline* determined by the union.
3. To watch over the *rigid enforcement* of all measures and rules by the Commissariat of Labor for the protection of the worker and to devise ways and means of improving the conditions of work.
4. They investigate whether the establishment has *enforced all the rules of the Supreme Council* aiming at the increase of production and the maintenance of business procedure.
5. *They enforce* strictly and exactly the mutual observance of the tariff agreements and normal productivity.
6. They *exercise full control* over the work.
7. They undertake the supplying of the workers with the articles needed, *in accordance with the rules* of the foodstuffs authorities. For that purpose they enter into connection with the corresponding organizations and establish people's kitchens, consumers' unions, etc.
8. They *execute the decisions* of the workers grievance com-

mittees and the punishments measured out by these, in accordance with the tariff agreements.

9. They *participate* in the engaging and discharging of workers and employees, *according to the decree* about labor exchanges and the instructions of the union.

These are to-day the functions of the shop councils. Thus, we must here add, that *the workers no longer have the right to manage the establishment or to say a word about the process of production.* In the third congress, in March 1920, position was expressly taken against this right of the workers, on the ground that this right now belonged to the unions as a whole and not to single groups. But it is not even the unions who appoint the managers of the enterprises; it is the Supreme Council of National Economy, which has this right, after the recommendation of the unions. *Manager of the establishment becomes he who is appointed by the S. C. of N. E.* In the decision of March, 1920, it says:

"The shop committees are hereby established as the local units of the unions, with functions analogous to the unions, with retention of responsibility, and under the report sphere of the higher instances of the unions, and they are hereby *enjoined from in any manner meddling with the conduct of the establishment's business*; for the elimination of parallel work in the offices of the management and the unions of an establishment all *production commissions of the shop committees are hereby disestablished."*

Here is, as we see, quite openly expressed, that the workers have no right whatsoever in the management of production on the place of work; yes, even the control, which in the first days of the revolution was such a popular demand, has been suspended. It says plainly that *the workers must keep from any meddling with the conduct of the business.*

Nor is the right of engaging and discharging workers mentioned in Article 9 saved to the workers. Through the "Law of Mobilization of Labor Power" the workers are compelled to go to the place of work to which they are assigned. If they leave that place without permission of their superiors they can be punished. And that happens often. The idea with this is to hit the bourgeoisie, all labor power being registered. But, as the Moscow papers related in the spring of 1920, there were in Moscow 312,000 unregistered persons, which were not affected by this decree, or only in an unsatisfactory way. Among these 312,000, few are workers, most of them belonging to the bourgeois element. This instance proves how difficult it is to hit the right ones and pull the bourgeoisie out to work. Now it is attempted to combat this by means of work-books. It is to be hoped that this will be successful now and in the future, in order that the burden of the workers may be lightened.

But if we consider the form of organization by itself and compare it with other unions, we find the form used by the Ger-

man syndicalists to be most like the Russian form. Here also we have two poles, the industrial or craft union with its groupings, and the Labor Bureaus. The difference consists only in this that the Russian unions have not fully carried out the idea of Labor Bureaus (Arbeiterboerse). In Russia we have only the local district council (this would correspond to the labor bureau of the German syndicalists) and gouvernement or provincial councils. In Russia there is no federation of all the "labor bureaus" of the country. This function falls to the Central Councils of the All-Russian Unions, which, however, at the same time is expected to be, and is, principally a centralistic grouping of the Industrial Unions. But as this is a centrum for both functions, its function must with necessity be a difficult one.

A further difference consists in the very nature of the two organizations; the Russian unions are absolutely centralistic; the single parts have no right to self-determination; they have to carry out the decisions and orders of the central councils to the limit. But in Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (Free Labor Union of Germany), that is, the Syndicalist Movement, the local organizations, the Labor Bureaus as well as individual unions belonging to the industrial or craft federations have the right of complete self-determination. The idea which serves as a foundation of the Russian unions is the same as, or similar to the fundamental idea of the German syndicalists. Both wish to be the organizations which have to solve the problem of production and consumption in the socialist society.

These tasks which the Freie Arbeiter-Union of Germany has set for itself, theoretically, the Russian unions had an opportunity to put into practice, although under other conditions and with the use of other means. But *it has not yet been possible to completely grip the whole economic life through the unions.* Lozovsky, one of the presiding members of the Central Council of the All-Russian Unions, says in a pamphlet treating of the Russian unions, that this is an ideal to which they would, without doubt, approach in the future, but that it is not possible for the present.

The provisioning is still largely handled by the nationalized Consumers' Societies (Centrosoyuz), who co-operate with the Food Stuffs Commissariat and have a branch in each locality. This branch supplies the workers with foodstuffs through the shop councils or factory committees. For the rest, the supplying of food stuffs is not in the hands of one single organization. As the food stuffs are so scarce everybody is bungling with it. Lozovsky also says that "in the same measure as the unions are perfecting themselves and fill all the functions of economic life, the soviets will disappear. In bolshevik theory the soviets are, in consequence, intended only as the weapons of the period of transition, the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the breaking down of capitalism.

The Opposition in the Unions

We have now discussed the program, the form and the functions of the Russian unions. I have also taken pains to ascertain whether the Russian workers are all satisfied with the present condition of the unions or whether there are tendencies which are in opposition. And I was able to observe *an opposition coming from two different camps, first from the menshevik camp, and, second, from the camp of the anarcho-syndicalists. The opposition of the mensheviks* has taken root principally in the ranks of the printers. It takes the standpoint of democracy. It is of the opinion that the workers should co-operate with other parties and classes, as only then a continued development of economic conditions would be thinkable. Earlier this tendency stood for the Constituent Assembly, but now that the assembly has ceased to exist, they accept fait accompli. Nevertheless, it demands that the unions, as in the capitalist state, should have the right to strike and that they should be free from the state.

The opposition of the anarcho-syndicalists shows itself in several different unions. Among these we may mention: the bakery workers' unions in Moscow as well as several clubs of anarcho-syndicalists, which function as propaganda centers inside the industrial organizations of the workers of all occupations. This is a trade union opposition, whose form of organization corresponds to the Danish Trade Union Opposition. The position of this trade union opposition towards the central unions is not like that of the mensheviks, but of a radical nature. *The leading ideas of this opposition* come from the anarcho-syndicalist world conception, which against Marxist bolshevism raises the theory of libertarian socialism, and against state communism the theory of anti-state communism. On this ground they *combat the subordination of the unions to political parties, generally, and to the state in particular.* They point to the workers' loss of interest in their unions, which has resulted from *the changing of the unions into state organs.* This change tends to destroy the free development of the worker, and is dangerous to the social revolution. According to them the workers have, through the change of the unions into state organs, come under the control of the ruling party, while the sense of the social revolution is that the workers should be economic masters. Briefly, *against the "statifying" of the unions they propose the syndicalization of the state,* i. e., the dissolution of the state functions into functions of economic organizations. (In principle the bolsheviks agree with the syndicalists on this point, f. i. Lozovsky in his pamphlet on the Russian unions. But they hold that this should be deferred to a later time; now, during the dictatorship, it is not to be thought of, in their opinion.)

But as they thought that the rise of such tendencies would weaken the rule of the proletarian party, they see a danger in it and combat it. The syndicalists, consequently, see a danger in the

"statifying" of the unions and the communist-bolsheviks see a danger in the syndicalization of the state. *But the bolsheviks admit that development is bound to go in the direction in which the syndicalists are driving.* These ideas of the anarcho-syndicalists are also supported by so-called industrialists. The industrialists also object to the supremacy of the state over the unions and demand self-determination and autonomy and independence of the state. In Petrograd this tendency was quite strongly represented this summer of 1920, and the presiding officer of the Petrograd Soviet, Zinovieff, who is also known as the chairman of the Executive Committee of the III. International, was then strenuously combatting this tendency.

The union demand for independence from the party as well as of the state lately showed itself also among the party-communist unions. At the railroad workers congress in the summer of 1920, when the Executive Committee of the union was elected, consisting of 20 men, one half stood for the independence of the unions, that is, they favored giving the unions the last word in union affairs and not the party. And still all of the elected were party members. Persons not members of the Communist Party cannot be elected to the executive committee of any union. As this executive committee now was to elect a chairman, they could not agree, being that ten of them belonged to one tendency while ten were of the other tendency, and each tendency, naturally, wanted one of their own as a chairman. As will appear from this *the aversion of the union men against being ruled by a party is on the increase.* But in the same measure as this takes place the syndicalist and industrialist ideas gain influence, and these demand the absolute independence from the party for the unions.

Due to the sovereignty of the party over the unions, no actions are permitted the unions which are against the party. As it also is the party which has the rudder of state in its hands, *every attack of the unions which is directed against the party, is also directed against the state,* and vice versa.

Thus there was, as an instance, a strike of bakers in Moscow. The bakers demanded a larger bread ration. Up to that time they had had the same quantity as the population of Moscow, that is, 1 lb. or 400 grams daily (.88 lb. American weight). But the military bakers had 4 lbs. of bread daily, that being the military ration. Now the other bakers demanded just as much. Their demand would have been more just if they had taken the stand that the military should also have received no more than 1 lb. The strike does not bear testimony of a high moral level. The government, naturally, did not accede to the demands of the bakers, and the bakers struck. It is to be noted that the secretary of the union of the bakers was an anarcho-syndicalist, by the name of N. Pavlov. The measures which the government took in the matter are reported in the "Pravda" of June 19, 1920, in the following manner: "The plenary meeting of the unions took up the matter in their capacity of a government organ. Comrade Melnitschansky,

the chairman of the Moscow Council of the unions, reported on the case and said that the investigation had shown, that the influence of the anarcho-syndicalists were strongly apparent among the bakers. A complete report by Comrade Melnitschansky appeared in No. 125 of the "Pravda." The meeting thereupon adopted the following resolution: Due to the systematic abuse and breach of union discipline by the members of the union committee of the Moscow bakers, it was decided to dissolve the section of the Moscow bakers and include the bakers in the union of the foodstuff workers. The members of the former committee of the section of the bakers' union, N. Pavlov, Kameschov, Nuschenkov, Vurgov and Komsnitzov are excluded from the union movement and shall, furthermore, be held to answer before a judiciary board. They lose their right to speak before any assembly and can never more be elected to a responsible post in the unions."

Naturally, other conflicts occur in the union movement, such as strikes, insubordination, etc. But the mentioning of one conflict is sufficient to make us understand that friction and conflicts can occur even in the Russian unions, and first of all, also between the individual unions and the government, just as in other capitalist states. But which of the different tendencies shall finally gain the upper hand is not difficult to say; very plainly the one that uses the slogan, that in the unions all power shall belong to the unions, being that the workers want to finally make themselves independent and establish the rights of labor. The tendency which says that the state shall go up in the unions shall finally conquer, because the workers feel most free through such a victory.

Even if the Russian anarcho-syndicalists, anarchists and industrialists as well as all other revolutionists have every reason in the world to work on the unions until the whole system answers the demands of communism, *we must not for a moment forget the progress implied in the fact that the workers have come so far as to organize the work through their own organizations and thereby the whole of industry.* The progress lies in *the victory of the idea,* and even if the idea has not yet been completely realized, we have not the right, as friends of progress, to reject the first, imperfect beginnings. In comparison to the idea of czarism, the offensive taken by the labor organizations, the unions, as productive organizations, is quite a big step forward, the importance of which we cannot to-day sufficiently appreciate. To set the real value on this is reserved for future generations. In the same manner that we look at the French revolution at the end of the 18th century as a gigantic step forward, in spite of the despotism of Napoleon, which was not surpassed by the despotism of Louis XVI., for the fruits of the revolution, the abolition of serfdom, could not be undone, just so we greet the Russian revolution, in spite of the rule of the bolsheviks. For, after all, the bolsheviks are not for the Russian revolution what Napoleon was for the French revolution; but they are, if we want to accept the com-

parison, the Russian Jacobins, with a strong admixture of proletarian elements. But the spirit of progress lives in the realization of the idea, that the workers can, through their own organizations, themselves form a society which is based on labor. As revolutionaries and champions of freedom we approve of the Russian revolution, approve of the idea that the labor unions have to be the guides of economic life, and will guarantee that these ideas shall be realized with ever greater perfection. Thus shall our ideal, a society based upon labor, attain its realization.

Nationalization or Socialization?

The difference between nationalization and socialization is often very fine, especially where it is a question of industrial undertakings. When referring to the land it is simpler. In Russia we can on the whole speak of a socialization of the soil. Its distinguishing marks are that the land belongs to the peasants personally, but that they have not the legal right to sell it. That this happens here and there, in spite of it, only shows that new forms of economic life cannot be introduced through decrees alone. Leases and rents have ceased to exist, and the only thing that remains are taxes, principally in kind. Part of the former large estates have passed over into state ownership, and in the case of these one might speak of nationalization rather than socialization. What applies to these state lands also applies to the nationalized ("statified") industrial undertakings. The state monopolized the mines, the means of transportation, the larger part of the big factories, commerce and business houses. While formerly these undertakings belonged to a great number of small industrial knights, and partly also to a small number of big "captains of industry (comparable to Stinnes in Germany), *all of it belongs today to one owner, the state.* But here we have before us something more than a simple nationalization. In Germany we had already under the Wilhelm regime nationalized railroads and postal service. Even in America the railroads were to a great extent nationalized during the war. But this kind of nationalization differs from the Russian kind in this respect that private persons have economic interest in the same. The state issues notes and debt obligations and the owners of these obligations or bonds enjoy an income without work by collecting interest, etc. The state has here, so to speak, taken over the role of a capitalist stock company. The same is often the case with municipalization. In the latter case the municipal authorities of the cities play this role.

This has been abolished in Russia. The Russian Soviet government writes out no obligations and has cancelled all capitalist claims. In relation to foreign countries the procedure has not been altogether consistent. *Through the present concession policy to the capitalist states, the soviet republic has*—right or wrong—*gone back to a more primitive form of private economy.*

The difference between the nationalization in capitalist states and in Soviet Russia is plain. But is this difference so great that it runs into socialization?

In order to be able to answer these questions we must first make up our mind *what is to be understood by socialization.* If the economic life is completely cut off from the state as an organization of power, then we can speak of socialization. But the problem may be stated differently. To some English guild socialists the state is the organization of the consumers under completely independent democracy or self-government for industry. To other guild socialists, such as S. G. Hobson, the state is an institution which has nothing to do with economic life, not even with consumption. For that reason we cannot say that the guild socialists strive for a nationalization (Verstaatlichung), but what they want is a socialization, that is a transfer of production and consumption to the organizations for production and consumption.

If we put on this measuring stick, then we cannot speak of any socialization in Russia as yet, but of nationalization (Verstaatlichung). When the factories, mines and means of transportation, that is, what is included under the name industry, is *not directly in the hands of the productive organizations but belong to the state, then we must speak of a* ("Verstaatlichung") *nationalization* even if it is of a different kind from what it is in the capitalist countries.

But looked at from another side we must refrain from considering the economic system of Russia as a socialist system. *Nationalization changes nothing in the wage system.* With the thought of socialization we connect at the same time the abolition of the wage system. But in Russia we still have the wage system. The circumstance that they pay is partly in kind and that an attempt is made to further develop this pay system may be traced to the enormous depreciation of the currency. They made a virtue out of necessity. With the abolition of the wage system social equality is attained. But this social or, more strictly speaking, economic equality we do not find in Russia as yet. *We can, consequently, not speak of socialization but we must speak of nationalization* ("Verstaatlichung").

The last expression is being used by the bolsheviks themselves. But this expression is not altogether correct. For just as there are national states and nationalities, so there is also a difference here. In the large country of Russia, there is not only one nation but many. The wealth consisting in land and industry, which is worked by many nationalities, is put under the sovereignty of a state, the bolshevik government. From this point of view, also, the expression "Verstaatlichung" (statification or statization) is the most exact.

One question that here interests us more is whether all establishments, factories, shops, mines, means of transportation,

business houses, etc., are included in the nationalization. According to the observations I have personally made, as well as according to the statistics of the Soviet government, the success in this regard is only partial. Thus, according to statistics given by Miljutin, a member of presiding board of the Supreme Council of National Economy, the number of nationalized establishments up to Feb. 1, 1920, was: In the stone industry 437 establishments with 106,109 workers. Against these stood 561 establishments, not nationalized. In mining and smelting nationalization is carried out almost completely. There are only six small establishments of that kind in which not more than 480 workers are employed. Against these stand 81 establishments with together 39,880 workers that are nationalized.

In the metal and machinery industry, on the other hand, the number of establishments which even to-day are privately owned is particularly great. There are together 601 establishments with 29,417 workers not nationalized. But these statistics cannot lay claim to completeness. I know of a foundry in Moscow which belongs to a private owner, Pirvitz, which I do not find included in the statistics. And still 106 workers are employed there. Against these private establishments stand 553 nationalized ones which employ 156,146 workers.

In the food stuff industry there are 638 establishments with 3,532 workers which are still privately owned. Against them stand 1,799 establishments with 151,699 workers that are nationalized. In the establishments for manufacture of animal products over one-third of the workers of that industry are still in private service. They number 10,711 workers, working in 2,226 establishments, while 32,979 workers are employed in 195 nationalized establishments. In the textile industry, which before the war belonged to the highest developed industries of Russia, there are now 232 establishments with 36,664 workers still in private hands, while 615 establishments with 337,346 workers are nationalized. To these belongs also the ready-made clothing branch.

According to the same statistics there are still in all Russia 985,413 *workers who work in* 4,237 *state establishments and* 84,-853*workers who work in* 4,609 *private establishments.*

From these statistics we can gather that the larger establishments are mostly nationalized while the smaller are still privately owned. These statistics, however, apply only to industry or production, but say nothing about the business houses. These were closed nearly without exception. To-day one may still see shut-and-sealed stores in Moscow and Petrograd, in whose show windows everything still lies as it did before it was confiscated. The confiscation was so poorly organized that it is still not known exactly what has been confiscated. Frequently articles of clothing are booked as hardware, or kitchen utensils as furniture. But the worst is, that even in case of the most urgent necessity the people can get nothing. Thus a fellow worker in Petrograd asked me to get him a rubber nipple from Germany for his little daugh-

ter's milk bottle. He said: "We have this article in our confiscated stores but it is impossible to get anything. The mensheviks also reproach the bolsheviks that they undertook the so-called nationalization without thorough preparations. They say that the stores were closed before other organs were created which could have undertaken to supply the people. They themselves, the mensheviks, would have done this in a more deliberate and slow way. They are not so radical but more moderate.

A little exception was made for vegetable and delicatessen stores. There are very few of the latter. But the former one finds in every block.

Trust Building or Trustification

The monopolization and nationalization of industry abolished the competition existing in small capitalist industry. Industry became concentrated and centralized. *Great state trusts came into existence.* Compared with the private capitalist enterprise, in which production for the profit of individuals or stock companies is carried on in quite meaningless and unregulated fashion, production by a single organization, even if it is capitalistic, is to be greeted as a step forward, because it can then be carried on in a more rational manner. The advantage is so much greater if the motive of production is not profit, but the needs of the nation. But here it must be remembered that care should be taken that the liberty of individuals, of the producers, is not lost, for in the measure that liberty is infringed upon, progress is impeded. Yes, it may go so far that, through unequal compensation for services rendered, in a society where nationalization, as well as the trustifaction of the whole national industry has been fully carried out, even while the production for use is the basic plan—it may go so far, we say, that the position of deep layers of the workers is not better than it is under private capitalism. Or, expressing it in a different manner: The state socialism introduced presses (through the premium system such as is used in Russia) the workers down in the same disagreeable position as capitalism did. This system may be called state capitalism, and historically it may be pointed out as a higher stage; but as for the workers who labor in the factory the social revolution must bring them an improvement in their position, for the aim of the social revolution is the liberation of the working class.

The workers who by means of the revolution desired to realize their own emancipation, felt instinctively that they must direct their efforts on taking over production and managing it according to their own principles. They also elected shop committees to manage the shops. *The shops independently managed by those workers who work in the shops,* that is how the Russian workers first pictured to themselves the socialization of industry, or the realization of the social revolution.

But the Communist Party of Russia considered this tendency of the workers only as the first and lowest form. On Dec. 5, 1917, the Supreme Council of National Economy was founded. The management of the factories was thereafter more and more twisted out of the workers' hands. The Supreme Council of National Economy took over this task. This S. C. of N. E. should properly not be anything but the co-ordination of all the establishments from the bottom upward, with retention of the independent shop management by the workers. But what came was something else. The S. C. of N. E. is an institution which manages the industry of the country from the top downward.

The Supreme Council of National Economy consists of 11 persons. The president's name is Rykoff. He is appointed by the All-Russian Executive Committee. The rest of the members are, in part, nominated by the Central Council of the Unions and finally appointed by the Council of People's Commissars. This Council of the People's Commissars can at any time cancel the decisions of the Economic Council, so that the Council of People's Commissars, a political institution which consists principally of communists, has the last word. Miljutin, a member of the Supreme Council of National Economy, mentioned in an interview with me that all important questions must be submitted to the Council of People's Commissars. Also there are tendencies to still more centralize the council, instead of decentralizing it, after the end of all wars, thus allowing the state to get a grip on the whole economic life.

. . . .*The Supreme Council of National Economy has a special department for each industry. There are* 50 *of them.* Each one of these departments manages a separate branch of industry. Miljutin described their activity as follows: They carry out the plans of production, distribute the raw materials, keep account of what is being produced and finance the undertakings. Besides they engage and discharge the management of the shops. The management of such an industrial department consists of one, three or five persons, which are appointed by the Supreme Council of National Economy, after consultation with the unions.

It would take us too far to follow up the various functions more closely into the gouvernement or local district management. They are all built on the same principle. And it is sufficient for us to know the principle. But the principle is consistently carried out from the top downward, as may be seen from the above. The organization from the bottom upward does not exist in industry, and for that reason there is no talk of self-government. The workers have no direct influence, yes, in practice they have no influence at all, not even indirect, over the management of industry, or the shop and the factory in which they work.

The workers get their wages paid through the Finance Department of the Supreme Council of National Economy. Even the prices are set on the goods by the S. C. of N. E. and thereafter made into a law.

The staff of officials of the Supreme Council of National Economy is in Moscow, which is the centre for all Russia, and consists of 20,000 persons. Besides there are, according to the statements of Miljutin, 35 local councils and each one of these has 2,000 employees. This would give a total of 90,000 employees. According to the figures given before there are in the nationalized industries 985,414 employees, or in round numbers one million. *There is, consequently, about one official for each ten workers.*

This apparatus, as at presently constituted, works heavily rather than elastically. For many purposes it cannot be used. And we should not wonder at this. A political body, which in the last instance depends upon the All-Russian Executive Committee, cannot function on the economic field like a purely economic organization of hand and brain workers, which are in straight line with one another or alongside of one another.

They have also come to feel that way in Russia, so that *they turn to private undertakings when it is a question of work that requires quick and prompt attention.* In pointing this out, I am merely stating facts, but nevertheless, it is by no means proven that capitalism is indispensable or has any advantages. It only proves that this kind of state socialism, which was started in Russia under such unfavorable conditions, has not the power to live; there might very well be other socialist economic forms which are so much the more rational. But the fact that in Russia the few private undertakings have a superior capacity for work, can be traced to the circumstance that the private undertakings pay their workers better than the state enterprises. In the already mentioned iron foundry in Moscow, belonging to Pirvitz, the workers are a good deal better off than in the Soviet shops. A commercial and technical employee, a Miss Wegener, receives, for instance, free board and lodging, the usual Payok (food stuff ration) and, like all the people of Moscow, free apartment and 15,000 rubles. According to her own statement she is far better off than in Soviet service, in which she was formerly working, and works with greater interest. The same thing applies to the workers. Another case may contribute still more to illustrating what we have said. As the supplying of fuel did not work satisfactorily in years past a certain official was given free hands. He engaged private persons and workers who under better conditions got the necessary railroad cars ready much quicker, and as a result the transportation took place much quicker. Still more such examples could be cited. *The bolsheviks themselves constantly complain of the slowness of their apparatus,* and particularly at the last party conferences as well as at the soviet congresses, the complaints are piling up.

In consideration of the sad condition in which industry finds itself the dissatisfaction of the ruling bolsheviks is easy to understand, and if they give the ideas of syndicalism such great concessions as to have for chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy, Rykov, a representative of the syndicalist ideas—

and that is the case not with him alone but in most of the leading circles—this can largely be ascribed to *the bankruptcy from which their own theories of state socialism have suffered,* and which is most evident in the organization of industry. Already in the year of 1918, the first year of bolshevik power, Mnogin, the commissar of the textile department of the S. C. of N. E., wrote in No. 40 of the "Isvestija," that the Russian Soviet Republic did not need any unions but only small factory committees which had to carry out the orders of the government. To-day, when they see that industry cannot get into a flourishing state through "governing," they have finally found the road to the unions. As cheering as this is, so regrettable is it, on the other side, that through the state tendencies of the state socialists the ruinous way of nationalization was entered upon, and is in practice still followed. If industry is not to suffer further collapse, the bolsheviks must soon make a reality of the now recognized theory, turn over production to the productive organs the workers possess in their unions, under complete self-administration of the factories by those employed there, and not by individual managers put in by the Supreme Council of National Economy.

He who comes with the expectations of finding communism can get very little satisfaction from the conditions in Russia. But even he, who only hopes for a little improvement of economic life will, as we have seen, find little to cheer him in Russia. Those in power at present repeatedly give as a reason for this the long duration of the war, the world war and the civil war. Without doubt this is one of the main causes. But as this is being sung so often and always in a new fashion by the bolsheviks, a repetition would be tedious. For it is equally certain that other factors of principle, tactics and organization play a role in this respect.

One of these factors is *the principle of political centralism,* which is given such limitless praise by the bolsheviks. This principle, which is being lauded by Radek, Trotzky and all leaders of bolshevism as the best ripened fruit on the tree of socialist development, has, nevertheless, had a truly devastating influence on economic life, and this is the case up to the present day. For that reason the songs of praise sung to centralism by the bolsheviks must with necessity wind up in a lugubrious wail due to the facts of the economic collapse. And the most sparkling dialectics of Radek and Trotzky cannot hide their character of hollow demagoguery. I cannot here keep from using the words "hollow demagoguery" when reading in what a dirty, genuinely Marx-Engels way, Radek attacks Bertrand Russel in his provoking effusions: "Bertrand Russel's Sentimental Trip to Russia." In that work one can, in fact, find nothing but pure demagoguery. Against Russel's sincere descriptions Radek brings up no facts, but only writes about "Russel's slippers by the hot stove." With this he may be able to impress his Russian worshipers, but not thinking people, and certainly not the working class of the world. This reference to the tactics of the bolshevik theoreticians has here

been made only to show what value should be put on their arguments.

We need not enter into a theoretical discussion of the principles of centralism. It is sufficient in this connection to show how, with the principle of centralism as a fundamental principle of organization, the economic life does not prosper, how the free development of private initiative is completely suppressed and how economic life has suffered from it in an unspeakable manner.

Already in treating of the agricultural question we have seen from examples quoted that, through the policy applied by the Communist Party and the situation resulting therefrom, the area of cultivated land has diminished. At the VIII. All-Russian Soviet Congress interesting proofs of this were added. In industry it is not much better. Of the 1,191 metal works in Russia only 300 are running. Only 20% of the pig iron of peace production is being worked. The food stuffs industry has also gone down considerably. In a steam mill in Samara there were before the war 18,000 pud of flour milled per day, but now only 5,000-6,000 pud. In the whole Samara gouvernement there were 60 million pud grain produced before the war, but now only 20 million pud. These figures show an extra-ordinary decrease of production, to which we may seek the causes where we will.

The Home Workers and Their Co-operative Societies or Artels

Besides the nationalized establishments which are managed by the Supreme Council of National Economy, the structure and functions of which we have already considered, *there is a second kind of socialized production.* These are the joint labor societies of Russian peasants and independent home workers, which are called *artels. The kustar* is an industrial home worker, a poor peasant or a small artisan. These small people band together in a joint labor society, buy their products in common and deliver their finished products to their societies. This society or artel takes over the selling of the products and supplies the artisan at the same time with raw material and working tools.

As this society in no way can be considered a capitalist company but purely as a banding together of voluntarily working individuals, the bolshevik government has been unable to destroy these joint labor groups. Peter Kropotkin takes a friendly position towards these labor societies and wrote for their paper, at the time I was in Russia, several articles and letters for their congress. These joint labor societies are no exploiting organizations, but during the czarist period they had to suffer from oppression by the big capitalists just as the factory workers did. Now they are *also hit by the compulsory policy of the Soviet government.* Thus, in Moscow, the central of all the artels was dissolved, and when I visited it, it was just in the stage of liquidation.

But a number of artels still have their joint organizations. In the Moscow society 98 shops were enrolled. *Affiliation to the artel is done by the family.* A total of about 9,000 families are enrolled in the artels. They make a total of 24,000 productive workers. Among these are 700-800 larger shops. All sorts of handicrafts are represented in these artels. The product consists of leather goods, saddles, boots, furniture, combs, brushes, toys, jewelry, textile goods, metal goods, papier-maché goods, wagons, sleds, valises, school material, books and similar goods. For the present the Soviet government is delivering raw materials to the artels, at least to a limited extent. The society supplies, for instance, lumber to the cabinet makers and distributes it to the different shops. Payment to the different shops differs in nature. Some have their finished articles sold by the society for their account, others arrange to have wages paid them and turn the selling over to the society without reservations. This latter is the case in some of the larger shops. The members of the same get a wage of from 100 to 1,000 rubles daily. But in paying the wages it is taken into consideration whether the member has property or is poor. Thus, to cite examples, the owners of a little farm are paid a little less than those who have nothing. By this means it is sought to bridge over the inequalities of wealth. In the gouvernement of Moscow there are many peasants who are members of this artel society.

The first artel in Moscow came into existence 20 years ago. In other gouvernements the artels have been in existence since 1890. So far, such artels exist in the gouvernements Moscow, Jaroslov, Nischni-Novgorod, Vladimir, Thula and Kostroma. The Soviet government tried to nationalize these artels. The artisans and peasants belonging to them were, however, opposed to this nationalization. They objected to have their central exchange made into a state organ, and as most of the members of these artels are the poorest peasants, the government uses no force in order to carry out a compulsory nationalization.

The work of the artisans belonging to the artel societies amounts to 50 railroad cars of goods per month, which have a value of 250 million rubles.

The society of the home workers, the artel of the "kustarnije" in Russia, is a piece of socialist life. True, it is no large industry, and as small handicraft it has something narrow-mindedly petit-bourgeois over it. But in socialism we must not include only the technically highest developed large industry. Socialist life is not tied to the forms of large industry, and it is entirely absurd to wish to force people, in the name of socialism, into economic forms which are considered best for the welfare of the state. Socialism means, under the present forms of technical development, the elimination of wage slavery, economic equality and equalizing of interests. The development of the method of production to more rational forms can thereafter take place without hindrance, but under no circumstances must we force it into ex-

istence at the cost of the liberty of the workers, for that is exactly what the capitalists do. Socialist life consists in the side-by-side activities of voluntary associations of workers. Such an association is the Russian artel. If it is not yet ideal, still it is a start made by the workers, by the poor who work for their living.

Consumption

It is a truism of political economy that the quantity of goods used depends on the quantity of goods produced. In conformity herewith *the economic doctrines of a Marx, principally, have laid the chief stress on the conquest of production by the workers.* If the producers are in possession of the products through their organization, then it is also in their power to distribute the products justly, under the supposition that they are justice-loving, socialist organizations.

But there is another way of paving the way for socialism. It is true that the working class as a whole cannot obtain more than the quantity of products that is turned over to it by the class that is master of production. When the capitalists weaken the buying power of the workers through high prices and low wages, they diminish their power of consumption. When the workers organize themselves as consumers and find ways and means to keep the prices low, then they are also in a position to increase their consumption. Besides, the organization of workers as consumers carries with it a second advantage. Even if the quantity of products which the working class as a whole consumes depends upon the monopolists of production and the means they employ, the workers can still obtain a just division of the products through their organizations of consumption. And this also is a piece of socialism.

The workers have in fact organized themselves in both directions, that is, as producers and consumers. *They have trade unions and consumers' unions, or co-operative societies, as they are also called.* That is also fully the case in Russia.

But not only the workers and poor peasants have acknowledged the necessity of organizing consumption in the interest of all; even the state was forced to it through the need of the hour. As the food stuffs became ever scarcer as a result of the war, the state, which led the nation into war, could no longer tolerate that the necessary food stuffs remained objects of speculation. The result of this would have been a still greater famine than they already had without it, and this would have had a bad influence on the defense. From these causes sprang *national husbandry by force.* The governments of all capitalist states, who were in such a position, used this means. Even the Russian Soviet government saw itself compelled to resort to such steps. But as they, in order to consistently carry out husbandry by force, would have been compelled to have a large apparatus, which it was not able to

stamp out of the ground so quickly, they used for this purpose the already existing consumers' societies. The consumers' societies were nationalized.

In Russia, conditions are on many points entirely different from what they are in western Europe. Thus, for example, *the consumers' union movement reached a stronger and higher development than the trade union movement.* This is caused by the fact that the consumers' unions in the first line were organizations of the consumers. The peasants had no need for organizations of production, but they had need of organizations of consumption. And as over 80% of the population of Russia are peasants, so were also, in perfect coincidence herewith, 80% of the members of the consumers' societies peasants.

No party and no union in Russia was before the war so powerful as the Co-operative movement. The Siberian butter producers united, in order to sell their butter in common to Russia or even to foreign countries. There we had already a large consumers' union of the peasants, which later, as it grew larger, also occupied itself with other products. This was a uniting of all the above mentioned artels.—These Siberian unions had in the year of 1907 a turn-over of 957,000 pud butter, of a value of 160,000,000 rubles. (1 pud equal to 34 lbs.)

All these consumers' unions or distributing artels or "co-operatives" were united into a central body which is known under the name of Centrosoyuz. To the Centrosoyuz belonged in 1914 13,500 affiliated distributing artels with a membership of 1,500,000 and a turn-over of 300,000,000 rubles.

When the war broke out the consumer's unions of Russia developed as in no other country. There are principally two circumstances back of the mighty growth of the Centrosoyuz that attract our attention. First, the czar's government did not worry itself very much about supplying food stuffs to the population, so that the workers and peasants had to help themselves—and since that time the workers in the industries also have joined this movement, while it formerly comprised mostly peasants; second, the prices of food stuffs began to rise in such a manner that the working population of the cities in mass joined these societies, in order to procure more cheaply the necessary means of life. *So the number of single consumers' societies rose in the year* 1917 *to* 20,000; *to* 25,000 *in* 1918; *to* 50,000 *in the year* 1919. *At the same time the membership rose to* 7,000,000 *in* 1917, *to* 10,000,000 *in* 1918, *and* 15,000,000 *in* 1919. *In the year of* 1919 *the turn-over was not less than* 15 *billion rubles* (15,000,000,000).

Politically, these unions were of a more or less neutral character. But as they grew ever more powerful, their influence also, naturally, became noticeable in politics. After the growth of the movement there was *a division into two parts. One agricultural society, consisting of peasants, and one distribution society, consisting of the working population of the cities.* After the out-

break of the revolution some leaders of both kinds of societies entered the provisional government. But in doing so they had given up their political neutrality. As economic life influences political life, so these co-operatives had, through their economic power, become an important factor politically, with which the government was compelled to count.

In the course of development there arose under the Centrosoyuz even productive societies, which produced goods which the peasants could not create. The co-operatives distribute not only food stuffs, but also garments, cloth, silk and other articles.

After the outbreak of the October revolution, the co-operatives developed with considerably greater rapidity than before, as will appear from the figures given above. One of the most active men was Tugon Baranovski, a friend of Peter Kropotkin's. But these newly arisen consumers' unions had only a short life. *Through the decree of the soviet government of March* 28, 1918, *the consumers' unions or co-operatives were nationalized*, and all of the consumers' unions founded by the workers themselves were deprived of their independence and inserted among the state organs.

The vicarious chairman of the executive committee of the present nationalized "Centrosoyuz," P. L. Voikoff, related in an interview which we had with him on June 22, 1920, that the bolsheviks after the outbreak of the October revolution desired to use the existing co-operatives as organs of the new state for the distribution of food stuffs. But difficulties arose, for the co-operatives, represented by their old leaders, made active resistance to the nationalization. But the government, which desired to lead the consumers' unions into new channels, removed the persons which stood in its way and installed a new executive committee) which consisted of men who carried out the intentions of the government. This new executive committee consists of 9 members, who all belong to the Communist Party (bolsheviks).

According to the opinion of the old, dismissed leaders of the Centrosoyuz, the consumers' unions were associations of free citizens, but the tendency of nationalization was against the character of the organization. The government desired to "democratize" the unions, as they called it. For this purpose the whole population had to enter into these unions. *The government issued a decree, according to which every citizen had to be a member of the consumers' union.* By the decree of March 18, the old committees of the consumers' union were forced by the state to call in an assembly; in this assembly a new committee was elected. In the elections for this committee the whole population could take part, whether they were members of the old consumers' unions or not: each one had the right to vote. This is what they called "democratization." This committee, which is to be found in all localities, in every commune, elects a representative to a district com-

mittee, and this district committee elects the members of the executive committee of the Centrosoyuz.

This is, however, the case only theoretically, for, according to the statements of the vicarious chairman already referred to, the executive committee was, in practise, not elected but appointed by the government, by which process only members of the Communist Party were picked out.

One representative of this Centrosoyuz is Krassin, and he is not only a representative of the Centrosoyuz, but, the Centrosoyuz being a state organ, he is also an official representative of the Soviet government. As such he was received by the English government. Krassin represents the commercial interests of the Soviet government, and for lack of a different apparatus the government is using this Centrosoyuz. Through the Centrosoyuz the Soviet government will carry on import and export business with foreign countries.

But if the Centrosoyuz is an official organ of the government as regards foreign countries, such is not the case domestically. *The official government organ is the Food Stuffs Commissariat.* But as this proved itself incapable of handling the provisioning of the population, the Soviet government makes use of the consumers' unions.

The function of such a consumers' union are known to every organized west-European worker. In Russia they were similar to what they are in the rest of Europe. The small consumers' unions gathered money for the purchase of goods. When they did not collect enough money, they received the necessary means as a loan from a bigger union affiliated with the Centrosoyuz. The goods purchased they divided among their members. In the peasant co-operatives production is mostly individual, as we have already indicated in the chapter about the Land. The co-operative societies of the peasants embrace only consumption, not production. The peasants must deliver to the government everything that they do not need for themselves. The government organ for this purpose is the Food Stuffs Commissariat and the consumers' unions. Thus, while the government has two ways of obtaining goods, the peasants have only one, namely through their co-operative societies.

The purpose of the government in nationalizing the consumers' unions or co-operative societies was twofold: First, it was desired to disestablish the unions as being "capitalistic undertakings" which had their own private banks. This was done by confiscating the larger productive undertakings of the societies; *second, it was desired to discontinue private trade.* The supplying of the people should be done exclusively through the organs of the state. The most important question for us is: Has nationalization proven a success, *have the co-operative societies had the capacity of their service increased through nationalization, and can an imitation of these tactics be recommended?*

The Sucherevka market in Moscow, the fish market in Char-

kov, and similar markets in all the cities of Russia give the first answer to this question, namely, that the government has not succeeded in regulating the provisioning of the population through its measures. But even when there is only a small market in a city, such as in Petrograd, it only means that the population is procuring the necessary provisions in some other more underground manner. *Today the co-operative societies no longer have the service capacity which they had before nationalization.* Why? The societies no longer are unions of peasants' artels, in which the peasants leave their products to be sold, but the government has rather taken over the task of handling the agricultural products. How this takes place we have already seen. The peasants are compelled to part with their grain for 100 rubles per pud. Whether the organs through which the government handles this work are called departments of the Food Stuffs Commissariat or departments of the Centrosoyuz, it all comes to the same thing, for if the peasants refuse to deliver at those prices, they are forced to it through the military. In each case the soldiers requisition the grain. The societies also receive their products through the government and cannot distribute any more than they receive from the government. But as this, for reasons mentioned, is not sufficient, the societies are far less serviceable than before the nationalization. The societies are to-day no longer free institutions, but, according to the words of the vicarious chairman, the population are forced to become members. And it is clear that a compulsory organization cannot work as well as a free one. The societies are to-day less capable of supplying the population with the necessary provisions, and for that reason everybody tries to supply through private channels what is missing.

Branches of the co-operative societies were established by the government in conjunction with the trade unions in the factories, and these committees conduct the distribution of the products. In that manner the workers receive through this committee their pound of bread directly in the factory. But oftener the factory committee, elected in the factory, performs this function. But I must here note that in all factories which I have visited—and they amounted in Russia and Ukraine to 20—the workers complained of not receiving a sufficient ration of food stuffs. In a chocolate factory the girls cried and complained that they had not received any bread for three days. In a textile factory they were just receiving bread when we visited them. They started to use harsh language and complained that they were not receiving full weight. The manager, who showed us the factory, wanted to prove to them that they were mistaken, and he went to the scales and weighed portions of the bread, and, in fact, there was 25 gram missing to the pound. The soldiers, however, receive much richer rations. On a Volga steamer the sailors, beaming with joy, showed us the great quantity of bread and sugar that they received.

As the reason for the low productivity of the workers we

may put down the lack of food stuffs. One would think that the food shortage was general, as the workers could not themselves procure food stuffs in a different manner, and it would lead one to think that there was a shortage in the market place, or everywhere. But such is not the case. While the workers were unable to obtain sufficient through the organs of the government, for the stated reason that there was not enough, it is possible *to buy everything in the market.* Besides, the workers *organize small circles in the factory,* pool their money and send one of several of their fellow workers out in the country to buy provisions from the peasants. These provisions are thereafter divided between the participants. Thus, *the workers have again created new, voluntary, small co-operatives,* or consumers' unions, although of only a temporary character, because the nationalized consumers' societies no longer were able to cover their needs.

Just as little as the state was able to acquire the whole of production, just so little was it possible to force the whole of consumption into the state organization. *Economic life cannot be forced into the compulsory forms of the state; if it is tried, the impossibility of it comes to light.* Centralism is always greatest in governments during times of war, and this applies also to Russia. While during the war it was not possible to force the whole economic life into the centralist mold, after the war it was still less possible to handle everything by means of the centralist apparatus of the state, it being then necessary to loosen up the tight reins a little, if a catastrophe shall not be conjured up. *Society and social-economic life are not a machine, nor an apparatus. But the bolsheviks seem to conceive of them as an apparatus*—to their daily vocabulary belongs the word "apparatus," for the single parts of an apparatus or a machine are dead things. But the separate parts, of which human society is composed, are beings with will power. The mistake inherent in all bolshevik theories and which all bolsheviks are always making, is that they do not sufficiently count with this. And that is also the reason why all their organizing and "apparatus creating" so far has been so imperfect, as they themselves admit, while they, naturally, do not want to use any other name for the organizations which are born out of their autocratic world conception. In the future it will be still more impossible than in the three past years of bolshevik rule to lay hold of everything by means of various kinds of apparatus in the bolshevik sense, by means of state organs. Leaving out the fact that the bolsheviks degrade the individual to a will-less tool in the hands of an apparatus, they can never reach what they are striving for by such means.

We have already seen that outside of the economic organizations of production and consumption maintained by the state, the workers help themselves, and that a *large part of the economic activities of the country takes place outside the limitations fixed by the state.*

A special chapter in Russia is *shuffling*. In order to get an idea of it, it is sufficient to refer to the statements of the bolsheviks themselves. Thus, as an example, the Moscow paper "Communist Labor" writes in the second half of June, 1920, in regard to goods which had been located in several sections of Moscow, and which could be labeled as shuffle-goods, that is, as goods which had nowhere been entered, and which consequently had been shuffled to one side by "responsible soviet employees." In the Rogoschevsky-Simenovski-Rayon were found 1,546 lots of shuffle-goods. Among these were 59,149 pud (1 pud equal to 34 lbs.) nickle, 30,135 pud aluminium; 25,071 pud tin; 237,076 pud zink; 18,332 pud lead plate; 921,857 pud brass; 535,979 pud steel; undetermined quantities of wire; 18,000 two-handle saws; 20,610 axes; 32,330 pairs of boots; 5 million archins of woolen-goods; 110,566 archins (2 1-3 feet) of linen; 20,426 pud coffee and tea, and many other things that are mentioned in the paper but which it is useless to enumerate here, as this already is sufficient to show that *through the centralist system the biggest kind of conscious shufflings are possible.* It remains to mention that in another rayon, among other goods, were found ½ million pairs of stockings and 47 carloads of agricultural machinery. This would, of course, be impossible if a decentralistic, that is, a federalistic system were applied, and the workers of every rayon or the workers handling it, had control over the goods. As it is now, under the centralistic system, only one central needs to know where the goods belong, and all other sub-departments have to follow the order of the central. Through this system nothing is easier than that shuffling will sneak in, for if there is only one shuffler at the central, goods to the value of millions can be shuffled, because the workers who are handling it are only the horses that pull the chariot of the Central.

Another *example given by Zinoviev* himself shows how wonderfully the "apparatus" of the centralistic organization of national economy functions. At a conference of the Communist Party of Russia, which was held in Moscow in October, 1920, Zinoviev spoke of the shortcomings and weaknesses of the party and in the organizations created by it. He related that, on the Murman coast there is, as is well known, a rich run of fish, but particularly so in recent weeks, when the season had been at its height. The comrades there say that the fish is so plentiful that it is sufficient only to pull about three times in the water with a stick with a hook attached, in order to catch fish. But in spite of that the Murman railroad workers and laborers do not get a single pound of fresh fish and are compelled to live from dried fish, at best. How does that come about? It arises from the fact that we have a fish central ("Glavryba'), which says: "First you must catch the fish, thereafter register it on the books and throw salt on its tail," and only then can the workers receive it. But if the workers try to get in touch with the fish central, the latter is far out of range." Another example quoted by Zinoviev: "I

want to tell you about another case. In Ussolje immense supplies of salt were stored up. The peasants asked for permission to fetch the salt quantities due them on their own wagons, under the control of food stuffs authorities. The chauncery nag began its trot, but in the meantime the river rose above its banks and licked up all the salt. What do you expect the peasant to say to this? Fifty miles from the Baku the workers and the peasants are without petroleum. And there in Baku is the main spring of petroleum! That is due to the shortcomings of our organization."

So far Zinoviev. I have myself heard of numerous such cases in Russia from different people, but if I refer to Peter Kropotkin, Emma Goldman or Spiridonova, or other pronounced anti-centralists who have gathered together much material, it would probably appear to some that these tales are colored. But it cannot very well be received in that manner when it comes from the mouth of the arch centralists. What happened to the peasants of Ussolje, also happened to innumerable other peasants about wood, and also to the Petrograd workers, and so it will always go and must go as long as the system of centralism rules in all economic organizations. *It is not only a few shortcomings, sa Zinoviev would have you believe, but it is the principle of political centralism on which the blame falls.* I can further illustrate this through a personal experience: A female friend of mine in Moscow asked me to procure some antiquarian books for her. After a long search I happened to see the books in a soviet book store, and I stepped in and wanted to buy them. But there my troubles began. Yes, I could buy the books but had first to obtain permission from the book central, "Centropitschatsch." I took the address and went forth. But the place was at the other end of Moscow. Upon arriving there (one has to walk, for the population cannot ride in autos like foreign delegates) I found it closed. The next day I went again, but I was told that it was no longer there but in a different location. Finally finding the Book Central, I first came to a lady who sat at a desk. She ordered me to fill out a slip and sent me to the next office. There another blank had to be filled out with the names of the books that I wanted, and with this blank I was further sent into a different room. There it was registered, and I was sent back to the second room with the order blank. Now the order blank was signed, and now I could go to the book store and get the three antiquarian books. But now I saw a German book in the store, which I would have liked to buy for myself, I was told that it was necessary for me to again get an order blank from the central. By this time I had enough of this and let the book lie where it was. In order to buy a couple of antiquarian books, one needs, consequently, two days. No wonder if life gets clogged and dissatisfaction over it grows. But these are not merely some shortcomings of the organization, but the whole system is wrong.

That *bureaucracy*, the intimate friend of centralism, prospers under such conditions is clear without further argument. And

there are twice as many bureaucrats in Moscow as there are workers. According to a Rosta poster—one often finds these stuck up on the walls in Russia—the following are the population figures given for 1919-1920:

400,000 children under 16 years,
250,000 housewives,
105,000 workers organized in unions,
233,000 soviet employees and officials,
312,000 persons of the bourgeois element.

Total 1,300,000 inhabitants in Moscow.

Although it is compulsory for all workers in Russia to belong to the union, there are no more workers in Moscow than those here mentioned. There are, consequently, only 105,000 workers, but 233,000 soviet employees. But the remaining 312,000 parasitic elements also "work" together with the soviet officials, that is, they are engaged in some sort of *smuggle* trade. Naturally, not very much of productive work can be accomplished in this manner, and as a matter of course it reacts on the food stuffs and provision situation of the country.

The Life of the Workers in the Cities

The workers cannot live from the food stuffs that they receive. They are, therefore, compelled to resort to self-help and to smuggle. This is not said in order to paint something in black colors, but only in order to illustrate the situation which arose from a complex of different circumstances. Street railways handle very little traffic in Petrograd, in Moscow they are still scarcer, and at the end of October the whole street car service was suspended. The workers must, consequently, often walk over an hour to their work or their soviet office (if it is a soviet employee). For lunch they remain in the factory or the bureau. They receive their noon-day meal at the place of work, in the soviet offices or in most of the factories. It consists almost exclusively of soup and "kascha" (mush). In Moscow this meal is very poor everywhere, but in some places in Charkov comparatively good. For a worker one must consider the meal even quantitatively as insufficient. Besides, they receive other food, the so-called "payok." This also is unsatisfactory. But in the fall, when there are apples or wood at the bureau, then everybody must bring them home on his or her back which may require an hour. When he comes home he is, of course, not able to do anything. And still he lacks every convenience in the house. Having to do everything himself, his whole activity is expended on a lot of petty things, so that he can do very little productive work.

The product turned out by the workers in the factories is minimal, as one can understand from the standard of life. But this is frequently regarded by the government as sabotage, and

the communist cell in the factory, which has to watch over it, often denounces the worker for sabotage. For this they are then punished.

The rations (payok) to which the workers are entitled in a locomotive repair shop which I inspected, are, per month: 25 lb. flour (1 Russian lb. equal to 400 gram or .88 lb. American weight); 1 lb. oil; 8 lbs. fish; 5 lbs. groats; 1½ tobacco; 2 lbs. sugar; ¼ lb. coffee; 1½ lb. salt. But the workers do not receive these rations regularly. When I visited the factory, the shop committee was just in session, and they complained that during the previous month the workers had not received any oil and not enough flour.

If the workers do not get enough they *try to procure more through private channels.* The bakers take dough with them home in their long pockets. Their women make small cakes out of it and sell them in the market. The bread carriers steal the ready baked bread; I spoke with one of the carriers, who told me quite openly that if he did not do this he could not exist. The same thing other workers do, who are employed in other branches of industry. Everybody tries to pull through in ways that are permitted or not permitted.

Perhaps many a person will ask the question why the workers do not buy what they need. This is not exactly possible, because they *simply cannot pay the prices that are asked in free trade.* The workers receive from 3,000 to 10,000 rubles per month. The meal in the factory is not expensive; its costs only about 20 rubles. Similarly the prices of the things which they receive in their rations are very cheap. Also the prices for everything received from the government are very low, so that, if the workers received sufficient from that source, they would get along very well with their money, yes, they even could save a good deal of money. But the reason they receive such a high wage is because the rations are not sufficient. When they are compelled to pay 500-600 rubles for a pound of bread in the market and from 5,000-6,000 rubles for a pound of butter, then they would have to earn 100,000 rubles per month if they want to come out right.

Of the mentioned 312,000 individuals of the bourgeois elements, which according to the Rosta statistics are to be found in Moscow, there are also many wretched persons, which deserve any name but bourgeois. In the summer, visitors to the second congress of the III. International could see men and women lying in the streets at night, sleeping. If you asked these people why they slept in the street, they answered that they wanted to be the first in the morning when the bureau was opened to get their allowance of railway travel. These people then went to the railway and traveled to the surrounding villages, in order to buy milk and, if possible, other things which they later sold in the Moscow market. At the railway stations one can later see hundreds of ragged persons, who have traveled a long way for from two to five liters of milk (1 liter equal to 1.76 pint), in order to sell it

later for a small gain, and, too, always in danger of being arrested. Milk distribution is so poorly organized that thousands fetch a liter a piece from the village, instead of one bringing a thousand liters of milk, as is done in Berlin. In spite of the overwhelming centralism they have not been able to arrange this. Disregarding this highly irrational supply system there is not a spark of the socialist spirit to be seen in it. The bolsheviks have not yet even made arrangements for a communal milk supply, such as is introduced in Berlin for children and for the sick' and then they want to talk about communism and call themselves communists!

Nor can we designate as communistic the wage policy in force. There are two standards by which to size up this question: (1) The land, the nation, the state, perhaps also the class; (2) the workers and the individual. The first is the starting point to the state socialists, the social-democrats, the bolsheviks, the "communists"; the second is the starting point of the anti-state socialists. If we think of the welfare of the country, the state—even if it is a proletarian state—or of the class, then we will do everything to defend these. That is what the bolsheviks do. When the revolution broke out, it was in this sense that they had to defend the revolution. *They had to keep the industry of the country going at any price, even if they had to give up the principal demands of socialism, namely the equal wage.* At present *there are in Russia* 35 *wage steps or wage classes,* the academically *educated people,* the engineers, the technicians, the organizers, etc., *are in the highest classification of wages, the trained workers in the middle classes* and *the unskilled workers in the lowest classes.* Furthermore, consideration is given to the question whether the workers labor in establishments which are important for the war and against the counter-revolution. They have even proposed to the railwaymen, in the summer of 1920, the tariff which was laid before them in 1912 during czarism, but which was then declined. We are, consequently, forced to say that Russia has gone to the dogs on the wage question, no matter what beautiful phrases or important reasons Lenin may put forward to defend it.

The bolsheviks were driven to this wage policy, which we have just designated as anti-socialist, through an important turn of the conditions. *The workers were not in a position to take over the industries. They were not prepared for it and they had not organized themselves for the purpose of taking over production.* In Russia this was certainly not possible. The revolution did not come when the workers or a group of revolutionaries were ready with their revolutionary preparations, or when the workers were technically so well prepared that they could take over production without friction from the capitalistic leaders (whether they be technicians or organizers), but the revolution came in Russia before the workers were in a position to prepare for it. When too, a political party takes the power, then, naturally, nothing socialistic can come from it. One need not, conse-

quently, be astonished over the fact that the bolsheviks did not carry through a socialist wage policy, but, on the contrary, there would have been reason for astonishment if they had worked out such a wage policy.

The bolsheviks had thus been compelled to retain the bourgeoisie which had been the leader of industry before the revolution, in their employ, either by means of physical force or through extra-ordinary high pay. The last method proved to be the best one, and the capitalist wage policy was continued, but at the same time they explained, and they do so yet, that the aim was to further develop the workers, in order to make the bourgeoisie more superfluous and replace them by workers.

But if they now had such bad luck in Russia, that the revolution found the workers unprepared and in no position to take production out of the hands of the capitalists, then we must at least draw a lesson therefrom. For the bad thing about it is that the workers who, naturally, are no political economists and do not understand the connection of things, put the blame on the revolutionary party or organization which happens to be in power. This time it happens to be the bolsheviks, but if it were the syndicalists or the anarchists or any other revolutionary government, then it would be the same lyre they would be compelled to play on, and the workers would consider them as their rulers, just as they now consider the bolsheviks.

This lesson *the syndicalists* drew already long ago, insofar as they *admonish the workers to prepare and develop themselves personally, as well as their organizations, in such a manner that when a revolution breaks out*, from various economic, psychological and political reasons, *it finds the workers prepared.* Peculiarly enough, the syndicalists who teach this are decried and "accused" by the same bolsheviks and party communists as reformists. Thus, things are being put on their head. Instead of the bolsheviks saying to the syndicalists: "Yes, you are right; if the revolution and socialism shall not become entirely discredited before the workers, then we must strike out for this road," they say to the syndicalists that, "if revolution breaks out we will either put you in jail or stand you up against a wall." That is what they have done in Russia at all events, where many anarcho-syndicalists have been put in jail.

They cannot entirely cut loose from this doctrine, which on one side is promulgated by the syndicalists and on the other side also by Eugen Dühring in his book "Social Salvation" many years ago, and for that reason the doctrine is smuggled into the theses of the III. International, where a great role is assigned to the trade unions in the conquest of the political power and in the economic up-building of communism. But the principal role shall, of course, be played by a political, communist party.

In spite of all this obscuration and veil-pulling it is not possible to hide the fact that the social revolution shall be so much

the more successful, that is, social equality shall be the sooner realized, the better the workers are prepared for it. Whoever wants to be an adherent of the social revolution and does not set his eyes chiefly on this, but on the conquest of political power, he shows that in his innermost self he is more of a rioter, an adherent of violent phrases rather than a socialist. But such are the bolsheviks in Russia and the political communist parties in all other countries. The principal task for a real socialist or communist, if you so want to call them, lies just in preparing himself, the workers and the peasants for social equality, on the economic, the intellectual and the moral field; but he must be a syndicalist to do this.

Still another circumstance must be added, which contributed to the development of the 35 wage grades or to the fact that the bourgeoisie is better paid than the workers. This was the use of the motto: *"Who does not work, neither shall he eat"* as a tactical principle. As a theory this sentence is a commonplace of socialist, or, if we want to be ironical, of biblical propaganda. It is correct and just: Who does not work, neither shall he eat. But this must not be interpreted so as to mean, that he who has not worked before this time shall from now on get nothing to eat. *The social revolution is an act of social justice*, through which social injustices are done away with, and not vice versa. *The social revolution must give everybody something to eat,* no matter what he has done before, even if he has done nothing at all. This method is, however, to be recommended, not only from the standpoint of justice, but also from the standpoint of revolutionary tactics. That the bourgeoisie of Russia was given nothing or less to eat than others has revenged itself. When they later were needed for the organization of technical and industrial life they had become still more embittered enemies of the working class than before, through these very tactics.

From this, also, we have a lesson to draw: Not to support the negative tendencies, not to give free vent to instincts of revenge in ourselves or in others, but to combat them and, on the contrary, do everything to make the birth of the social revolution an act of equalization and social justice. Or, putting it in more common words: *To give bread to everybody must be the first duty of the social revolution.*

Workers' Insurance

When formerly, in pre-revolutionary days, socialists, syndicalists, or anarchists imagined their ideal society realized or painted it before themselves, they never thought of such a thing as workers' insurance or labor laws. For the German anarcho-socialists or syndicalists such things always had the flavor of Bismarckian politics. Social law-making against unemployment, sickness, accident, etc., in behalf of the workers was considered necessary only in the capitalist state while already *the funda-*

mental principle of socialism is mutual help, so that social law-making in the old capitalist sense of the word could not be thought of.

That workers' insurance is being introduced in Russia only proves again that there we have not to do with a social revolution but with a political revolution, which has deeply impressed itself upon the social life of Russia. Private property has for the largest part been abolished and the revolution might develop into a social revolution in a more far-reaching sense if other countries also are entangled in the revolution.

That influential, revolutionary, bolshevik circles in Russia first of all thought of introducing the progressive measures which had been realized in the rest of Europe for some time past, should not be counted to their discredit. Thus, *the bolsheviks carried out the social law-making which Kerensky had commenced on a small scale,* but on a much larger scale. True, one cannot defend onself for the thought, that Kerensky would have done the same thing if he had remained in power longer. This policy of social law-making gives us the impression of a certain reformist tendency. Up to then all social law-making had had the significance of an addition or improvement to the structure of capitalist society. But one cannot pass judgment on the basis of this single point; we must rather take into consideration the whole achievement of the bolsheviks and the whole Russian revolution. Such a general consideration shows us that the Russian revolution was one half political and one half social and in its later development even partly inclined to reaction. This all constitutes the curves of development we cannot yet consider as ended.

In the realm of the czar, workers' insurance was only poorly developed. Up to the year 1917, including the brief Kerensky period, there were in all Russia 1,457,503 workers insured. In the year 1919 the number grew to 3,009,510, and *in the year* 1920, *according to the statement of the Commissar of Labor, there were* 6,000,000 *persons, who were all subject to insurance.* But in a population of 120,000,000 this is still very small. Besides one must consider the whole insurance, in the present situation, to be *more on paper than carried out into reality.*

The institution which has worked out the insurance system is *the Commissariat of Labor.* At the head of it stands the People's Commissar of Labor, Schmidt. But this commissariat has to care for not only the workers without an income, but also for the active ones, that is, it has to give out the work to the workers. The commissariat has five sub-departments. The first branch handles the distribution of the work and the workers; the second, protection of the workers; the third, the tariff service; the fourth, labor statistics; the fifth, a labor museum. *The Commissariat of Labor has sections in every city.* If workers are needed in a place, they are sent from a central in Moscow or from a provincial division. This institution also manages the negotiations and arrange-

ments with foreigners who wish to immigrate into Russia. The workers must labor according to the conditions fixed by the commissariat. As the commissar of labor is put in office by the trade unions, the conditions are in conformity with the wishes of the Executive Committee of the unions, and *the tariff, statistics, etc., are worked out by the Commissariat in conjunction with the unions.* When a job of some kind is to be started, such as *the erection of a building, the Commissariat for Building Construction addresses itself to the Supreme Council of National Economy for material, and to the Labor Commissariat for workers.* Just as the Supreme Council of National Economy has to supply the material, so the Commissariat of Labor has to supply the labor power.

These measures of labor protection include motherhood insurance, child insurance and the bringing up of children, invalid and sickness insurance. According to the statements of Labor Commissar Schmidt *the basic support for all needy is* 1,200 *rubles per month.* This is the minimum wage for workers, for unemployed, for women whose husbands are in the red army, etc. Of the workers actually employed—and that is practically all the workers included in the unions—about one-sixth receives this minimum wage; five-sixths receive additional payments of all kinds, through overtime, through piece work, through premiums, so that the worker comes to an average of 4,000-5,000 rubles per month. The wage is paid partly in kind, partly in money. Workers under 15 years are allowed to work only 6 hours a day.

So far Commissar Schmidt. But in the factories I have found that many qualified workers earn much more than the sums given here; they come as high as from 10,000 to 15,000 rubles per month. In the factories I also spoke with 16-year old youths, who had already for four years worked 8 hours a day at the turning lathe, so that the protection of the youth, which now exists on paper, has not yet been carried over into reality. *It may be that the decree on workers' insurance is partly carried out, but that it is not completely carried out was proven by my observations.*

National Finance

In another place in this book we have already discussed the question whether we in Russia have to do with state capitalism or state socialism. The financial problem shows us this question in new light.

When the November revolution of 1917 broke out and went on to victory, all large land owners were dispossessed. The *banks were nationalized. Interest on money was abolished, private capital was changed into national capital.* All mortgages were annulled. Tho government made great efforts to collect all the money outstanding on mortgages, but received only 4 million rubles under that head.

The most important feature of the revolution on the financial field is *the depreciation of money.* The government printed

paper money without regard to the gold reserve. These paper bills are no national debt certificates, no credit certificates; they *are nothing but paper.* The state does not borrow and has no creditors like the capitalist states. Capitalism, that is, interest bearing capital, is abolished. The money issued by the bolsheviks represents no national debt and *it is not intended to have it redeemed by the state.* The security back of it is the wealth of the country, the land, which has become state property, the forests, the mines, the oil springs, the factories and the machinery; all these are the assets of the state. We have also seen that the bolsheviks in their commercial treaties with other countries pay with natural resources, which they turn over in form of concessions to the capitalist states for exploitation, seeing that they have no possiblity of exploiting them themselves. In consonance therewith the bolshevik paper money does not carry the legend "Loan Certificate" or "National Bank Note" or a statement to the effect that the state pays the amount upon demand, but in 6 languages it has the words: "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

This is nearly a precise verbal account of an interview with Minister of Finance Krestinsky. From this we can see that it has not been possible to abolish money, as many socialist theories teach, but that interest was abolished and therewith also the income without work, which fell to the rich through their ownership of shares and other valuable papers. By this means, however, only one form of income without work is abolished, though it is the most parasitic form. Through the retention of paper notes it was possible to make the notes themselves into merchandise just as well as other goods. In fact, there are in Russia a great number of *currency speculators.* They buy German, Swedish, Finnish, Esthonian and Russian money and afterwards sell it with a good profit. Naturally, speculation is heavily punished, but it is an old truism that punishments do not protect us from misdeeds or foolishness. The second form of parasitical income, i. e., *trade, is, consequently, not done away with, and money keeps right on existing.*

Third, through the retention of money, *the standard by which the value of labor is measured continues to be money,* and it is exactly for this reason that money has an independent magnitude and significance.

The circumstance that no private person can draw money or other values from the bank for a note, and that the state has stepped into the place of the private capitalist, is of far-reaching importance. The private person no longer has the right to demand any material values whatsoever in the form of inheritance, etc.; these values belong to the whole people, to the collectivity; to the state. Thus *the financial system is collectivistic* or part of the state business, in contradistinction to the capitalist states, where there is private economy.

We have also seen that in Russia there is no private financial system, but a state financial system. The answering of the ques-

tion whether we can speak of state capitalism or state socialism in this connection, depends on the definition of the word capitalism. If with capital we mean interest bearing values, sums of money or such, then we can only speak of the Russian soviet regime as state socialism. But if we by capital mean the sum total of the values of land, machines, the means of production and the mines, etc., in short, the sum total of the accumulated values, not of the individual, but of the whole collectivety, then we would strike the right meaning by using the word state capitalism. With capital and capitalism, however, the socialists, disregarding all more or less scientific and hair-splitting explanations, have meant the power through which the workers are being exploited, through the medium of private property and the wage system connected therewith. But that the wage system exists not only under private ownership but also under a collective or state ownership, is demonstrated to us by the municipalities, the state-owned railways and the nationalized post offices, as well as all nationalized undertakings in the capitalist state, on the one side, and in the Soviet republic on the other. But for the worker who is employed by the municipal administration, the state railways and the post offices, their employer, even if it is the state, has the same significance as the private capitalist Krupp, Thyssen or Stinnes. As long as they are wage slaves they feel the ruling power of capitalism and the state over themselves. Just as little as it would occur to the workers employed by a state employer to consider themselves as members of a state socialist system, just so is it in the case with Soviet Russia. *From now on we must recognize the word "state capitalism" as more correct.* By so doing we shall in no way paint the actual conditions worse than they are, but have only found a more correct definition, which in a concise way designates the conditions with a single phrase. And that is *state capitalism.*

More important than this purely formal definition is the nature of the financial system. As a result of the revolution, the nationalization of private property and with the cancellation of the national debts of the former governments came *the colossal crash of the Russian ruble.* This is no new phenomenon. In the French revolution of 1789-1793 the assignats had comparatively a still lower value than the present soviet ruble. In Moscow (1920) you could for a German mark obtain 100 soviet rubles from speculators, and for a Swedish crown 500-600 rubles; the rubles of the old regime (paper) are generally valued ten times as much as a soviet ruble. Czar and Kerensky rubles are not permitted to circulate, but in spite of this prohibition one finds them in trade.

The increased cost of food stuffs which resulted from the crash of the ruble, is not by far proportional to the fall in the money value, and the food stuffs, such as 1 lb. of bread for 500 rubles, is to-day more dearly bought than formerly at 5 kopek. The soviet ruble has, just like the assignats, not sunk in this man-

ner through the purposes of the politicians but through the revolutionary situation. When now the bolsheviks declare that the depreciation of money was splendidly suited for the purpose of banishing the spirit of capitalism from the thought of the people, they are only trying to make a virtue out of necessity. Looking at it one-sidedly, a physician who treated me, may have stated the matter correctly when he said that to-day, with an income of 30,000 rubles he did not have as much as before with 300 rubles, and that he was not particular about getting paid in money, but would prefer to get his pay in clothes, and what else he needs in order to live. Speaking subjectively the desire for money is certainly curbed, if not altogether killed.

But as the workers do not receive sufficient food stuffs and other articles of use, they are *compelled to continue the use of money in their daily economy. The only difference between the present and past is that one counts with greater sums, and where they formerly strove to get* 1 *ruble, they now need* 1,000. The spirit of capitalism consists in this that each one thinks only of himself and does not worry about the weal and woe of his fellow man. But I must admit that I have not seen very much more of the disappearance of this spirit and its replacement by the opposite, the spirit of mutual aid and of socialism, in Russia than in Western Europe. On the contrary, one makes the observation, that the people in Russia, generally, are more greedy than for instance, in Sweden. But this we must blame on the long war, which has demoralized people, as well as on the economic distress. Poverty brings misdeeds and depravity, but prosperity restores things again.

The depreciation of money and above all, in connection therewith, the shortage of goods, has brought this with it, that *the workers, and still more the peasants, prefer to exchange products against products*; for they know that, even if they have the money, they cannot get what they need, as it is not to be had in the country. This explains why they will exchange a hen for a glass of salt, and the like. But, as already indicated, we must ascribe this direct exchange of goods, not so much to the depreciation of money but rather to the lack of products.

Of late the policy of the Soviet government is ever more in the direction of replacing the money wage with the wage in kind. This would be equal to the abolition of money if it were carried out completely, but for the present it has not gone so far. It is possible that they will arrive at this stage, especially if a similar movement starts in other countries. But if capitalism in Western and Middle Europe keeps alive, then this hope is very poor. The concession policy which Russia now follows will again inject new life into the money system in Soviet Russia. Foreign capitalism, English and American, which is stronger than Russian capitalism ever was, will step into the latter's place. Of all the results obtained in the revolution there will then remain only the labor laws pertaining to insurance and workers' relief.

The Soviets (Councils)

The council idea is not new. It always comes up wherever the people, the working masses themselves directly try to organize their life with full independence and with the elimination of unnecessary between-hands or middlemen. The times in which people mostly get into this position are the times when old authorities are being overthrown, that is, in times of revolution. During the great French revolution the Parisians elected in their sections the organs which we to-day would call councils or soviets.

But disregarding the fact that the council idea always has risen to the surface in revolutionary times, *the anti-authoritarian socialists, anarchists and syndicalists were the ones who stood nearest to the council idea.* Only an ignorant person could take the notion to deny that this is so. This springs from the anti-authoritarian world conception of the doctrines mentioned. The anarchists have always proclaimed the formula: Peasant, to you belongs the land; factory worker, to you belongs the factory; miner, to you belongs the mine. The syndicalists made it their aim, not to conquer political power—for that purpose no councils were necessary—but to take possession of the economic power, the land, the factories, the mines, the means of transportation, etc., through the workers who are there employed. In order to carry this out, the workers and the peasants must manage these establishments. But not all can do this at once; for this purpose they must elect trustees in the factory, on the country estate, in the mines, and so on. And *there we have the council idea.* The workers in the factories elect factory councils; in the country, peasant councils; and for regulating the affairs in the community, community councils. Thus we see, in fact, that the socialist labor movement—which from the beginning renounced parliamentarian representation and for the realization of socialism and communist anarchism chose the direct road through the workers—was the most qualified, yes, we may even say, the only carrier of the council idea. If in the present revolutionary times even others, besides anarchists and syndicalists, are in favor of the direct way, the direct action, such as bolsheviks and communists, then they can also, of course, claim to represent the council idea to the same extent as they uphold the direct method. But it is necessary to remind *the "November socialists,"* who before and during the war were for the largest part social patriots and who now pose as "the only representatives of the council system," of the priority of the anarchists and the syndicalists, in order to bridle their imagination a little. The Spanish anarchists have really for decades propagated the council idea, so that it is possible to even point out concrete examples.

It has also been shown that *the soviet or council idea is not a newly invented patent of the Russian bolsheviks,* but that it emerged from the Russian revolution and was represented by all

revolutionaries, not only the bolsheviks, but also the left social-revolutionaries, the anarchists, the syndicalists and the maximalists. When the October revolution broke out and the workers elected their councils (in Russian: soviets), there were elected to the Kronstadt soviet 105 maximalists, 95 bolsheviks, 76 social revolutionaries, and 12 anarchists. But the latter had, according to a statement of the maximalist leader, a great influence. In most cities the workers and the peasants elected soviets, and the bolsheviks were by no means always in the majority.

Originally *the soviet formation was quite spontaneous.* Later a system was created out of this sudden movement which then was anchored in the constitution. In Germany the anchoring of the council system in the constitution meant the annihilation of the free councils. But in Germany the bourgeois constitution with Parliament and "Reichstag'; was retained. *In Russia* the revolutionary workers (not the bolsheviks alone but all the revolutionary workers) had the power to dissolve the constituent assembly (by us called the national assembly) and to lay the soviet system, not only as an ornament in the basket of the bourgeois parliamentarian constitution, but *made it the sole foundation for the building of the whole new state structure.* The constitution of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic is, as the name indicates, exclusively a soviet constitution. The decisions providing for a soviet constitution were adopted on July 10, 1918, by an All-Russian Soviet Congress.

The Russian soviet (council) constitution is so built that *in the cities the workers elect a city soviet* from their factories, bureaus or shops. The Moscow soviet has 400 members, and the president is Kamenieff. *In the country, gouvernement soviets are elected.* These gouvernement soviets meet every half year in congress. In the Samara gouvernement are 3½ million electors, which are represented in the congress by 300 delegates. The All-Russian Soviet Congress consists of representatives of all the city soviets, who send a representative for each 25,000 electors, and of the representatives of the gouvernement soviets, who send a representative for each 125,000 of population. These rules will be found in the constitution of the Russian republic, Article 25. This All-Russian Soviet Congress is called in at least twice a year by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is elected by the All-Russian Soviet Congress and consists of at most 200 members. This executive committee is the highest authority outside of the congress. It forms the Soviet (Council) of People's Commissars, who may be compared to the cabinet ministers in the capitalist states. There are 18 different People's Commissariats.

On the functions of the individual commissariats I have already reported here. But whoever wishes to study these matters more in detail will find it in the flood of bolshevik propaganda literature which may be obtained in all languages.

More important it seems to me to point out here what I have observed in Russia in regard to *the functioning of the present soviets,* which is something one does not find in the bolshevik literature mentioned. Then we must first call your attention to the circumstance that *the soviets have lost a good deal of their independence and freedom* through the so-called soviet constitution. The soviets were mixed up with the state. The soviets are a revolutionary institution, but the state is and remains, in spite of the most beautiful recitations of the bolshevik about the proletarian state, a reactionary institution. It will, therefore, not be surprising that the original council system has also become reactionary in the same measure as it was mixed up with the state. That will appear already from the elections. The bolsheviks may assert ever so loudly that it is principally the workers who elect them and that the course of the revolution shows that the workers are ever more turning to the bolsheviks, as can be seen from the elections, that the majority in all soviets consists of bolsheviks. But this changes nothing in the fact that *the bolsheviks are in the majority because they themselves make the majority.*

Without for a moment allowing myself to be intimidated by the loud outcries of the bolsheviks, who brand everybody making these assertions as a counter-revolutionary, I must mention some examples. The workers in a Moscow munition factory, the name of which I have forgotten, elected as their representative in the Moscow soviet the anarchist *Gordin.* This was in the first months of 1920. The election of Gordin was not recognized by the bolsheviks, and for this factory new elections were announced. He was again elected. Because his electors as well as he himself stood fast by the election he was arrested and given two months in prison as a "demagogue." Such names they have always at hand. But the workers of this factory did not elect any other soviet member and remained during that legislative period without representation in the Moscow soviet. Besides this case there are many, *many cases when the election has been declared null and void by the ruling party.* As this is an every-day occurrence the people no longer get excited about it. As Gordin told me his case in the presence of many witnesses, he laughed over it when I found the case amazing. In Samara there is a munition factory which at the outbreak of the revolution employed 23,000 workers. These elected members to the Samara soviet. When I visited the factory on May 21, 1920, there were only 1,600 people working there. A year before the bolsheviks had dissolved the executive committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Council of the gouvernement Samara, because they did not have the majority therein. The opposing parties, however, did not want to undertake anything at that moment because the rich peasants were just making a counter-revolutionary attempt, and thus the dissolution of the executive committee of the soviet was accomplished without friction. But in the same year only 1,000 people worked in that factory, because they were out fighting the Czecho-Slovaks

who had taken Kasan and were in the neighborhood of Samara. The bolsheviks did not hold any new elections to replace the city soviet elected while there were 23,000 workers. The reason was that in that soviet the bolsheviks had the majority. Through such illegalities they held the whole gouvernment in check, but it was a representation which did not reflect the real conditions.

But, apart from these cases, which are not by far exhausted with the above related ones, *the bolsheviks have another method of securing the majority in the soviet.* The bolsheviks are the ruling state party. The paper is nationalized; the printshops, the houses, in brief, everything belongs to the state and is, therefore, in the hands of the bolshevik party. Thus, only this party is in a position to carry on an election agitation; what wonder then if they receive the most votes and the most seats. And in spite of all that, it happens that the mensheviks or the left social-revolutionaries receive considerable numbers of votes.

From all this it is evident that *in the Russian Soviet Republic the soviets only to a small extent are the expression of the free will of the workers and the peasants.* A peculiar light is thrown on the government soviets of Russia by a resolution adopted by the Russian-Ukrainian anarchists of the "Nabat" in their last congress, held in Charkov 3-8 September. It says, among other things, about the relationship to the soviet power:

> "In the beginning of the soviet power we extended to it our great confidence. But after the revolution-born soviet power, in the course of three years, had become a powerful state machine, it has throttled the revolution. It developed into a dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, into a dictatorship of one party, and of a small part of the proletariat over the whole proletariat, over the whole working people, while at the same time this dictatorship throttles the will of the broad working masses. Through this the revolution lost the creative power by which alone it was possible to solve the different problems of the revolution. The soviet power is, therefore, a lesson and a warning to the workers of all countries. This conference proposes to the comrades to boycott the administrations and soviets which are controlled by the government and to devote all their powers of propaganda to this purpose among the lower strata of the workers. We must start with illegal groups and gather all revolutionary material around us."

Besides, in the *"report over the situation in Russia,"* we read:

> "At the same time as world imperialism convulsively clings to each opportunity to strangle Soviet Russia, as the home and the source of revolutionary infection, there is taking place in Russia itself a sad decomposition of the revolution. Instead of the united mass of workers which in the October days of 1917 fought in Russia for the conquest of

bread, we now have a division of the working masses into masters and servants, governing and governed, rulers and subjects. The party of the so-called communists, which possesses an unlimited power, forms the centralized soviet government with all its central committees, city, district and gouvernement committees, etc. *The right of the workers and peasants to elect free councils has become a fiction.* From the community soviet up to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, from the congress of the unions to the so-called free, non-partisan peasant conferences there is nothing free, but everything is undermined by the party. *A Gigantic system of espionage* has been established. Under the pretense of a struggle with the counter-revolution, the communist party has laid its hand heavily upon the working population through its *"Partkom"* (party committees which are formed everywhere). The press is strangled. There is no free exchange of opinion, either in the street, or in the house, or in the meetings, or on the job. In the street the *"Tscheka"* (extraordinary commission) is spying; in the house the *"domkom"* (house committee of the communist party, if a party communist lives in the house); on the job in the factory the *"fabkom"* (factory committee of the communist party). Far, far from the lower strata of the workers the "Sovnarkom" (Council of People's Commissars) has formed a strong government, which rests upon a strong army. The government has changed into a body whose interests are opposed to those of the revolution."

These descriptions of the situation offer extremely valuable material for the understanding of the present character of the soviets.

From all this we must draw the conclusion that *the soviets and the soviet government are not one and the same thing,* but two different things, of which the first one is the natural expression of the revolutionary people, while the second one is the hard-frozen forms of a clique that has come into power. As a liberty-loving revolutionist one can very well accept the first but must look upon the latter very critically. In view of the circumstance that the bolsheviks and communists always call attention to one side of the soviet power, it is proper for the syndicalists to show up the other side, in order that all workers in the portentous hours which are immediately ahead may be able to draw a lesson therefrom and with Argus eyes guard their own freedom and their elected soviets. *It would mean putting the garden in charge of the goat if the workers of other countries, after adopting the soviet system, were to see a road to the realization of their economic and political freedom in a political government.* Mark that we here only speak of the revolutionary and progressive workers and not of the bourgeoisie. Factory councils for the managing of the factories; peasant and agricultural workers' councils for the management of agriculture; community councils

for regulating the affairs of the community; finally, federations of the single unions as well as of the industrial unions; but also federations of the community councils or labor bureaus. These are the organizations of the revolution; but they *must never be allowed to converge into a state, for only through the absence of the state is freedom guaranteed,* in spite of all well or ill-meant assurances of the bolsheviks about the necessity of state or proletarian dictatorship.

The Red Army

In the Red Army the Communist Party of Russia had a powerful weapon for maintaining its power. And it continues to be such up to the present day. That the creating of such an army from the wreckage of the czarist armies, after the all-destroying world war, was a notable achievement, shall not be denied here. And whether this army could hold its own against an army of Prussian or French militarism, that will remain an open question.

What is more important to us here is *the character of the Red Army.* The Red Army is an army like every other. It can exist and meet with success only by maintaining the strictest war and military morale: discipline, obedience. But that these qualities should be especially suitable to the development of men into socialists and communists, is something that no man, if he wants to be honest, can truthfully state. For the maintenance and the efficiency of an army those slave characteristics are of incalculable worth, as they are an integral part of an army. Without using much circumlocution we can make the statement that militarism is the mortal enemy of the freedom of the individual and thus also the greatest enemy of socialist development. Not only is the statement true that "as long as we have armies, so long will there be war," but also the statement that "as long as there is an army, no socialist development can prosper."

Going out from these idealistic considerations the true socialist and champion of freedom must also be an *anti-militarist. But from historic considerations one may take a different position and consider the Red Army as necessary.*

If Trotsky from an historical standpoint seeks, as a Marxian, to establish the necessity of the Red Army through proofs and arguments, it would, of course, be easy for a representative of the opposite standpoint, if he only has the ability and the skill, to present as many or, perhaps, still more proofs for an opposite standpoint. But this would only be a theoretical, speculative discussion, such as we find in Trotzky's anti-Kautsky book "Terrorism and Communism."

Instead of carrying on all this discussion I might point to the fact that in Russia itself not all revolutionaries agree with Trotzky's viewpoint. In the question of defending the revolution

the bolsheviks take the standpoint that without the Red Army the revolution would have been vanquished by the counter-revolution, and that, therefore, the Red Army, as a savior of the revolution, is one of the first revolutionary factors. If it had not been for the Red Army, some reactionary general or a new czar would now be ruling in Russia, that is, in short, the standpoint of the bolsheviks.

The maximalists, a large part of the syndicalists, the anarchists and a part of the left social-revolutionaries take an opposite standpoint. Against the first assertion they put another one, namely, that it is not the Red Army which has saved the revolution and beaten down the counter-revolution, but the revolutionary workers and peasants would have defended the revolution even without the Red Army.

As examples they mention: When general Korniloff marched against Moscow, it was not the Red Army by which he was conquered. At that time there was not yet a Red Army. It was other parts of the same czarist army with him which turned and fought him and proved to be the strongest. For the workers and peasants who fought in the czarist army, but against Korniloff, this Korniloff was a counter-revolutionary, who wanted to force them to continue the war. For that reason it was necessary to fight Korniloff if peace was to come. But this does not speak for the Red Army, which then did not exist, it speaks solely for the urge of liberty among the people.

According to the viewpoint of the mentioned tendencies the bolsheviks make the conscious mistake that they consider the Red Army equal to an armed uprising of the people.

Further, the syndicalists and the related tendencies *point to the fact that it was not the Red Army that drove the Germans and the Austrians out of Ukraine,* but the peasants themselves, the partisans, the leaders, the insurgents. By guerilla warfare in small partisan groups they chased the Germans away or blocked them in such a manner that finally they were compelled to retreat from the country.

Nor was Denekin in the first line conquered by the Red Army but by the peasants themselves, who would not stand for his rule, and, principally under Ataman Batkno Machno, they made rebellion against Denekin. If the peasants had been for Denekin and not against him, then the Red Army would have never succeeded in conquering Denekin. But at the same time we must not forget that the peasants in no manner voluntarily formed the Red Army. The peasants got into the Red Army when compelled to, there being a compulsory military service, just as formerly for the czar's army. The peasants rather organized their own armies, of which the strongest one was Machno's, in order to fight against reaction. *And as it went with Denikin, so it went with Kaledin, Petljura and others.*

In regard to Ukraine the bolsheviks admit this, more or less,

as facts cannot very well be denied. They seek to support their contention with the statement that *Koltschak and the Czecko-Slovaks* have been conquered by the Red Army. The commandant of the later Red Armies against the *Czecko-Slovaks*, an anarchist by the name of *Gebenjeff*, also called Alexa, has told me how the thing happened. When in May, 1918, the Czecko-Slovaks began their advance from Siberia, the workers, anarchists, left social-revolutionaries and bolsheviks, arming themselves, united against the Czecko-Slovaks. They elected Gebenjeff their commander, and they were the shock troops of the reds against the whites. Now the bolsheviks call this the "red army." But attention should be called to the fact that these troops did not yet in any way have the characteristics of the Red Army, namely, compulsory mobilization, unified centralist command under Trotzky, subordination and blind discipline. Nothing of this nature was to be found among the armed peasants. They had met voluntarily to fight against the reactionaries, and it is this that is the most striking difference between them and the Red Army. And, of course, I have later heard these soldiers of the revolution referred to by bolsheviks as the "Red Army." If this is done, then we can call everything by the name of the Red Army which has the slightest resemblance to armed insurrection. But that would mean gross confusion of expressions.

In the struggle against Koltschak it was not the Red Army that should have the credit for his annihilation. And here I must take a stand with the revolutionary groups which are opposed to the Red Army, because the facts related to me by high Soviet officials themselves speak for it. The brother of the deceased president of the Russian Soviet Republic, *Sverdlov*, the second in command after Trotzky in the Commissariat, having charge of the whole defense, told me during a trip on the Volga, which we made together, that even before the Red Army advanced, the peasants and the workers rose in rebellion in all places against Koltschak and in many cases conquered his troops. The Red Army entered Tomsk on Dec. 26, 1919. But long before this the peasants had rebelled against Koltschak's rule. Many of Koltschak's soldiers joined them, and *the city of Tomsk was in the hands of the rebels for a long time before the Red Army entered.* As early as the summer of 1918 the peasants had formed guerilla bands against the Czecko-Slovaks and Koltschak. This was in the provinces Atscheisk and Jenniseisk and in the Altei gouvernement.

The cause of the great rebellions of peasants and workers against Koltschak was his reactionary behavior. Sverdlov, who was in technical charge of the transportation expedition of the Red Army operating against Koltschak, related that terrible epidemics harrowed Koltschak's troops. Over 80% of them were sick from typhus. The epidemic spread to the people. At Novo Nicolajevsk 10,000 bodies were found. Between Omsk and Nicolajevsk 15,000 graves were found with crosses. All were victims of typhus. Koltschak himself lived in the midst of these terrors

without caring what happened around him. He had a special train with music and women and led a fast life. His generals shot the revolutionary workers of the factories wherever they could get hold of them. In Tomsk all the factory committees were put in jail. Every one suspected of being a bolshevik or of some other revolutionary color was subjected to a Spanish torture and finally shot. In the year of 1919 Koltschak sent a trainload of dead from Asia to Europe.

In view of such conduct it is easy to understand that the peasants and workers would rise against Koltschak and fight him. *It was, in the first place, the peasants and workers rebelling against this ghastly rule who annihilated Koltschak, and not the Red Army.* All that the Red Army had to do, according to Sverdlov's report, was to relieve the peasants and the workers, who, together with the revolting elements of Koltschaks' army, had already conquered the Koltschak officers. Even here it was the federalistically aggregated bands of peasants and workers who performed the greatest work in combatting reaction and not the centralistically organized Red Army, formed through compulsory mobilization.

And even *the liberation of Petrograd from the armies of Judenitsch* is more the merit of the Petrograd workers, who in the hour of danger went, all united, against the threatening army. As commander of Petrograd, Bill Shatoff, a Russian-American I. W. W. and an anarchist, was elected and in the hour of highest danger the workers put Judenitsch to flight, after he had already penetrated into the streets of the Petrograd suburbs.

Moved by all these instances, all revolutionary socialist tendencies in Russia who oppose centralism and in centralism see a reactionary element are against the idea of a Red Army. They declare that the Red Army is not a revolutionary but a counter-revolutionary factor, because, with its system of centralism, the obedience of unfree subjects is again introduced into the ranks of revolutionaries and freedom is suppressed. But they are by no means opponents of the armed uprisings of the people. They point to the fact that they always stood in the first ranks of the revolutionary fighters and stand there still, and when the bolsheviks say the armed uprising of the revolutionary people and the Red Army with its compulsory mobilization, are the same they declare this to be a conscious falsehood.

The defeats that the Red Army suffered in Poland gave birth to grave conflicts within the Communist Party itself. At the beginning of the war against Poland I just arrived in Moscow as the first big army show, a parade on Theatralnaja Square, took place. The next day, May 6, 1920, Karl Radek explained to me how greatly important the taking up of General Brussilov was for the Red Army. "When Lloyd George reads about that," Radek said to me, "he, and with him all English government politicians, will say to themselves, that the bolsheviks cannot be so bad, after all, when a man like Brussilov can work

together with them." I was from the beginning not very much edified by this taking up of the old reactionary generals and officers in the Red Army and said this to Radek. With him it was only a case of making a great effect. They took up all the old czarist officers for service in the Red Army. But with them came the old czarist spirit, the spirit of the blackest reaction in the proletarian army, which was to battle for the liberation of the oppressed. The results of this policy soon became apparent. Proletarian unity and leadership slipped ever more into the hands of the bourgeois and feudal elements of the old czarist officers. Former estate owners and bourgeois hold responsible posts in the Red Army and use their position to make their influence felt. Thus the Red Army became more and more an instrument in the hands of these elements. The soldiers of the Red Army have long ago ceased to feel personal responsibility for the victories and defeats of the whole army as the case is when compulsory mobilization is taken away. They are a blind will-less tool in the hands of the generals commanding them; they no longer recognize the battle they fight as their own battle. The communists of the Red Army are the only volunteers who still fight with enthusiasm. The evil results of taking up so many old officers, the bolsheviks wanted to counteract by establishing officers' schools for communist workers (and under certain conditions also for non-communists, although this occurs more seldom) in which schools the young communists are trained to become officers. Among these I have found true inspiration, an inspiration for the red war and for the victory of the red army. And, too, there are among the old officers some converts who have become honest, inspired revolutionaries. To these belongs *General Nikolajev*, who was hanged on the gallows by Judenitsch in Jamburg because he as an important leader served the Red Army with great devotion. But on the whole these exceptions confirm the rule.

The bolsheviks themselves now see the untenable situation in the Red Army and gave expression to this fact at their party conference in Moscow in October 1920. Zinoviev said:

> "Comrade Trotzky told us after his return from the front that there he had seen hundreds of comrades who deny themselves everything, who do not eat themselves satisfied. They live on the small rations, and are thereby reduced to skin and bone, and still they work very hard, in order to save the honor of our party at the front. But there is no doubt that alongside of them among the soldiers there is a different stratum. Yes, a whole stratum. No matter how numerous this stratum is, it is there. The people conceive of their rights and their duties differently; These are the elements who rob the party of their credit which has been won through heavy sacrifices and the hard work of tens of thousands of our first and intermediate party mem-

bers. Certain communists, who have been mobilized and sent to the front, work and live there in such a manner that they with right can complain."

I could mention many other instances which have been told me by people, (communists and non-communists) returning from the Polish front, but I had much rather allow only Comrade Zinoviev speak, because he least of any can be suspected of painting it blacker than it is. At all events, the conditions have to carry part of the blame for the defeats on the Polish front.

Hereby the honest intentions of the communists will in no manner be impugned, but we shall rather demonstrate that the Red Army in itself is no socialist body, as Trotzky falsely designates it, but that it is an army like any other army and can be nothing else, because it cannot disavow its character of militarism.

And the population realizes that such is the Red Army. Outwardly, for combatting capitalist reaction it cannot have such an effect, and as the instances quoted show us, it has no such effect. As I learnt in the gouvernement of Poltava, after the Poles were driven out of Poltava and Kiev, the Red Army was in the first moment greeted with joy. But this joy did not last long. The peasants were oppressed in the extreme by the Polish troops. They made a rebellion against them, and when the Red Army came, it was received as a liberator. But as the war lasted longer, the Soviet government was compelled to take the grain from the peasants, in order to be able to feed the army. Ukraine, which they now again held in their hands and, above all, the gouvernement of Poltava which ranks among the richest grain countries of the earth, was very welcome to the exhausted Soviet government, and it demanded the grain from the peasants. For that reason the peasants are now as enraged against the Soviet government as they formerly were against the Poles.

This is, however, a phenomenon incidental to the war, for even the guerilla bands are compelled to take the grain from the peasants, when they are driven into a region which is strange to them and the peasants refuse them what they need. True, this occurs more seldom with the guerillas, for they are not military idealists, they do not wish to combat world imperialism like the Red Army does and are contented with driving out those who intrude into their own territory. For this reason they are never entirely strange to the region where they are fighting and not compelled to fill their needs by force from the peasants. The peasants, who for a large part themselves participate in the fighting, give it to them most voluntarily. Such is the case with *Machno,* the Ukrainian guerilla leader. But *outside the Red Army there are other military defense organizations of the Russian workers.* In Moscow and Petrograd the workers are subject to obligatory military exercises through their membership

in the unions, which is also obligatory. They form *a militia* which is organized according to districts and mustered according to factories. There you find all categories of workers and artisans, even married women and girls, who work in the factories. These organizations prove more efficient, and it was also these that drove Judenitsch from Petrograd. They are not organizations built according to the pattern of the old state armies. And if we really want to accomplish the abolition of the political state, then we must above everything abolish those organizations which have always been the support, yes, the greatest support of the state, namely the centralist armies, and replace them now, and in the so-called period of transition, with workers' defense organizations formed according to districts or industries. *Of the two instruments of defense organized by the communists, the Red Army and the defense organization built on the trade unions, the latter are to be preferred, because in them the state principle is already replaced by another principle.* It is the one that most indicates progress, and also comes nearer to the abolition of militarism. The workers in the factories are no professional soldiers and form no standing army which must "work" in order to exist. Nevertheless, it is still a militia which also must disappear when socialism or communism shall become a reality. Only in the absence of every kind of militarism is liberty for the individual and for the whole society possible.

Education

The revolutionary people has not been able to accomplish much yet in the field of education. The economic and political situation has been too pressing and important to give the workers and peasants much time to give special attention to the educational question. Furthermore, education is a thing which cannot be greatly benefited by the collapse of the old state and the erection of a new one. It requires much slow detail work and industrious and loving devotion in order to create that which the people can not obtain by sounding the tocsin of the revolution. Nevertheless, individuals as well as the soviet government have done everything in their power in order to restore the destroyed school system upon an altogether new foundation.

At the head of the Commissariat of Education is the commissar Lunatscharsky, an intellectual and tolerant man. According to what I learned in an interview with his nearest assistant and in conversation with himself, *the apparatus of the whole school system was destroyed during the war.* During the Kerensky period several propositions were advanced, but they never came to the point of realization. When the bolsheviks came into power they found that the old system was entirely unfit for use. But the utmost difficulties stood in the road. Many old teachers sabotaged them. Thus, 70 professors went with Denekin in Odessa, in Ural 67 with Koltschak, because they were political

opponents of the bolsheviks. The Koltschak army did everything in order to hinder the enlightenment of the people; they destroyed the schools, burnt the school books, and drove the teachers away.

During the czarist period the kindergartens were in private hands. When the bolsheviks came into power they nationalized these. A mother is supported for three months after child birth by the state. The child can be sent to a *Home for Children,* to remain there up to its third year. From the third to the seventeenth year the children are under the supervision of the Commissariat of Education and get their maintenance from the schools. At present there are about 3,620 children's homes after the Froebel system for children of 3-6 or 7 years. In these institutions it is principally war orphans that are taken up, and if there is room to spare, proletarian children, and, last of all, children of the bourgeoisie. In Moscow there are about 180 such institutes. In the whole of Russia there are, so far, (1920), 204,917 children in these institutes.

In the 43 gouvernements which are under consideration here, there are 7 million children of school age, so that only an insignificant part has so far been taken charge of by the school. Of teachers there are 11,234. Among them are, naturally, all sorts of teachers. In newly established seminaries young people of 17 years and up are given instruction from 6 weeks up to 3 years, in order to serve as teachers.

For specially refractory children separate children's homes have been established. The children are examined in regard to their natural tendencies, and it is also sought to ascertain whether the child is born with inherited criminal tendencies. If it shows signs of bad tendencies it is put in a bureau of psychic observation. There are also children still in the prisons. But it is sought to remove them from the prisons as far as possible. Persons below 17 years of age are counted as children.

In the public schools one teacher had to instruct 40 children in czarist times, but it is now tried to reduce the number to 25, but so far they have not come down any further than 32. The school period was formerly 2-4 years, but now it is desired to raise it from 4 to 9 years.

From 8 to 12 years children shall go to the middle school, where they are given elementary instruction. In regard to the new methods of teaching we were told that in the czarist schools the connection between geography and mathematics on the one side, and history on the other, was never taught. It is now desired to give the children such an education that they will get a general view of the economic structure of society in the Marxian sense. It is attempted to introduce the intuitive method of instruction on a grand scale. By means of technical apparatus, for instance, a match box, the children shall be taught mathematics, chemistry and physics. In the 43 gouvernements of Soviet Russia there are about 3,600 public elementary schools with 29,000 teachers and

470,000 pupils. But there is a total of 6,801,000 children of school age, so that the largest part of the children do not go to school. This has its cause in several circumstances. 1) There are not sufficient schools. 2) There is not sufficient school equipment. 3) Many parents purposely neglect to send their children to school, because many schools are demoralized. Many children are speculating, and are then picked up and sent to institutions for the bringing up of children.

For children who desire to get *a technical education* the instruction between 12 and 17 years is more vocational. Those who are gifted and want to train further can go to *the university. All instruction is free.* The students receive, in addition to food rations and lodgings, a small contribution in money by the state.

Besides these schools there are *technical continuation schools,* some of them organized by the Commissariat of Education, and some by the unions. There are also art industrial schools and a "proletkult" where young workers have produced quite splendid work.

Many private villas and palaces were transformed into *Children's Homes.* Even in the country I have visited many estate mansions where there are now children's homes. The children feel quite happy there. But there is one short-coming that is noticeable about all this, and that is the *lack of equipment.* No books, no lead pencils, no writing paper. The war and the blockade are responsible for this. All over, wherever one goes the complaint is heard about the blockade. Bolsheviks and mensheviks, revolutionaries and reactionaries, all of them complain of the blockade and wish it lifted. Maybe there are Russian counter-revolutionaries outside of Russia who desire a continuation of the blockade, in order to combat the bolsheviks, but in Russia itself all are against the blockade and long for its discontinuance with the greatest impatience.

The bringing up of man to a free personality is one of the most important tasks for a new society. A growing person must be fitted out with the conquest of science and technique, in order that he may be able to build up a new society. But he must also be fitted out with the positive qualities of a socialist world conception, he must learn that the human and socialist ideal must be transplanted into actual life and that he must realize that in his own person. *Education is not only a problem for the young but also for the old.*

According to bolshevik theory, the dictatorship is the period which shall carry the working masses over to socialism or communism. This shall be realized by the fact that the conditions of economic and political life under which people live and which, without doubt, exert a great influence on the thoughts and actions of men—the Marxians say that this influence is absolute—assume other forms, through which men will then experience a change in their actions and will-expressions, a change for the better.

The essential difference between the capitalist and socialist order of society consists in this that in the latter wealth and poverty, mastery and servitude, shall be abolished. In practice the abolition of wealth and poverty means that a few people shall not live very well while others are living very poorly. But we must say that in Russia there are still in existence great differences in the standard of living of the people, and that ruling over people is by no means abolished. Judging from everything one cannot say that in Russia the economic and political conditions, such as they have been in the last three years, have exerted a particularly favorable or a decisive influence on the bringing up of people to socialism and communism. It has become evident that a revolutionary government, or a proletarian-communist state, or a state striving towards communism cannot create the economic and political life forms of freedom and justice, if men do not do it themselves, in each community, in each shop; that the interference of the state, however well-meant it may be, must always appear as forcible dictation from the outside, through which men are prevented from coming nearer their ideal; that each individual must prepare himself, technically and culturally, and that this socialist training is possible not only later, when capitalism shall have been overthrown, but right now and today, just as socialist propaganda has always been more or less possible, whether openly or secretly.

It is my sincere wish that each reader of this book may draw this lesson from it. If we want to liberate the world from capitalism and class rule and state, then *we must remember that this world emancipation is largely also self-emancipation.*

The Revolution in Ukraine

AT the end of 1919 the bolsheviks for the third time got a firm footing in Ukraine. *Ukraine was again declared a Soviet Republic*, and due to the fact that the Ukrainians made a strong demand for independence it was *affiliated as an independent Soviet Republic to the central Russian Soviet Republic.*

Originally the Soviet Republic in Central Russia wanted to include the lands of Ukraine in its own domain. But this proved to be impossible, due to the strong demand for independence. The opposition between North Russia and South Russia, or Ukraine, dates far back. Ukraine comprises all South Russia. Ukraine has its own culture, its own history, its own language, its own national development. The Russian czars have always striven to put Ukraine, rich in natural resources and the most fertile country in Europe, under their dominion. In this they succeeded. But the Ukrainian population was always rebellious against the ruling tendencies of Great-Russia. Great-Russian rule had for result the hatred and the distrust of the Ukrainian peasants towards the Great-Russians. Therefore it was natural that this old antagonism did not disappear after the outbreak of the revolution; on the contrary, the population took a rather frigid stand towards the Central Russian Council or Soviet Republic and demanded independence; a free republic independent of the rest of Russia. This demand the bolsheviks had to comply with if they did not want to live in a permanent war with the Ukrainians.

But even *this new Soviet Republic had not sprung from the ranks of the Ukrainians themselves,* and it still remains a foreign body for the peasants, and that is one of the many reasons why Ukraine continues to be the child of sorrow of the Russian Soviet Republic, and will long remain so. *The president of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic is not an Ukrainian and is not elected by the Ukrainians. He is a Roumanian, and was put in his place by Lenin. His name is Rakovsky.*

The situation in Ukraine as a result of the war and the revolution is so complicated, and will in the next few years be so complicated, that it is necessary to know the history of the development since the outbreak of the war, in order to understand the revolutionary situation.

The war of Russian czarism was not the Ukrainian peasants' business. They were against the war not only because they had

to send their sons to the war but also because they had to supply the provisions for the army. The dissatisfaction of the peasants increased with the duration of the war, and when the revolution broke out in Central Russia, Ukraine was also soon in flames. But as the Ukrainians were against the Kerensky government, the bolsheviks soon gained the upper hand and at the end of 1917 they were in power in Ukraine. *But there was another reason why the bolsheviks found an open ear with the Ukrainian peasants. This was the peace of Brest-Litovsk.* The peasants wanted to have peace at any price. The bolsheviks who concluded this peace were preferred to all other parties by the Ukrainian peasants.

But through this peace *the Germans and the Austrians got a free hand in Ukraine.* They began their imperialistic policy. Particularly Germany, which through the economic blockade of the allies had been precipitated into a food crisis, now saw in Ukraine its savior in their hour of need. Ukraine is the land that flows with milk and honey. Europe's largest sugar factories and its largest grain fields are in Ukraine. These great supplies German militarism felt compelled to acquire for its armies which were then fighting on the battlefields of Western Europe.

General Eichhorn was sent to Ukraine and his armies occupied the country in the beginning of 1918. But in order to hide the foreign rule from the people they put in Skoropadski as hetman over the country. German militarism began to function. They proclaimed that they wanted to "save the land from bolshevism and decay." By the entry of the German and Austrian armies the bolsheviks were crowded out of Ukraine.

Eichhorn received orders from the supreme military command to deliver grain, sugar, etc., to Germany. The peasants also gave up a good deal at the start for payment, but when they could not later buy anything for the money, for lack of industrial products, as the Germans had more important things to do with their war industry than to supply Ukraine with goods, they finally did not want to supply anything. Then the Germans began the *requisition policy.* The peasants still refused. They were threatened with force, and finally force was used.

Thus began *the peasant insurrections against the armies of occupation.* Although all this was officially done under the name of Skoropadski, it was clear that the Germans were the originators. Skoropadski's power in the Ukraine rested on German bayonets and machine guns. It was not Ukrainian soldiers but, principally, German and Austrian soldiers which suppressed the peasants. It was these soldiers who executed the death sentence over those peasants who offended against the proclamations of the state of war. *Military law was declared all over Ukraine, and shooting and hanging was the order of the day.* The traveler who visits Ukraine today has an opportunity to see many photographs where peasants by the hundreds hang on the gallows, in

front of which stand Austrian officers or Ukrainian and Russian priests. The fury of the Central European soldiery was at its height in the summer of 1918. But the exasperation and the despair of the peasants was also at its height. *During the rule of Eichhorn-Skoropadski a total of about* 80,000 *workers and peasants were killed.*

Now the peasants began to rise against their tormentors everywhere. The party of the left social-revolutionaries remained true to their old terrorist traditions and *one of their members killed general Eichhorn.*

The death of Eichhorn was a signal for the peasants. The West-European soldiers, brutalized through the war, had learnt murder on a grand scale, and the naturally brutal peasants, without the gloss of European culture, continued this handiwork in still more barbarous forms. They started to arm themselves. *Everywhere bands and little troops appeared,* in the beginning primitively armed with pitchforks and flails, they started an insurrection, and killed the Austrian and German soldiers wherever they could get hold of them.

It is easy to understand that morals have suffered terribly through this. A human life had hardly any value any longer. One no longer negotiated with one's enemy, but beat him to death. The peasants finally succeeded in procuring modern fire arms, but, to begin with, in very small quantities. A revolutionary who lived through this state of affairs gives the following account of the terrible situation, and about the desperate courage of the peasants.

> "The bolsheviks in Moscow complain about the un-communistic spirit of the Ukrainian peasants. They came to the conclusion that such an un-communistic spirit existed from the fact that the peasants revolt against the Soviet republic. They call the peasants "kulaks." Kulak is in Russia the name for the richer peasants who are against the abolition of private property and oppose the introduction of communism. It is said that the peasants band together and fight and kill communists. The people who talk so have not the slightest idea of the events that took place in Ukraine, to which events the present situation can be traced.
>
> "When the peasants under the leadership of the social-revolutionaries, anarchists, maximalists, bolsheviks, etc., fought against the oppression by Skoropadski, the Germans, the Austrians, Kaledin, etc., they were very inadequately supplied with arms. Thus for instance I was in a battle, in which 500 peasants had only 200 rifles. For each rifle there were two cartridges. The enemy was over 1000 strong. The 500 peasants stood in one troop, the 200 who were armed with rifles stood in the front ranks. The numerically superior enemy was very well supplied with the most modern arms. They had machine guns, we had nothing. All knew that the foremost ranks must fall first and that the turn

thereafter would come to the others. And, still, nobody left his place. On the contrary, each man waited until his front man had fallen, in order that he might then take his rifle.

"Such a blind courage could spring only from extreme despair and from the most mortal hatred, conjured up in the hearts of the peasants through the draconic measures of a most inhuman reaction.

"Those who lived through such things, and who have seen the butchering of the peasants and their desperate struggle, only they can understand the state of the Ukrainian peasant's soul, and shall find it possible then to understand that the peasants now also combat the bolsheviks and reject the bolshevik theories, which are strange to the peasants. But they will never approve of the tactics of the Central Russian bolsheviks towards the Ukrainian peasants, which show an absolute lack of understanding of the life of the peasants; a lack of understanding which brands all the efforts of the peasants as counter-revolutionary risings of "kulaks" who wish to defend their private property."

Thus my informant, a Russian who before the war had spent five years in America, ended his story. This man's name is *Baron*. He is at present one of the most active members of the anarchist federation of Ukraine, which calls itself "Nabat."

These reports place us to some extent in a position to understand the psychology of the Ukrainian peasants. People who have for some time lived in this atmosphere feel as though they were transplanted to a different world when they read column-long articles in humanistic papers on the theory of force and on the use of force, and where force is treated as a problem. *For the people of Eastern Europe, particularly of Ukraine, force is no problem, but a fact, a matter of course, a principle of life.* It may be admitted that matters have reached this point of development only through the war and the revolution, but force would never have spread to such a great extent, if it had been foreign to the life of the people. Not only in world wars and civil wars, not only in class struggles, or in periods of the social revolution, but also in common every-day life, hostilities, yes, even differences of opinion are settled by primitive people principally through resort to the law of might. How can one wonder, then, that under such conditions as existed in Ukraine, force was made the all-powerful principle and the deciding factor, which took the place of every kind of justice, agreement or negotiation.

Not only for the non-partisan peasants, but also for the political parties and organizations, force is the most important means in their struggle. Thus the anarchists and maximalists of Ukraine are daily and hourly facing the alternative whether to use force or to succumb in the struggle against counter-revolutionary generals, as well as against the bolsheviks. It has even

gone so far that it has been spoken of in anarchist circles to conduct the struggle against the bolsheviks by means of terrorism, if the persecutions do not cease.

Machno

At the time when the peasants in all parts of Ukraine rose against Skoropadski, and against the Germans and the Austrians, there was one man who particularly distinguished himself among the leaders. This man later became famous and is still a hard nut to crack for the bolsheviks, a nut on which they time and again break off their teeth. *This man is Machno.*

The reason why the name Machno has acquired such an importance in Ukraine lies less in the prominence of Machno's personality than in the spirit of the Ukrainian peasants which is personified and symbolized in Machno.

Platon Machno was born in the village of Gulai-Pole in the gouvernement Alexandrovs. As a young man he came into the socialist movement. He was a partner publisher of the paper "Buro Vjestnik." Not yet 20 years old he shot a "Pristov," a member of the Russian czarist secret police. He was condemned to death, pardoned to penal servitude for life and banished to Siberia. The revolution of 1917 released him. He was over ten years in exile. Through the sufferings and hardships of prison life he became consumptive. He is a small man, suffering in the highest degree and often afflicted by violent hemorrhages which overwhelm him while walking or speaking. By extraction and in his habits of life he is a peasant. He calls himself an anarchist, but is more of an Ukrainian peasant than a theoretical anarchist. And it is this that connects him with the peasants and makes him so popular and loved among them.

But if Machno has his Ukrainian peasant extraction in common with the peasants, the latter have anarchism in common with Machno. The Ukrainian peasants are attached to the Machno brand of anarchism with the strongest ties. *Machno is, properly speaking, nothing but the theoretical expression of this peasant anarchism.* The anarchism of the Ukrainian peasants is not built on the theories of a Goodwin, a Proudhon or a Kropotkin, but the fact of the matter is that parts of the anarchist theories find expression in the tendencies and manifestations of the Ukrainian peasants.

The anarchist theories contain negative and positive parts. *The negative parts* are antimilitarism, decentralization and the negation of the state. *The positive parts* are the connection of the independent free communes into federative units, federalism, respect for the free personality in the necessary unification on the economic and political field.

The efforts of the Ukrainian peasants are covered by the negative parts of anarchism. The peasants do not want to re-

cognize any government. Theoretically expressed we could say that they deny the state. They combat the functions of the state: they do not want to become soldiers, they hate and abhor officialdom and bureaucracy, do not want to pay any taxes, in short, they take a hostile stand towards all the functions of the state. They are anti-militarists when up against the militarism of the state, but they defend their own freedom with all means. But even if the negative parts of anarchism are the most prominent parts of the anarchism of the Ukrainian peasant movement ,this movement is not purely negative as a movement. The peasants are not theoretical but rather sentimental anarchists. They have also showed, on different occasions, that they are capable of regulating their affairs in consonance with their libertarian tendencies, and even in the sense of communism.

If we now ask ourselves wherefrom these comparatively strong anarchist tendencies of the Ukrainian peasantry come, we can say that, besides the natural desire for liberty, the conditions of the last years of revolution and war have exerted a strong influence. Who will not be able to understand that a people will hate all political governments when in the course of six years it has had thirteen different governments, as the case was in some gouvernements, such as Kievsk, Poltava and Berdiansk. But these governments were all war governments and must, consequently, show themselves from the worst side. They requisitioned grain, horses, etc., from the peasants, in short, the peasants were for the governments only the means of carrying on the war.

In regard to the theories of anarchism the revolutionary movement of the peasants has only parts of anarchism in it. But this movement is not identical with the anarchist movement of Ukraine. Although the bolsheviks label the whole peasant movement, (which under Machno causes them so many difficulties) sometimes as anarchistic and sometimes as a common bandit movement, the anarchists in no manner identify themselves with the Machno peasant movement. And still a large part of the anarchists of Ukraine join the Machno peasant movement, in order to work for their ideas. And while they, for the reasons above mentioned, and because of the related character of this movement, found a good field for their ideas and made great progress in these circles, the whole Machno movement was by outsiders designated as an anarchist movement.

When Machno came from the prison in Siberia, he first stopped in Moscow. The rumors of the peasant massacres penetrated to Moscow and he went to Ukraine, and to his home place Gulai-Pole.

The following description of the development of the Machno movement comes not alone from his most intimate friends, his aids and comrades, but also from the bolsheviks, who formerly served him as soldiers but who later entered the Red Army and fought against Machno.

Machno organized the peasants against the Germans and against Skoropadski-Warta. There were in Gulai-Pole, a village of about 30,000 inhabitants, seven men who were good rebels. Among them were Machno, Tschubenko and Gribelenko. They had some rifles and took in the first day 80 Skoropadski soldiers prisoners. Besides they took rifles and collected money for a fighting fund, and for the first 3,000 rubles they bought a machine gun, some bombs and one revolver. Machno is a splendid, fiery orator and understood how to inspire the peasants to fight. Through his successes he became famous among the peasants and was soon known in the whole gouvernement and later in all Ukraine. From all sides the peasants gathered round him and wanted to serve under his flag. His power became stronger from day to day, and towards the end of the year 1918 he had an army of 50,000 or, according to some reports, 70,000 men.

Towards all other generals and adventurers the peasants stood skeptical. But not to Machno. The peasants loved Machno, and for him they voluntarily gave everything that the Germans and Skoropadski as well as all other counter-revolutionary generals could not get from them. Thus Machno was able to send 30 wagon loads of foodstuffs to Moscow in December, 1918. The Moscow paper of the bolsheviks, the "Isvestija" then wrote very approvingly of Machno. Machno's army at that time held a front of over 300 kilometers (about 186 miles).

The Germans and the Austrians, as well as Skoropadski, were thus driven from the Ukraine by the peasants, principally under Machno. It was, consequently, not the Red Army, which came into existence only later, but the peasants themselves who cleaned out Ukraine. This is a historic fact of great importance. It shows us that well organized and great modern armies were conquered by peasants and peasant generals who had no military training whatsoever. Here we see repeated what we before have seen in history; the French peasants, after the revolution of 1789, threw back the invasion of the Prussians and the Austrians. In Russia we have still more instances of this phenomenon. Such historic experiences from the French, Mexican, Russian and Ukrainian revolutions compress themselves into a lesson which can be of great use to us for the future.

But the counter-revolution was not settled through the expulsion of the Germans, Austrians and the Skoropadskis from the Ukraine. Not for a moment. *France and England as well as Roumania,* who thereby got the danger of revolution directly in their neck, were not at all suited by the fact that in Ukraine, it was the peasants, the anarchists and bolsheviks who ruled. The aim of the entente was, and is up to the present time, to break down Soviet Russia and Soviet Ukraine. *They provoked and supported counter-revolution. They financed the old czarist generals Petljura, Kaledin, Grigorjev, Denekin, and Wrangel and encouraged them to reactionary advances.* As Germany was vanquished, the conquerors of Germany took over the role of watch-

dogs for the reaction, formerly played by Germany in Europe. Germany throttled with iron fist the revolution in Finland through general Goltz. The entente tried to do the same in the Ukraine through the old czarist officers.

From Podolia and from the East Galician frontier came Petljura, from the region of Don came Kaledin, and later Denekin took possession of the Don basin. Besides, a former czarist general, Grigorjev, gathered dissatisfied peasants around him, and he succeeded in drawing to himself great numbers under pretense that he brought the peasants freedom.

The bolsheviks in Moscow saw the danger which threatened them from Ukraine. It was clear that the counter-revolution which raised its head in such manifold shapes, would not content itself with Ukraine but would extend further into Central Russia. In fact, Denekin later came far outside of Ukraine. He occupied Orel and stood before Tula, the last strategically important point before Moscow. But now the aim of the Soviet government was to overthrow all other powers in Central Russia and establish one single soviet power of the Communist Party. The peasant movement under Machno stood in the road of this policy. Economically they were dependent upon Ukraine. Central and North Russia needed Ukraine's grain and sugar. Central and North Russia is higher developed industrially than Ukraine, but through the war and the revolution it was so impoverished that they were not capable of entering into purely economic exchange with an independent Ukraine but had to amalgamate politically with that country. Besides, it would not do to allow Machno to become too strong, for just as well as Denekin the Machno movement could crowd over into Central Russia, and that had to be prevented. The position of the bolsheviks regarding the situation in the Ukraine was also very vacillating. The reaction had to be beaten down. This could not be done without the Ukrainian peasants and workers. But these stood suspicious towards the bolsheviks, although they went together with them in breaking down reaction. The bolsheviks needed the peasants but sought to become masters of their separatist libertarian movement. Denekin they could openly combat with the Red Army. He was a reactionary and the peasants and the workers were also against him. But the Red Army was not strong enough to quash Denekin. For that purpose they needed the peasants and Machno. At the outset, about the end of 1918 and the early part of 1919, the reactionary wave of the czarist generals was not yet so dangerous and not so powerful. The power of the peasants was stronger. But it was not possible to fight them openly without coming to a complete rupture with them, for they needed the peasants badly, in the first place for providing food stuffs, and in the second place to help the Red Army against the counter-revolution.

The bolshevik plans were that the peasant army of 50,000 to 70,000 men should be kept in Ukraine and, as far as possible,

held in inactivity. This could be accomplished quite painlessly. The lack of arms and ammunition, which already in the beginning of the risings developed such tragic effects, made itself again noticeable. That was one of the weakest points of the peasant army. This the bolsheviks knew. Machno asked the Soviet government for arms and ammunition. He turned to Debenko, the highest commander of the Red Army of Crimea. Debenko delayed the munitions shipment and gave him first in February, 1919, a single wagon load of cartridges.

In order to discuss the situation Machno called a conference of the peasants, which took place in Machno's birthplace, Gulai-Pole. This was a conference of revolting peasants. They are in Ukraine called "Povstanzi." These povstanzi are guerilla soldiers, rebellious peasants who fight in armed groups. The anarchists, left social-revolutionaries and maximalists, in a resolution condemned the conduct of the bolsheviks. But the peasants still had confidence in the bolsheviks and demanded the striking out of those paragraphs of the resolution which were directed against them. Still, the situation did not improve. The munition shipments became smaller and smaller. The leaders of the Machno army called a second conference in Gulai-Pole about the end of March. This conference was dissolved by the bolsheviks.

The bolsheviks now sent the anarchist Roschtschin-Grossman, professor of philology and philosophy at the Moscow University, to Machno, in order to prevail upon him to join with the Red Army. Machno was to remain supreme commander of his army but place his force under the supreme commander of the Red Army, Trotzky. Machno, who was embittered by the conduct of the bolsheviks refused this on the ground that he did not want to work under those whose desire was to conquer power. And no change could be made in this position of his by the bolsheviks sending him a wagon load of paper.

From that moment began the *war between the bolsheviks and the Machno warriors.* That it had to come to an open break between these two powers, lay in the very nature of these two armies. Here were two hostile principles which stood against one another. The principle of an army which was formed through compulsory mobilization and naturally stood on centralistic ground, and on the other side peasants who had sprung together voluntarily, guerilla bands which were held together only for the moment through the hour of danger and through common suffering. With the former, iron discipline was a matter of fact; with the latter enforced discipline was a matter of taste. Machno, as the leader of the rebellious peasants, could never submit to the superior command of a high army commander. Even if he had personally desired to do so, the very nature of the army he commanded would not have permitted it. To demand this bears witness of complete ignorance of the essential difference between these two bodies. The Red Army is militarism; the Machno army consisted of rebellious peasants, militants, but not military.

It is, therefore, absolutely false and unjust to brand Machno as a bandit and a traitor, as the bolsheviks did. Only the defenders of Roman law can designate rebellious peasants as bandits, but the bolsheviks who themselves are revolutionaries have no right to do so.

Not only in principle, but also as a matter of tactics, was it impossible for the Machno army to co-operate with the Red Army, at least for any length of time. The Machno army which consists of revolting peasants, is no army in the military sense of the word. When the work in the fields begins, then the peasants go to tend to that work, and when the harvest begins they go out harvesting. Machno's army is, thus, anything but stable, and its strength varies extremely, according to circumstances and seasons. Also the mode of fighting used by this army is fundamentally different from the methods used by the Red Army, drilled around the barracks. The rebellious peasants principally carried on a guerilla warfare. However successful a guerilla war may be, still it can never be the tactics used by a centralistically organized, militaristic national army. It is and remains the tactics of insurgents in a revolution, no more and no less.

Although the Red Army of Trotzky and the peasant army of Machno, due to their nature, stood completely strange to one another, still they struggled on a common platform and, for the time being had a common aim. It was therefore clear that Trotzky should want to make use of this considerable power of the peasants. But the impossibility of getting rid of Denekin without Machno made Trotzky blind to the unbridgeable cleft which existed between him and Machno.

Trotzky was really in an extremely difficult situation. The Red Army stood in the North, Denekin in the South, and Machno with his army was in the middle between the two. Trotzky was compelled to force Machno to recognize his superior command, in order to be able to conduct uniform operations, that could have given the victory to the Red Army, which was not any too strong. This could be done only with the aid of Machno. But from the above mentioned causes of fundamental nature it was impossible for Machno to recognize Trotzky's supremacy. And Machno himself was in a very critical situation, between two fires. Munitions he had none. Trotzky wanted to give him munitions only if he completely accepted all the conditions of the Red Army. This was impossible for Machno. Then Trotzky conceived the idea of annihilating Machno.

Machno needed 5 million cartridges. He had then about 50,000 men. According to Riefkin, the leader of the maximalists, even 70,000 men. They sent him only half a million cartridges, and instead of 5,000 rifles, only 300. They prolonged the negotiations, in order to gain time, and thereby 3 to 4 days were lost. In the meantime Denekin kept advancing. Machno had no munitions and had to retreat under terrible losses. Through the pres-

sure the Red Army also was compelled to draw back. Machno's war committee wished to call a peasant conference, in order that they might take counsel in the situation. Even the second conference in Gulai-Pole was dissolved by the bolsheviks. One must not think that there were unified, distinctly marked fronts, but one front ran into the other. Thus it came that a part of the riding messengers, who were to announce the conference to the peasants in the villages, were picked up and arrested in the region where the Red Army had a firm footing. The conference thus came to naught, and seven of these messengers were shot in Charkov as members of the revolutionary war committee.

Trotzky was in Charkov and spoke on April 29, 1919 in a meeting against Machno. He called Machno a bandit and a robber and said that it would be better if the white guards took possession of Ukraine than to have it in the hands of Machno. For when the whites have come back, the peasants will call the bolsheviks back. But if Machno remains in power, then the middle peasants will retain the upper hand.

On the ground of these theories the bolsheviks decided to open the front at Josufka. At this place the Red Army was directly facing Denekin. The result was that Denekin's armies attacked Machno in the back. Machno, without munitions, attacked in the front as well as from the rear, had to retreat, but was completely defeated and lost the largest part of his army. With a few thousand men he succeeded in saving himself by fleeing. He retreated to the Dnieper region in the Southwest.

But on this account the Red Army was also forced to retreat, and Denekin advanced still further. He took Charkov, penetrated into Central Russia, took Kursk and Orel, and even got as far as Tula.

The bolsheviks said that Machno had committed treason and they declared him outlawed. He was placed outside the law. His brother was discovered in a hospital, was taken for Machno and murdered. Machno, who was accused of treason against the Red Army, should have thus acted to the advantage of Denekin!

These were the hardest days, not so much for Machno as for the Red Army. The peasants again gathered around him. Gulai-Pole and the capitals Jekaterinoslav, Mariopol and Poltava fell into Machno's hands.

This was in the late summer and the fall of 1919. Machno became a danger to Denekin. Denekin's main army stood already in Russia; his rear guard was still in Ukraine. Machno cut the rear guard off from the main army and bound Denekin's transports of munitions and provisions up tightly in the South. Denekin was thus forced to retreat and the Red Army took to the offensive. Most experts and participants in these struggles were of the firm conviction that Denekin then would have come to Moscow had Machno not frustrated his plans.

Through this decisive blow in a critical situation *Machno*

again found favor with the bolsheviks. The sentence hanging over his head was revoked, and he was no longer labeled a "counter-revolutionary."

While the Red Army was pressed back by Denekin's victorious army, a new, reactionary czarist general made his appearance in Ukraine: Grigorjev. He fought against the bolsheviks and promised the peasants freedom and the soviet system, and he succeeded in gathering quite a large following.

Machno desired to know whose spiritual child Grigorjev was. He began negotiating with him. At one of these negotiations Machno killed him after he had learnt that Grigorjev was a reactionary. This also was counted in his favor by the bolsheviks.

Between October 30 and November 1, 1919, Jekaterinoslav fell from Denekin's into Machno's hands. As Denekin's main army, on account of Machno's exploits, was then compelled to retreat, it came from Central Russia down into Ukraine. What formerly had happened to Machno, now happened to Denekin: he had no ammunition. *Machno held Jekaterinoslav for a month.* During this whole month, parts of the Denekin army stood only 10 versts from Jekaterinoslav on the other side of the Dnieper. Machno could not get over, but neither could Denekin. He bombarded the city but could not take it. Both of them, Machno and Denekin, bombarded the bridge across Dnieper, in order to prevent the other from coming over. In December Denekin's North army, driven back by the Red Army, advanced upon Jekaterinoslav from the North side.

Machno was thus forced to turn back and retreat to Alexandrovsk. In the meantime Denekin retreated still further, and the Red Army followed upon his heels. On January 10 and 11 the Red Army also arrived at Alexandrovsk. *Trotzky now demanded that the peasants under Machno disarm.* This they refused to do. It came again to conflicts, and Machno was once more outlawed. Part of his people were disarmed. He himself drew back his troops in the night and fled. From that time his power weakened. At the time the agricultural work had to be performed, in the spring and the summer of 1920, he did not have more than a few thousand men. The bolsheviks became more powerful in Ukraine and pursued him. He retreated to the woods and kept himself between Poltava, Berdiansk and Alexandrovsk.

The entente, particularly France, saw itself deceived in the hopes it had placed on the Denekin undertaking. But *France did not yet surrender its hopes of making Ukraine the starting point for its attack upon the bolsheviks.* It looked around for other hirelings and found one in *Baron Wrangel,* "the white baron," as he is called in Ukraine and in Russia.

Through French support Wrangel became stronger. Especially after the war that broke out between Russia and Poland, Russia was compelled to concentrate its power against Poland and could not occupy itself very much with Ukraine. The defeats

of the Red Army on the Polish front weakened the position of the bolsheviks in the Ukraine also. About the end of September the danger of the advance of the Polish army was so great that the bolsheviks again evacuated Kiev. Wrangel threatened the Don basin. Ukraine was not unlike a boiling kettle. Everywhere the peasants congregated and formed bands. *These bands fought against the Poles, against the bolsheviks, and also against Wrangel.* Machno also became stronger again. As a few months before, the bolsheviks had liberated West Ukraine from the Poles, who had taken Kiev and penetrated into the gouvernement of Poltava, the peasants looked upon the bolsheviks as their liberators. To begin with, they got along quite well with the Soviet government. But as the bolsheviks later, through the protraction of the war, were forced to requisition provisions for the Red Army which fought against Poland, the harmony came to an end. The peasants began to fight also against the bolsheviks, as before against the Poles. They became dissatisfied and rebelled, and, naturally, Machno was again their man.

Machno operated once more against Wrangel. But the bolsheviks wrote that he co-operated with Wrangel. The fact was that the peasants fought against both Wrangel and the bolsheviks. The bolsheviks, in their turn, fought against Wrangel and Machno, but did not meet with any success. The peasants, including those who fought under Machno's banner, fought against all foreign troops that entered their territory. It was immaterial to them whether it was the Poles, Wrangel or bolsheviks. If they only succeeded in driving away the enemy they were satisfied. They were not strategists sufficiently to take advantage of their successes. They did not pursue the beaten foe. They were satisfied when he had left their territory. In this respect the peasants are no imperialists, who wish to conquer other domains, but neither are they idealists who, for higher purposes or for the sake of an ideal, pursue the counter-revolution. In their innermost soul they are conservative and do not want to be annoyed or disturbed from the outside. But if this happens, then they rise and start a rebellion, slay their oppressor, and return to their work in the fields. That is all.

About this time Machno sent a note to the President of the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine in which he laid claim to the gouvernements of Jekaterinoslav and Cherson for himself and his followers, in order that the peasants might organize themselves as they desired. Besides he demanded the release of his friends from prison. To this note Rakovsky did not give any answer. But the bolsheviks spread the information: Machno works together with Wrangel.

About the end of September, 1920, Machno's forces became considerably stronger. At this time the position of the bolsheviks on the political front was most critical. *Machno succeeded in carrying out some favorable operations against Wrangel.* He took possession of Gulai-Pole, his native city, and soon also occupied

Mariopol and Alexandrovsk. The Soviet government, which only shortly before wrote in its papers that Machno co-operated with Wrangel, was compelled to report that Machno "now" again was operating against Wrangel. Machno again sent a note to the Soviet government, in which he once more demanded the freedom of Wollin and the rest of his friends. As Machno this time had power behind his words, the bolsheviks were compelled to give in. On Friday, October 1, 1920, Machno's friends, the theoretical anarchist W. M. Eichenbaum (Wollin), and Machno's aids, Tschubenko and Gabrilenko, were released from prison, where they had up to that time been held as hostages for Machno. Both the first mentioned were in the Butirky prison in Moscow, the latter in the prison of Charkov. At the same time Machno, who had been outlawed since January 13, 1920, was pardoned. But on October 2 and 3, 1920, there appeared in the Moscow "Isvestija" a report that the Red Army was making progress against Wrangel. From Mariopol and Alexandrovsk, Wrangel had been driven away. Further it also said that Machno again had united with the Red Army. Those on the inside had to laugh over this ridiculous and absolutely unnecessary disfigurement of the truth. The truth was, as appears from the "Isvestija" itself, that it was Machno who defeated Wrangel! But we must admit that, as Machno, after his demands had been conceded to, declared himself prepared to fight with the Red Army against Wrangel, they had some reason for declaring Machno as part of the operating Red Army, and so they did, through their announcement that "the Red Army had taken Mariopol, Gulai-Pole and Alexandrovsk."!!

In the middle of November, 1920, Wrangel was almost completely beaten. It could be foreseen that the Red Army, which through the peace with Poland in Riga, had become free, would throw itself upon Wrangel and crush him. But the beginning of the end for Wrangel should be credited to Machno.

In consideration of this state of affairs it was a signal lack of good taste for the bolshevik papers, who should not have fought against other revolutionaries, that they, nevertheless, did that. How wrong they had been, they themselves saw some time later. Thus one of their papers which is published in English at Moscow ("Russian Press Review," edition of October 29, 1920) says, in an article under the heading "Machno and Wrangel," as follows:

> "The War Commissariat has published the following correction: The French press has, as is probably known, written a good deal about Machno joining Wrangel. The Soviet press, in its turn, has also published documents which have shown that a formal alliance existed between Wrangel and Machno. But it has now been ascertained that this information was not correct. Without doubt, Machno has de facto helped Wrangel as well as the Polish army, by fighting against the Red Army. But a formal alliance has not

existed between them. *All documents published about a formal alliance between Machno and Wrangel were forged by Wrangel.* A bandit chief from the Crimea, who called himself chief Voldin, who was under the command of Machno, received his instructions from the Wrangel staff. But in reality there was no connection between them. The whole forgery was undertaken by Wrangel, in order to deceive the French and other imperialists.

"For some weeks Wrangel was really trying to get into contact with the Machno forces and sent two delegates to Machno's headquarters, in order to begin negotiations. But the Machno troops showed that they did not want to have anything to do with Wrangel, that they saw their error in fighting against the Soviet army by the fact that Wrangel wanted to get in contact with them. And united with the Soviet army of the South and jointly fought against Wrangel. Soon thereafter they proposed to the commander of the army of the South to undertake common action against Wrangel. This proposition was accepted under certain conditions. At the present time Machno is carrying on his operations of war under the direct supervision and orders of the commander of the army of the South, Comrade Frunze."

This document shows conclusively that all reports, stating that Machno fought on the side of Wrangel, were false. The bolsheviks excuse themselves by saying that they learnt only later that these documents were forged. In the first place it is quite peculiar that they had not found out sooner, as they otherwise do not put any faith in the capitalist press, but on the contrary always emphasize their lying tendencies. Second, one would think that the bolsheviks would not first go to foreign countries like France, to get the news of what takes place in their own land. Because the French press wrote so and so (the French knew, consequently, better what took place in Russia) the bolshevik press took it up as the truth. But as the bolsheviks are not as naive as all that, there is good cause for asserting that it was not lack of correct information but evil intention that put the pen in the hand of their paper and their high command, when they spoke of co-operation between Machno and Wrangel.

In regard to the other statement, which is to be found in the article quoted above, that the Machno forces de facto, (that is, indirectly) had helped Wrangel when they fought against the Red Army, we have also to do with a conscious distortion of the facts, a conscious lie, for it was not the peasants under Machno which fought against the revolution. *It was these peasants who made the revolution.* It was when the centralistic Red Army wanted to rob the peasants of their freedom that the peasants rose against this new rulership also. Thus, it was not Machno who fought against the Red Army but it was the Red Army who wanted to strike down the peasants under Machno who were insurgents. When the peasants then defended themselves by

fighting against the Red Army, it naturally appeared to the uninitiated as if the peasants under Machno fought against the Red Army.

Although we today stand in the midst of the struggle and dispassionate objectivity does not yet prevail, still, the writer of the history of the revolution in Ukraine will be able to sum up these battles of the peasants and the Red Army from the following points of view: The Red Army battled against the capitalist world imperialism of the entente and against all the Russian czarist generals sent forth by this imperialism, as well as against the smaller states, like Poland, Roumania, etc., which were economically and politically dependent upon the entente. But the Ukrainian peasants fought against all, and even against the Russian Soviet Republic. The word "imperialism" coupled to the word "red" has, of course, only a symbolic meaning.

It further says in this article that the Machno troops have united with the Red Army. This only means that the peasants prefer the Red Army to the Wrangel army, not, however, that they consider the Red Army the savior of liberty, for *they will also fight the Red Army if it tries to circumscribe their liberty.* As long as the Soviet government of the bolsheviks does not annoy them, they take no exception to it. But if it demands their subjection, then they fight against it.

It is quite sure, however, that the bolsheviks, who now cooperate with Machno, will fight him again at their first opportunity and then, perhaps, will annihilate him. But with Machno's person they have not killed the rebellious spirit of the peasants. Of course, it might happen that a general exhaustion of the peasants, a relaxing of the revolutionary tension sets in, and that then the peasant movement comes to an end. Therefore later historians of the revolution could, chronologically, connect these things, but between Machno's person and his eventual separation from the movement, and the revolutionary movement of the peasants on the other side, there is no causal connection.

In Russia there are strong differences of opinion in regard to the character of the Machno movement. The Russians and the Russian revolutionaries do not allow themselves to be guided by the facts in passing judgment on this movement. Appreciations of this movement are almost altogether colored by preconceived theoretical views and opinions. Thus, the bolsheviks condemn the Machno movement, and so do the counter-revolutionaries. Both of them see in the peasants who flock around Machno, as well as in himself, only bands and bandits, which must be fought and exterminated, because they stand in the way of any government. The mensheviks, as well as the right social-revolutionaries, yes, even part of the left, condemn the base tactics of the bolshevik government in dealing with Machno, but they also turn against Machno, because they are for a unified and centralistic state army and against the Povstanzy. The maximalists, the social revolutionaries of the left, the largest part of the syn-

dicalists and the anarchists defend the Machno movement, because they themselves desire no party rule and combat centralism. Thus one learns, when Machno is under discussion, less truth about Machno than truth about the standpoint of the disputants. An objective opinion of this movement one can only get by doing like the writer of this story, that is, by listening to all opinions in the matter without being a member of any of the Russian parties.

If we now free ourselves from all party opinions and hold fast to the objective facts of the case, *the following historic facts are undeniable.* The Machno movement in Ukraine was originally a movement of the peasants against hostile invasion. The rebellious peasants did not content themselves with fighting against the Germans and Austrians, but in the course of their battle they turned against every government. As in the course of events all governments through the war came into Ukraine from the outside, the peasants, who in some localities had had 13 governments, conceived of each one of them as a tyranny coming from the outside.

Their fight is a struggle for their own independence. Whether they are in a position to regulate their own affairs according to libertarian principles, that is a question of the greatest historic significance. But this question cannot be answered, solved or decided through the different governments who wished, and still wish, to get a footing in Ukraine. It exclusively depends on the peasants.

The position of the Russian Soviet Government towards Ukraine and the rebellious peasants is conditioned by the character of the Soviet government in itself. Although the bolshevik party is a revolutionary party, it still is the representative of the Russian state. That it calls that state a proletarian state changes nothing in the fact that they judge everything from the point of view of the interest of this state, and must act in the interest of that state. The maintenance of that state requires a central control of all territory, and the subordination of all groups, unions and organizations under the central body which in Russia is the Council of the Peoples Commissars; in bourgeois democracies the parliaments. The Russian Soviet government must insist on the subordination of the Machno peasant movement if it does not want to sacrifice the fundamental principle of its being.

As the main thing is the maintenance of that principle, the question as to the means for that end is of a subordinate nature. I submit it to the conviction of each individual to approve of or reject the tactics of the bolsheviks against Machno. The defenders of the state idea cannot in principle reject any means which serve to support and keep up the state. They may reject the special tactics of the bolsheviks but, unless they are anti-state opponents of the bolsheviks, they reject these tactics only because it is the bolsheviks. But they have always proven to do the very same thing when they themselves have the power. Partic-

ularly the defenders of the bourgeois order of society, who precipitated the people of the earth into the valley of sorrow through the war, have no right to condemn the bolsheviks. For they have proven whither their world order leads: to the greatest misery that has ever come over man.

One of the things which runs against our taste and which is constantly being used by the defenders of the state, not only by the proverbial diplomat but also by all politicians, is lying. As a matter of fact, the bolsheviks can no more get along without this means than the capitalist state can. As an example, the bolshevik papers write that Gabrilenko, who was taken captive by the bolsheviks and imprisoned in Charkov, as well as Tschubenko, and other Machno men, had said that Machno was a bandit and that they did not want to have anything more to do with him. This was done for the purpose of discrediting Machno with the population. When later, in October 1920, Gabrilenko was let out of prison and heard of this, he was terribly agitated and challenged them rather to kill him, for when he came to Machno, his men would do it anyhow, as they would consider him a traitor.

A second example. When the bolshevik papers in Ukraine wrote, in July, 1920, that Machno fought against the bolsheviks and worked together with Wrangel, then two Charkov anarchists, Joseph, the Emigrant, and Makrousov went to Rakovsky, president of the republic, and said that they held this untrue. They asked the permission of the government to send an anarchist delegation to Machno, in order to investigate the case. Rakovsky promised to do so. Makrousov was a brigade commander of the Red Army, and it was his division which drove the Poles out of Kiev. But when Makrousov, whom they respected for his military achievements (although he was an anarchist) was away, about twenty anarchists were arrested by the extra-ordinary commission of Charkov, because it was assumed that the anarchists who wished to go to Machno had connection with him. They were accused of conspiracy. Most of them had to be released for lack of evidence. But one of them, Josef, the Emigrant, was kept in prison. He went on a hunger strike and after eight days was released.

If it had been as the bolsheviks wrote, they would have had no reason to arrest these people. This proves rather that they feared to be convicted of lying.

In spite of all these means which the Soviet government used in the struggle against Machno, they did not succeed in discrediting Machno before the population. The peasants honor and love Machno as one of their own, and there is hardly another man in all Ukraine who is so popular as Machno. The peasants gave him the surname Batkno, meaning Little Father. They have woven a wreath of stories about his head and relate the most incredible tales among themselves about *Batkno*. Machno is to them not a "Mister" (Gospodin) but their "Little Father" (Batkno). No matter what dangers Batkno throws himself into, he al-

ways comes out of them whole, as by a wonder. Because Machno had such great armies that were always dissolved again, only in order to rise up anew; because he had to flee so often, but always came back again, the peasants said that Batkno could not be defeated. There is a tale that Batkno was in Denekin's camp and in his tent. He was disguised and talked with Denekin. Suddenly he said: "I am Machno," and disappeared. As a sample of Machno's tactics it is said that, when he has taken a place, he orders one or several houses vacated and then pretends that he is to live there. When evening comes he goes disguised into some other village and sleeps there without being known. Another tale about Machno is: in some village a small, insignificant peasant (that is how Machno looks) sells a dish of butter. The buyer, who gets the dish also, can, when he gets home, find the following words on the plate: "He who bought this butter has seen Batkno-Machno."

Such a figure of story and myth is Machno in the mind of the peasants. For that reason it is plain that the Machno movement finds better response and reception than all the government troops coming from the outside. When Machno needs horses, provisions, or rather material of war, the peasants generally give to him voluntarily what others cannot get with force. It needs only to be said that "Batkno needs it," and it is given without question.

Is is also said that Machno, who as an anarchist rejects every compulsory mobilization, once sent out a call for a voluntary mobilization. At the end of this call the following words are said to have been added: "Who does not come voluntarily will be shot." Naturally, a peasant movement such as Machno's cannot escape such humorous contradictions. It also happens that the peasants, when the bolsheviks want to mobilize them, declare that they already are mobilized by Machno. Nor is the Machno movement free from coarse, brutal and savage traits. Thus, an officer of the Red Army relates that the Machno troops had made an attack upon a railroad train in which traveled a Wrangel deputation, of whom some are said to have been Frenchmen. The leader of the delegation is said to have been a very stout gentleman. The Machno soldiers in the struggle killed the whole delegation. But the thick leader they opened up, after he was dead, and then buttoned the coat again. When the leader later was discovered, he could not be recognized, because it was a corpulent man they sought. But among the dead were only thin ones.

For such horrors Machno should not, of course, be held responsible. The peasants are so brutalized through the incessant wars, revolutions and struggles, during which they had to suffer terribly. When, for instance, the Poles staged their entry into the Poltava gouvernement, the peasants looked with avaricious eyes at their well fed horses and decided in advance on how they should be divided when they had chased the Poles away. A noisy quarrel arose in the presence of a Polish officer. When he asked

them what they were fighting about, they answered him bluntly: "About who will own your horse." The logic of the peasants is very simple: We want to live for ourselves and not be disturbed. Who comes to us and wants to rule over us will be slain and his property will be distributed.

To have thrown the peasants upon this primitive, savage, uncultivated level, through which the cultural development not only was stopped but set back, that is the work of those who lit the flame of the world war. The blame for this brutalizing of men falls upon them.

The conditions under which the Machno army declared itself prepared to fight together with the Red Army against Wrangel were laid down in the form of a pact on October 16, 1920, which was signed by the former Hungarian People's Commissar Bela Kun and by a representative of the Machno army. It reads as follows:

AGREEMENT.

in regard to provisional co-operation in the military operations between the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and the revolutionary guerilla army of Ukraine, called "Machnovtzi":

(1) The revolutionary guerilla army of the Machnovtzi joins the forces of the republican army as a guerilla army, which in its operations is subordinated to the supreme command of the Red Army. But it retains its previous organization, without adopting the principles and the fundamentals of the regular Red Army.

(2) The revolutionary guerilla army of the Machnovtzi, which is located on the territory of the Soviets along or across the front, shall not take up in its ranks such parts of the Red Army as wish to desert to it.

Note: The parts of the Red Army or the isolated red soldiers who in Wrangel's rear come together with the revolutionary guerilla army, shall again unite with the Red Army when they meet with it.

The guerilla Machnovtzi who are still in Wrangel's rear, as well as the population which in those parts of the country have entered the guerilla army, remain in the ranks of the latter, even if they have before been mobilized by the Red Army.

(3) The purpose of the argreement between the command of the Red Army and the revolutionary guerilla army "Machnovtzi," is to annihilate the common enemy, the white army. The Machnovtzi declare themselves in agreement with the request of the command of the Red Army to discontinue the hostilities of the population against the Red Army. At

the same time the Soviet Government announces the agreements entered into, in order to obtain the greatest possible results in the tasks designated.

(4) The families of the soldiers of the revolutionary guerilla army "Machnovtzi," who live on the territory of the Soviet republic, are entitled to the same rights as the soldiers of the Red Army and shall receive from the Ukrainian Soviet Government the relief agreed upon.

AGREEMENTS

in regard to provisional co-operation in political questions between the Soviet Government of Ukraine and the revolutionary guerilla army of the Machnovtzi:

(1) The immediate liberation of all those persecuted and the discontinuance of all further persecution in the domain of the Soviet Republic against all Machnovtzi and anarchists, with the exception of those who have carried on an armed fight against the Soviet Government.

(2) Complete free agitation and propaganda in words as well as through the press for all Machnovtzi and anarchists and their ideas and principles, with observance of military censorship in military matters. For the issuing of all anarchist and Machnovtzi publications (books, magazines, papers, etc.), which are recognized by the Soviet Government as revolutionary organizations, the Soviet State places all the technical material at their disposition on the basis of the general rules which apply to publications.

(3) Free participation in the election to the soviets, as well as right for Machnovtzi and anarchists to become members of the soviets, and besides, free participation in the preparations for the next V. Soviet Congress of Ukraine, which will take place in December, 1920, is guaranteed.

Accepted by the representatives of both parties to the agreement at the conference on October 16, 1920.

Signed by

BELA KUN,
POPOFF.

After these agreements were entered into, it became possible to conquer Wrangel's white armies, due to the co-operation between the Red Army and the Machnovtzi. But *after the victory of the Red Army, the Soviet Government broke these agreements* and started a merciless battle against the Machno detachment. *And all anarchists of Ukraine were again put in prison.*

The Soviet government used the same methods against the anarchists and the Machnovtzi as the German government used

at the outbreak of the world war when marching into Belgium; all agreements are nothing but a scrap of paper. This is apt to mean the end of the Machno movement.

How rapidly the Soviet government forgot its agreement, their conduct toward the Machno people shows. Wollin and Tschubenko, mentioned above, who were 9 months in a Moscow prison and released in October, were again arrested in the house of their friend N. Pavlov, Bolschoi Tschernitschevski No. 18. When, on October 24, a membership meeting of the anarchists took place in that house, the Tscheka (Extra-ordinary Commission) broke in and wanted to arrest Tschubenko. But as he could not be found, all of those present—about 50 men—were taken along, and to-day, January, 1921, some of them are still in prison. But Wollin was arrested on December 1 at a conference of the anarcho-syndicalists in Charkov—the conference was entirely legal and permitted by the Tscheka—together with all the other participants, among whom was also the above mentioned Pavlov.

The forecast I made in regard to *Machno's early annihilation* by the bolsheviks proved to be correct. Fourteen days after I had the manuscript of this book ready, and before it was yet in print, the telegraph brought the information (a Rosta notice) that Machno's troops were being disarmed by the bolsheviks. The Rosta bureau in Stockholm, which has the most direct connection with Russia over Reval, sent out a telegram in these words:

"Moscow, December 7, 1920 (Rosta).—The Soviet commander at the Southern front has started a merciless fight on all the robber bands under Machno, which still operate in the Ukraine. The operations have been very successful. The largest part of the Machno detachments are already split up or disarmed."

But now the "Rothe Fahne" (Red Flag) of Vienna also prints a news item coming from Christiania, in which it says:

> "In the struggle with Wrangel the Machno troops have, without obeying the orders of the Red Army command, continued to plunder peaceful inhabitants and to irresponsibly take up various robber bands in their army. The revolutionary War Council of the Southern front has, after the liquidation of the Wrangel army, sent out an order to change the Machno troops into common disciplined parts of the Red Army. The order was caused by the fact that the Machno troops had undertaken regular plunderings of cities and villages, plundering not only the population but the store of ammunition, and had attacked red soldiers, in order to get hold of weapons. In the villages the Machno troops have aided the rich peasants, who sabotaged the grain deliveries to the hungering gouvernements. After a partial change of the Machno troops into a regular army, they were given orders to immediately start off for the Caucasus. Instead of obeying this order, Machno started hostilities against the Red

Army on November 23. Machno's traitorous plan was not successful, and at present his main forces are already beaten, thanks to the prompt and energetic steps of the commander of the South-front. The Machno artillery has fallen into our hands. *Our troops have received order to mercilessly exterminate the Machno bandits*, who traitorously disturb the building up of Soviet Ukraine."

That the bolsheviks, after the victory over Wrangel, would annihilate Machno was plain—after they had used them as their instrument in the struggle against Wrangel. But it is also clear that they had to try to surround this act with an appearance of righteousness and to justify their actions. For that reason it need not surprise anybody that *the bolsheviks again take recourse to lies*. Having previously read how they before took back their own lies, calling it all a mistake and blaming it all on the reports of the French capitalist papers, we will also properly appreciate the news now before us. It is really quite remarkable that "the peaceful inhabitants" of Ukraine themselves never have anything against Machno, but only against the foreign Red Army. But what is correct in this report is, that "the peaceful building up of the Soviet government of Moscow" was being sabotaged by the Ukrainian peasants who fought under Machno, for that is a government the peasants do not want. They would rather be "plundered" by Machno than by the requisition detachments of the Red Army.

The Socialist Movement in Ukraine

The socialist movement of Ukraine has a more or less anarchist character. This character is to be traced back less to theories and doctrines than to the influence which the political and economic conditions of the country exerted upon the mind of the peasants.

Marxism, which in Russia came to expression in the form of bolshevism and menshevism, has less of a footing in Ukraine. On the other hand, the Russian Peasant and People's Socialism of the Narodnik Social-Revolutionaries is more strongly represented. This "people's socialism," which is penetrated with strong anarchist tendencies, has been able, so far, to hold back Marxian and West-European socialism. In Ukraine, Bakunin lives stronger than Marx.

In Ukraine all socialist tendencies are represented. The mensheviks, the bolsheviks, the right and the left social-revolutionaries, the maximalists, the barbists, the syndicalists and the anarchists. The bolsheviks and the mensheviks are both Marxians. In consonance with their theories they, principally, sought their following among the industrial proletarians of the cities. All other tendencies mentioned here paid their principal attention to the peasant question, as was natural in an agrarian country

like Russia, and for this reason these parties enjoy a greater following among the peasants than the former. *With the exception of the right social-revolutionaries, who, like the mensheviks, were in favor of the national assembly,* the other parties and organizations stand close to one another, especially in their agrarian program. They *are all in favor of the soviet system, but not in favor of party soviets.* In this they differ from the bolsheviks, who by soviets mean the soviets of their own party. Thus, there are in Kiev and Poltava, in the cities as well as in whole gouvernements, no soviets at all, but only revolutionary committees. *The revolutionary committees are put in by the bolshevik party, and are not elected by the people.* In Poltava the soviets have never been called together. After the Poles had been driven away, the Executive Committee of the Communist Party (bolsheviks) took over the power and organized everything themselves. Not even the communists were called in to the meetings of the Executive Committee, nor called in for meetings of their own. For these communists were workers. The party of communists consists, for the present, largely of *non-workers.* After Kiev went over from the hands of the Poles into the hands of the Red Army, no soviets were elected during the whole summer of 1920, only revolutionary committees being installed. When later, in September, the elections took place, *there were over* 100 *non-workers out of the* 125 *communists* who were elected to the soviet from the district of Kiev. It was principally Soviet officials, specialists, etc.

These figures speak a plain language. They show us that the *Ukrainian Soviet government carries this name, partly without right,* as there are important and significant gouvernements which have no soviets. They show us further that the Communist Party of the bolsheviks is no absolute soviet party, properly speaking, but only an opportunist soviet party. For when it pleases the party it calls in the soviets, and when the soviets do not suit them, they send them home.

The other parties and movements are in favor of the soviets, as the idea of the soviets came to light through the revolution itself and all revolutionary parties, naturally, had to accept that system. The peasants themselves are in favor of the soviets. Although the largest part of them do not belong to any party, they still are all for the soviets. They write on their banners: "Long live the soviets." The Maximalist Union, who stands for a maximum program, the left social-revolutionaries, the internationalists and the barbists, the syndicalists and the anarchists are for the slogan: *All power to the soviets. No power to the parties.*

Against these slogans the bolshevik party stands in opposition. They declare that these paroles are counter-revolutionary and therefore they combat all these parties as counter-revolutionary. Thus it is that the business offices of these parties, their

propaganda bureaus and their book stores were closed by the Soviet government. They now continue their work illegally.

We cannot deny that there is a certain justification for the opinion of the bolsheviks, that the parole, "All power to the soviets; no power to the party," is useful to the counter-revolution. In some cases it has been shown that in the soviet elections the bourgeoisie got the majority through election frauds, trickery, or other manipulations, yes, many times through pure slipshodiness, or that they, when in the minority, had prevented the workers from coming to the soviets, through obstruction or sabotage, so that there was no quorum. The counter-revolutionaries pointed to this, and it was easy for them to show that the revolution did not bring what they had hoped for. The road was smoothed for the counter-revolution.

But these are only a few cases against which we can bring in a great number of other cases which show the opposite. The fault of which the bolsheviks here are guilty is, that they are drawing general conclusions and thus wish to handle everything according to one recipe. By this route they themselves come to the position of contra-revolution. In order to arrive at one-sided party rule there is, naturally, no revolution necessary. The revolution is supposed to create the freest political forms, and even a social revolution has to take note of that. Although in a social revolution the change in economic conditions, the abolition of private property, just forms of possessions, equal rights of consumption, rational production of the necessities, are the most important points, such a revolution must mean progress even on the political field and not retrogression or stagnation. But the rule of one party is not to be considered a revolutionary conquest, for such a party rule we had in the pre-revolutionary epochs and have in countries where the revolution has not yet taken place. Even if we in Marxian fashion call this class rule, this rule in politics always manifests itself as the rule of one or more parties. And it is exactly against this rule that the revolution turns.

As will be seen, the slogan, "All power to the soviets, no power to the party," is originally and practically a revolutionary parole and one cannot on account of a few cases permit a wholesale condemnation of the soviets as counter-revolutionary. For we can also present *examples from the revolution in the Ukraine, which show the exact opposite.*

When in October, 1919, *Machno captured Alexandrovsk, he called a congress of the peasants and the rest of the population* of the whole gouvernement of Alexandrovsk. The organizer of this was *Wollin.* As an anarchist, Wollin was against all party politics. On that account it was impossible for him, for reasons mentioned above, to be active under bolshevik rule. He, consequently, called this congress for the benefit of the followers of Machno. Machno needed for his army the support of the peasants. They sent messengers to the villages in order to invite the peasants to elect delegates to this congress and send them to the

city of Alexandrovsk. The representatives of different parties came to Wollin and pleaded with him not to do anything foolish and for God's and the revolution's sake to put up party lists, in order to enable the peasants to send delegates to the congress according to party lines. They held that the rich peasants, the Kulaks, were in the majority and would dominate the congress. The whole thing would be a great disappointment, they prophesied. Wollin answered that the people had had enough of parties and that they now, once and for all, must cut out all party nonsense. The congress met, without any party delegates. The peasants themselves did not want to have any parties. When the congress opened they asked if any parties were represented. Yes, from the city of Alexandrovsk there were seven mensheviks present who had been sent by the unions. The peasants did not want to have anything to do with the politicians. They did not want to start their deliberations before the politicians had left the hall. The mensheviks had to leave, and only then did they start with business. According to the reports of some of those present, they had never before taken part in such a fine, harmonious congress. All party political squabbling and all party hatreds were eliminated. The peasants discussed only the practical questions. It was a question of helping Machno to continue the war against Denekin. It was decided that everybody must help. Those who had four horses would have to give up two; those who had three would have to give one. Those who had only two horses would not have to give any horses, but only hay, feed and other things. Thus the congress progressed without any party politics, to the satisfaction of all the participants and without any domination of the kulaks.

This example does not only show the emptiness of the phrase that party-less soviets or councils of workers and peasants had to be counter-revolutionary. It also shows positively that it is the party-less soviets which are best able to order the economic and political affairs of the revolutionary population.

A further difference in tactics between the bolsheviks and the others, which can be traced back to the theoretical differences, showed itself in Jekaterinoslav. When the city was captured by Machno, he insisted that all socialist movements should have absolute freedom to carry on their propaganda. As is well known, the bolsheviks reject this freedom as "bourgeois superstition." Particularly does Trotzky go on the warpath against it in his anti-Kautski book "Terrorism and Communism." As you know, in the places where the bolsheviks rule, they allow no opposing party to issue a daily paper or more than one paper. Under Machno's regime it was possible for all socialist movements to issue their papers and to hold their meetings, in short, to propagate their ideas. In Jekaterinoslav 7 daily papers were issued, two anarchist, two communist, right and left social revolutionary, and menshevik papers. All socialist tendencies were represented. Only the bourgeois had no publicity organ. They were, naturally, so terrified

because it was the Machnovtzi who ruled, that they did not dare to.

The proportional strength of the different parties in Ukraine is at present difficult to indicate, as all parties, with the exception of the ruling Communist Party of the bolsheviks, are illegal. At the elections to the National Assembly, November, 1917, the social-revolutionaries obtained 62.77% of the total number of votes. The anarchists and the maximalists, being anti-parliamentarians, did not take part in the elections. The maximalists have a union. They do not call themselves a party, being as they are opposed to parties. The left social-revolutionaries, the barbists and the left social-revolutionary internationalists are also strongly represented. The anarchists have in Ukraine a special federation separated from the anarchists of Central Russia, which calls itself "Nabat," that is, "Alarm." In numbers this federation is hardly larger than the maximalists and the left social-revolutionaries. Still, the anarchists had a greater influence for the reason that they stood under the protectorate of their Little Father (Batkno) Machno, who gave more support to them than to any other parties. The anarchists have never identified themselves with the Machno movement, but make use of the Machno movement to the greatest possible extent and wanted to make it serve their purposes.

The bolsheviks arrested Wollin in Alexandrovsk in the beginning of January, 1920, after Machno had fled. As reason for his arrest they gave out that he was called the father of the Machno movement. But this was impossible. The Machno movement existed since the summer of 1918. But Wollin came first a year later to Machno, namely in the summer of 1919. The truth is that through Wollin the movement received a more distinct anarchistic character and won in depth and purity. Wollin himself is a deep, pure and noble man, and he succeeded in exerting a strong cultural influence on the Machno troops. But this was, of course, dangerous to the bolsheviks, because it made the movement more threatening to them.

Communism and the Peasantry

Through the preceding discussion we have elucidated the reasons why the peasants of Ukraine only with much difficulty can be brought under the common scepter of a central government. These reasons are less of an economic nature than of a political and national character. If we want to classify the refusal of the peasants to supply the government with provisions as an economic reason, then we have to concede that economic reasons play their part. But in addition there are racial peculiarities, which also exert some influence. Among an agricultural people in a fertile country there develops, as a result of the relative economic independence, in the people or in the race a certain

sense of independence with which a centralist government is always bound to get into collision. A powerful state can never develop in such a country. The "free-from-Rome" tendencies will always give the government plenty to worry over. We need only remember the permanent anarchist tendencies in Spain and Italy.

The bolsheviks asserted that these instincts constituted anti-communist tendencies among the peasants. They pointed to the fact that the Ukrainian peasants did not have such a wide-spread mir-organization as the Russian peasants, that they did not have common forests, common pasture, and common fields to the same extent, and declare that the peasants are for private property and against the introduction of communism. They further say that the peasants who fight under Machno are Kulaks and fight for private property against the introduction of communism. But as quite large masses of the peasants, yes, the majority, are of that mind, even if it is only the most active part of them who flock to the Povstanzy, *it would be foolish to force the ideas of bolshevik-communism on them against their will.* That would mean anything else but freedom. And it is freedom that the peasants want; that is what they have been fighting for during half a decade. One can force people to everything but not to freedom, even if one were the most powerful on earth.

But the assertion of the bolsheviks is wrong. On the contrary, *the Ukrainian peasants take at least a sympathetic stand* towards the social revolution and the new-construction of Ukraine, even more so than the peasants in Russia, where the great mass of the peasants became conservative as soon as they had taken the land away from the estate owners. The peasants are in no way unfriendly to socialism, but even show quite outspoken communist tendencies.

The whole peasantry is *opposed to the "pomeschtschiks"* (large land owners). They do not want the estate owner back under any conditions. They fight desperately against all counter-revolutionary generals, who defended the system of large estates. They chased away Petljura, Kaledin, Denekin, Grigorjev and Wrangel. And still *Wrangel* had drawn a lesson from the fate of his predecessors and *came before the peasants with an agrarian program,* in order to gain them over to his side. No land owner was to be allowed to own more than 200 Dessiatins of land. (1 Dessiatin equal to 2.7 acres.) Wrangel expected to gain greater sympathies with this than had come to the share of Denekin and his predecessors. He believed that they would succeed in pulling the peasants over to his side, just as the Roumanian government had pacified the peasants and understood how to keep them from revolution through a similar agrarian policy. But while the Roumanian bojars (land owners) succeeded in saving themselves with a few sacrifies of land, the Ukrainian peasants, who had become more far-sighted through their long struggle, could see through Wrangel's purposes, and, although Wrangel was able to fool part of the peasants, he had the progressive part of them against him.

In the long run Wrangel could not have held out even if he had not been annihilated by the Red Army and Machno.

The peasants were opposed to the 200 *Dessiatin program of Wrangel's. But they are also opposed to the* 50 *Dessiatin program of the bolsheviks.* The bolsheviks do not want to come into conflict with the better situated peasants. They need the peasants and cannot afford to have them against them. Hence, they have established the rule that no peasant can have more than 50 Dessiatins of land. But the peasants have in their congresses taken a stand against this norm. Particularly in this regard we note the above mentioned congress, which was called by Machno and Wollin (in Alexandrovsk, October, 1919). *They said that this maximum is too high*; it is a bourgeois norm. By that method they would again create pomeschtschiks.

The Marxian theorists of bolshevism-communism, from their theoretical viewpoint, brand the Ukrainian peasants as anti-communists and as defenders of private property; particularly those of them who fight against Machno. But my investigations in the Ukraine have given the result that almost the opposite is the case. *The bolshevik-communists decree a more extensive private ownership in land than the peasants themselves.* The bolshevik-communists, who pretend to be the only representatives of communism, are less communistic than the peasants, whom they designate as non-communists.

But the peasants would not by far be communists if they only stood for a smaller maximum parcel of land than the bolshevik-communists. This would at most prove that they are more communistic than the communist bolsheviks. But this is only speaking comparatively. About the positive communism of the peasants it would give us no information.

Although the abolition of private property in land is one of the most important parts of communism, there are other things also, which belong under that head, such as the regulation of the working conditions of collective labor according to principles of equality, the organizing of the exchange of the products of labor on the basis of justice, the regulating of mutual relations on a libertarian basis. All this a state cannot give; not even a bolshevik state. It can at most counsel, decree and order. If a sound social instinct and a strong sense of fairness is lacking, a people can never arrive at socialism and communism. Communism will not come by order. Have the Ukrainian peasants preserved that instinct through the terrible years of the civil war? If they have, then they will be ripe for communism; if not, then even the Soviet government cannot introduce traits in their ranks which do not live within them.

My trip through Ukraine, as well as conversations with those who know Ukraine best, have shown to me that there is reason for harboring good hopes. The Ukrainian peasants are coarse, but they are good-natured and helpful and generally have a strong

sense of justice. One instance does not, of course, prove very much, but still it might be used as an illustration. Eichenbaum-Wollin listened to a conversation between a peasant and a bolshevik-communist. The bolshevik wanted to explain to him what communism was. But the peasant did not understand him. The explanations were unintelligible to him. Then the peasant began to give his own ideas, how he would order everything in his village as he had thought it out. And when he was through with his explanations the bolshevik-communist said to him: "But you are a communist."

"What? I, a communist?" the peasant answered in anger. "I am no communist."

This peasant showed that he knew well how to regulate his affairs in his village, if nobody disturbs his own communist experiments through interference from the outside and by checking his private initiative. Numerous examples can be quoted where the peasants independently arrive at communistic husbandry and regulation of their mutual relations.

A visit to a soviet farm, 30 *verst from Charkov,* which formerly belonged to an estate owner, gave me the opportunity to study the common husbandry of the peasants of that estate. There were about 100 peasants with women and children, a total of 160 persons. Not one of them was a communist, and still they had regulated everything nicely in justice and equality. To many individual and joint households the same thing applies.

The peculiar refusal of the peasants to be called communists may be traced to the fact that the peasants heard the name communists only from the government, which calls itself by that name. But the same government sends its soldiers into the village, in order to requisition provisions, which the peasants are unwilling to give. Communists are, consequently, to the peasant's mind, requisitioning soldiers or those who send them. And as there are, besides, a great number of commissars, who also call themselves "communist" but are actually swindlers (a condition for which the bolsheviks are not to blame but against which they can fight only with difficulty in the large country), who fleece the peasants, there has in Ukraine arisen a play upon words among the peasants by which they want to ridicule communism.

While thus the communists are not well liked among the peasants, the bolsheviks have with them a better reputation. For it was the bolsheviks who brought them peace. Through the peace of Brest-Litovsk *Lenin* has won great popularity for his party. For that reason the peasants love the bolsheviks but hate the communists. *They do not understand that it is one and the same party.*

With the help of some intelligent elements among them the peasants regulate their larger common affairs. They called in the larger congresses, formed co-operatives, etc. It is true that they have not the right understanding in all things, nor a strong initia-

tive. They still partly believe in the ability of the intelligentzia. Thus they believed that Machno, who was such a good leader for them in battle, should also be able to tell them what they should do in other matters. For that reason they would ask Machno what to do in most any matter of business. Machno is said to have answered them to do what they themselves considered best to do. But the peasants were not helped with that. They wanted advice. And he who can give them disinterested counsel, is naturally welcome among them.

Communism, with the Ukrainian peasant, is not a theory but their practical life. The large estate owners, the pomeschtschiks proved to them the disadvantages of private ownership in land, and the injustice that springs from it. And this injustice nourished their envy. Marxism may eternally proclaim that socialism is not a matter of privilege, but the peasants feel the injustice which has come into their life with unequal distribution of the land and want to abolish it. The others shall not have any more than we. By the enemies of socialism this has always been branded as the envy of the property-less. *But this envy of the property-less is for the peasants a regulative principle. It carries within itself equality in the ownership of land, and this leads the peasants to communism.*

The Economic Situation in the Ukraine

If the land of the estate owners had come into the hands of the peasants before the war, it would without question have meant an improvement of the lot of the peasants and therewith an uplift of their economic position. Even as it was, the change brought with it an improvement in the position of the poor peasants, that is, an improvement in the position of the peasants who had become empoverished through the war. By this we wish to say that without these measures of the revolution the peasants would have been in a worse position than they now are, but not in a better position than before the war. It is with the peasants as it was with the population in Germany. They complain and wish pre-war times back. Before the war the peasants had boots, clothes and petroleum—things that they lack to-day. They have few agricultural implements and fewer agricultural machines. Industry is very poorly developed, and during the war there was practically only war industry. They obtain very few industrial products and had to give up their agricultural products for the war.

When the bolsheviks had taken possession of the Ukraine, they *prohibited free trade,* so that the inhabitants of the cities found themselves in great straits for the necessities of life. *The purpose of the bolsheviks was a double one.*

First, they wanted to prevent the provisions and use-objects from becoming objects of trade and speculation. Theoretically,

from the standpoint of socialism, the matter presents itself this way: that through free trading the goods produced are not directly distributed, but serve for profit mongering, personal enrichment or to maintain the life of those who occupy themselves therewith. Instead of turning to productive work, they "trade." But in practice this is often not the case. Especially is the Russian market the place where the peasants sell their home products, which they have in no manner acquired by purchase or speculation. But as it was very difficult under the given circumstances to define who was a peasant and who was a trader, this measure has quite often hit the wrong person, and particularly in the small cities. The so-called speculators are often the poorest.

In the second place this measure was calculated to force the bourgeoisie to go to work. For if there was nothing for them to buy and if they got nothing to eat, it was thought that they would be compelled to work. But in this calculation they certainly were mistaken, for most of them found other ways and means of evading this rule. In the long run it would not be possible for the bourgeoisie to dodge work. The soviet government gradually discovers the tricks of the bourgeoisie and resorts to other measures. Work-books are introduced, the inhabitants are registered, no food stuffs are delivered to non-workers, etc., so that they cannot find any way out except to perform some sort of work. Then they receive food rations like everybody else.

They have, consequently, not attained what they aimed at. *It has been tried on a great scale to introduce production for use. But on a small scale so-called speculation flourishes,* namely the trade with food stuffs and other use-objects, stronger than formerly. All larger factories and farms are nationalized and work for the account of the state. *But the smaller establishments* (and in the Ukraine small industry prevails everywhere, with the exception of the large sugar industry and the metal industry) *are still all in private hands and work for private interests,* just as before the revolution. The economic life, consequently, continues in this respect to move on private capitalist lines, even if the individual employers are no Stinnes or Thyssen(the two largest German capitalists). In Kiev, for instance, 2 or 3 months after the occupation by the bolsheviks, everything remained as in other capitalists countries. Many new shops were opened, and only those were compelled to close which had no more goods. But as they receive no goods from the bolsheviks, one after the other is compelled to give up his business. After that the shop keepers enter the service of the soviet government, in some commissariat or bureau. They become officials, state officials. But on the salary that they now receive they cannot live, and they continue to *smuggle* and *speculate.* Others had already started to speculate, contrary to the law, of course. *They cannot stop that any more than the cat can stop catching mice.*

Even *the peasants,* who by nature are against the system of commercialism, as they derive no benefits therefrom, *have*

now also taken to speculation, as it is called in bolshevik language. This speculation consists in this, that instead of delivering their products to the state, they sell them at the highest possible prices. This is not done out of lust for speculation, but because they cannot do anything else. They would willingly turn it all over to the state, if they could only obtain the goods that they need. But the state has nothing and can give them nothing. Thus *they are compelled to buy in free trade the objects they require.* For one pud of flour (34 lbs.) they receive in free trade about 21,000 rubles, but from the state they receive about 100-200 rubles. It is therefore easily explainable that they would rather sell their goods at speculation prices, although they might get punished for it, than turn them over to the state. But, in spite of receiving so much for their products in free trade, they are not anxious for the money. They are willing to forego the money. They do not want money at all but would give up everything to the state if they only could get what they need. *Money has no value for them.* They have so much money that they paper their walls and their wedding carriages with them. *What they want is articles that they can use.* The traveler who comes to a village can frequently buy nothing, even if he has ever so much money, but he can get anything for a piece of cloth, a glass of salt, or something similar.

But there is no doubt that this speculation evil will immediately stop at the moment when the peasants receive what they need from the state. Then the government will also receive from the peasants, voluntarily, all that it needs and cannot take even with force. Then the requisitions and the resulting hostility between the peasants and the government will cease and the greatest obstacle separating the peasant and the soviet government would be removed, and it would be much easier for the latter to become reconciled with the peasants. The peasants would then no longer need to be "counter-revolutionary", the revolution would get a firm footing in the country districts and would have a chance to build up and develop freely.

But that can only take place if Soviet Russia has peace, if the entente at once ceases to inflict war upon that unhappy country, if the blockade is called off and if goods comes into the country. That the Russian revolution in the form of bolshevism should have become such a regime of terror with its requisition policy, that fact has its causes principally in the war and in the blockade. The originator of this blockade and this war, the enemies of the revolution in France, England and America, the defenders of the capitalist states are the ones upon whom the blame should be placed for the stagnation of the Russian revolution. *If with bolshevism we mean the liberty crushing policy of the Russian Soviet government, principally against the peasants, then bolshevism is best combatted with the slogan: Peace with Russia; Lifting of the blockade; Hands off Russia.*

As free commerce was tied up by the government, it was forced to create some organs by means of which the population could be supplied with food stuffs. This is, of course, extremely difficult for a political party, even if it has the governmental power. Its character is political and not economic; it is not able to do it. *The Food Stuffs Commissariat stood helpless before the situation. It threw itself upon the co-operation of the Consumers' Societies.* In Russia, as well as in Ukraine, these societies were well developed. The government took over these societies and *made them as before stated, into state organs. Membership became obligatory for the whole population.* The bourgeoisie, which also nominally belongs to these societies, has no rights inside them. The proletariat alone has any right to elect officials. Nevertheless, most of the officials spring from the bourgeoisie, because the workers are uneducated and for the largest part illiterates.

Here we are speaking of the workers and the bourgeoisie but not of the peasants. The peasants are to a large extent not included in the consumers' societies. They do not need it. They need not obtain any food stuffs; on the contrary, they can spare them for others. This is therefore intended merely for the cities which are dependent upon the country.

The consumers' co-operatives receive the food stuffs from the government. They distribute them among the workers of the cities and factories. The co-operatives have their branches in the factories, and the workers receive their bread in the factories. But due to the shortage of food stuffs the workers are *not sufficiently supplied.* The workers cannot possibly live on their rations. They are to receive 1 lb bread daily. (1 Russian lb. equal to .88 lb. American weight or 400 gram).

But it happens often that they get no bread for days at a time. In a chocolate and confectionery factory in Charkov, the seat of the present Ukrainian Soviet government, the workers, in September 1920, received no bread ration for 4 days in succession. This is state factory No. 22, for chocolate and confectionery manufacture.

As the workers do not receive sufficient bread in the factories through the government, they are *compelled to procure their bread themselves, privately.* In Russia, bread is the principal food stuff. Most people subsist almost exclusively on bread and Kascha (a kind of millet mush). But the workers *can not pay the market price of bread.* We should remember that the wages in this chocolate factory are 2,400 rubles per month. But the price of a lb. of bread amounted at the same time (Sept. 12, 1920), in the fish market of Charkov, to 500 rubles for white bread and 340 rubles for black bread. The monthly wage will, consequently, buy barely 5 lbs white bread and a good 7 lbs. of black bread.

Irresistibly the question arises; how can the workers live that way. But it is to be noted that in many factories the

noonday meal is delivered to the workers. This *lunch* is certainly not very good, but on the contrary, of a very inferior quality. Only in one factory have I found the lunch really nourishing, even if simple. This was in the 4th government factory for the textile industry. But this is still only in the initial stage. In this factory there are 1,500 workers. Only 500 can get their lunch delivered. It still remains necessary to fix up things for the rest of them also. But this meets with great difficulties. There must be space for serving the meals, and there must be food stuffs. For this lunch the workers pay only 20-30 rubles.

What do those workers do who get no lunch? They try to procure it themselves. But how? Of the 1500 workers employed there, 10% do not come to work. They remain away from work, although heavy penalties are inflicted for such conduct. Those who remain away from work three days in succession, without being sick, or without some other urgent cause, are legally condemned to a concentration camp. In practice this is not sternly enforced. Even if the government would like to do it, the workers do not want it done. The first court passing sentence on workers for staying away from work is in many places the factory committee. And as these are workers themselves, few of them being communists, they are naturally inclined to be lenient with their fellows and do not sentence them. In this factory of 1,500 workers there is a relatively high percentage of communists, namely 200, about 13.3%. But in a locomotive factory in the same city there are among 3,350 workers only 100 communists, or 2.9%. It frequently happens that the communists in each factory form a communist group, the principal function of which is spying. Of these some are at the same time in the tscheka (extra-ordinary commission or secret police). At the end of August, 1920, 172 workers were arrested in the locomotive factory because they, under the influence of anarchists and left social-revolutionaries, wanted to organize the food stuffs distribution among themselves and remained away from the job.

The workers also stay away from the job, in order to procure, in a different manner, the necessaries of life which they can not get in the factory. Part of them are only *"semi-proletarians"*; part of the workers are peasants who still have a piece of land which they work and which supports them a little bit better. *Another part* strolls out in the country, in order to "rustle". The workers organize themselves for this purpose. They send some of their number out in the country for provisions. These buy provisions for the whole factory or for a group of 20 men, according to how many take part in it. In all Ukraine and in all Russia this kind of *workers' co-operatives* at the place of work are very common. This shows us also a new form of distribution and of supplying the factory workers with food stuffs and which has sprung up spontaneously among the workers as a result of the economic conditions. The consumers'

co-operatives were formerly free, that is, independent of the state. They were not then constructed in socialist fashion, but like everything else in the capitalist system, in capitalist fashion. After they were nationalized, they were, of course, state socialistic but had lost their efficiency. As organs of the state they are not independent but tied up, dependent upon the state to deliver the food stuffs to them. But the state can do this only to such a small extent that these societies are not able to properly perform their duties. The procuring of food stuffs the state could accomplish only by means of the requisition policy through the military. It could not follow a different policy due to the bad economic situation. Again we are confronted with the blockade. We are always turning round in a circle which we cannot get out of as long as the blockade is not lifted.

If, on the other hand, the state had not nationalized the consumers' co-operatives, the independent consumers' co-operatives would have served the peasants better. *But the nationalization of the consumers' co-operatives was a necessary result of the strangling of free trade among the producers.* The abolition of the Russian markets of the peasants and the workers proved to be a *very disastrous error* which revenged itself heavily in the paralyzing of the food stuff supply system, through which again industry and the whole of production was badly injured. After the abolition of private property the economic life should have moved in a socialist direction without further interference by the state.

All these phenomena are extremely instructive and show us that it is impossible to regulate the economic life of a country through political organizations, yes, even that the political rule over economic life must have far-reaching destructive effects. Independent of the state the workers themselves create their own economic organs for the regulation of economic life, for their own maintenance and for their bare existence. *The state could not carry it through with the best will in the world. It has not the intelligence necessary for this purpose. It is strange to economic life. This duty devolves upon the working people themselves.*

The supplying of the cities with *fuel and building material,* principally wood, the soviets of the cities are taking in hand. The soviet of Charkov, has for its duty to supply the city with wood for the winter. The executive committee of this soviet puts itself in connection with the executive committees of the soviets of the districts. Each commune, each village is ordered to deliver a certain quantity, according to its size and number of inhabitants. The soviets are responsible for compliance with orders. In the year of 1920 Ukraine received a total of 6,000 saws and 4,000 axes. These were distributed to the various communes, which in their turn were bound to deliver wood. But the peasants are not very willing to deliver cut wood for the government because they are not sufficiently paid for it. Even

here the military has to interfere once in a while, which again creates bad blood among the peasants.

The Unions of Ukraine are organized exactly as the unions in Russia and have the same functions, and for that reason a special treatment of this subject at this time is unnecessary. In Ukraine there are *a total of* 1,173,000 *workers organized in the unions.* These numbers fall on 13 gouvernements. Of these 280,000 are railroad workers, 162,000 are soviet employees, 134,000 mine workers, 113,000 metal workers, 72,000 workers in the food stuffs industry, 58,000 in the sugar industry, 58,700 telegraph and postal employees, 49,660 agricultural laborers on the soviet estates, 42,135 employees of the hospitals and asylums, 38,000 educational workers (teachers, party agitators, journalists), 31,500 clothing workers, 23,800 chemical and glass workers, 22,900 leather workers, 20,600 building construction workers, 18,800 wood workers, 18,000 tobacco workers, 13,000 textile workers, 11,000 graphical workers and 3,000 paper workers.

Membership in the unions is obligatory for the workers. They elect *factory councils.* These factory councils elect a soviet in their industry for a whole gouvernement. This gouvernement soviet elects an executive committee consisting of 9-14 men. In this soviet are also the representatives of the Commissariat of labor and of the Supreme Council of National Economy. These commissariats carry on their activities through the unions. Or, expressing it differently, *the Supreme Council of National Economy organizes production through its representatives in the unions, whose orders must be carried out unconditionally: they decide what the workers shall do and how they shall work. The Commissariat of Labor controls the workers through its representatives in the unions, whose orders must also be strictly carried out over the workers: where and how long they must work. The workers in their unions have no influence over production, nor over the conditions of work.*

The executive committee of the gouvernement soviets has 5 *departments*: 1) The economic department, 2) Wage tariffs, 3) Education, 4) Organization and Instruction, 5) General Business. Each department has further its sub-departments. The Economic Department is subdivided into two sub-departments: 1) For organization of Industry, 2) For distribution of provisions and working clothes. *But the workers have not the right to control the labors of the departments,* but only have the right to decide over such work as is assigned to them by the department.

Industry in Ukraine may be devided in three parts: The largest industry, the metal industry, *is under the direct control of the Supreme Council of National Economy* and the industries of the second and third class stand under the provisional council of the Supreme Council of National Economy. There are in Ukraine 42 larger and 14 smaller textile factories. The large metal works of the country, 16 in number, are combined into one great trust. The mines of the Don basin are divided into 16

districts, which are subject to the central executive committee of the unions of the whole of Ukraine, subdivided in the manner described above.

The working hours are legally determined to 8 hours daily, but during the war there was overtime work in all those industries which were connected with the war. The renumeration for overtime consists principally of natural products. The workers receive more bread.

Bread and Freedom! That is what workers and peasants all struggle for. In how far they have come into possession of them through the revolution, the investigations described above will show. In how far they shall be able to advance further in that direction, the future will show. But in any case this depends upon the politics of the entente towards Russia and Ukraine. Just as Russia will be capable of further development generally, in the direction of socialism, if it unmolested and unhindered can develop the powers that lie within the people, just so will the workers and the peasants be able to gain bread and freedom in the same measure as they are left unmolested by the governments and can bring their inherent powers to free development. Not the soviet government, but only the peasants and the workers can create socialism for themselves. This has been proven to us by the development of the Russian and Ukrainian revolution. The bolsheviks as state socialists have showed to us that they cannot bring socialism about.

— THE END —

WORLD LABOR NEEDS A UNION



by FRED THOMPSON

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I National Unions Face a World Market

Speedier shipping, ingenious packaging and loading, temperature control, the elaboration of business concerns into multinational corporations, the growth of industry where ten years ago there was only desert or jungle--all these play us hired hands against each other in strange markets that we have never seen as surely as though we had come there from many lands to jostle each other as we stood in line to seek a job.

From what countries did the materials come that you handled at work today? From what lands the items that you used at home? Were some assembled from components made in many lands? To what lands will the goods you worked on today travel? In what countries did the customer for which you worked have branch operations?

Have you been harmed by the low wage to which some distant man or woman has been driven? Or was it your high productivity that compelled him to accept so low a wage so that he too could have a job? Today did you compete against some lad in a country with which your government bans trade--a lad who worked all the cheaper to permit his product to underbid yours in some third country to which your employer would otherwise have sold your product? Can tariff barriers prevent such competition? Or is it simply that since you and they are in the same market, you need to develop some understanding with each other so that you can avoid being used against each other--even as the men across a bench from each other did when they started their first local union?

Our forefathers built unions to hinder their employers from using them to drive down each other's wage or to speed each other up. Unionism grew as the market for men and goods grew, but on different patterns in different countries. In USA the movement started as local groups of those living by the same craft; from 1827 on, it developed area councils for mutual assistance between local craft bodies; from the 1850's on, it followed railroad expansion by building nationwide craft unions, which later allied at their summit levels to form the American Federation of Labor. In contrast, in France, the national labor movement developed from the local federations that linked the local craft bodies. In 1890 the German Metal Workers and the American coal miners built industrial unions, and since then it has become increasingly customary in many countries for one union to cover an entire industry within the national boundaries. In most countries the national labor movement (often movements) is an unplanned conglomerate of many dif-

ferent plans of organization, and very incompletely integrated. At times these growths have been embellished with rather powerless international bodies, sometimes restricted to one trade or industry, sometimes general in scope, but definitely not built to practice unionism on an international scale.

We also have competed face to face. First roads and ships and railroads, now autos and planes have made it easier for us to run after distant jobs until today no young man can anticipate on what continent his grandchildren will be born. Nation no longer means those with a common language and culture, but those who pay tribute with their lives and their production to the same military-industrial complex. Nations are aggregates of under-men kept in mutual fear of each other, and thus supporting their military-industrial complex, in anticipation that they may take each other's job or each other's life. The union movements throughout the world have been molded in this obsolete system of national states and taken its shape, and thereby have been rendered ill-fitted for the task at hand.

Like all our arrangements, union structure and function have lagged behind the changing circumstances to which they have been adjustments. Despite this lag, up to their national boundary lines, there has been eventual response to the economic developments within the industrial nations. Beyond the national boundary lines the union movements have only groped toward union solidarity and have set up no global union practices in this global economy. But the advancing Seventies is the decade of the world market, when most multinational corporations have incomes bigger than the gross national product of most nations. It is a decade starting off with threat of a world depression, with the foreign plants owned by United States industries producing over $120 billion worth per year, with examination of the cores men drilled on the moon, with satellites showing us on TV events the other side of the earth as fast as they happen, with intercontinental missiles ready at the touch of a button to devastate the earth, with China the new member of the society of overkill. By lag the system of national states has continued into a technology that has made it suicidal to continue the old order of things.

In this perilous situation the managers of the steel companies from USA, the European Coal and Steel Community and Japan, a quarter century after the last war between the new partners, met early in 1969 to divide the world market, and arrange that in 1969, USA should import 14 millions tons of steel with 5,700,000 tons to come from Japan. This was a typical arrangement

of modern business. There are joint studies of trade patterns in electrical equipment by American and Japanese unions; Reuther proposes seeking common expiration dates for contracts in the automotive field as a precondition for worldwide union action among auto workers; there are numerous resolutions of alarm at loss of markets and less frequent resolutions extending strike assistance to those who have been working for a pittance, and futile resolutions protesting the arrest of active unionists in other lands--but no such businesslike response to the facts of a world economy by those on whose daily work all power structures rest--or crumble.

In this world market, unwittingly and crossing no picket line, we can break each other's strikes. An understanding not to scab on each other is a firm basis for an understanding not to massacre each other either. We are not likely to achieve the one without the other.

* * *

II A Bit of History

For years union men have known that they needed world brotherhood. In 1864 British unionists gathered brothers from the continent and founded the International Working Men's Association, often called the First International. For eight years it developed mutual assistance, for example, giving financial aid to Chinese workers who had struck a railroad construction job in California. In 1871 following defeat in the Franco-Prussian war, the workers of Paris refused to surrender their guns and the British press ran atrocity lies about how the workers were running the city. Marx, secretary of the International, wrote in defense of the Paris workers and soon the British unionists, whose prime concern at the time was to win legal recognition from the government in order to protect their union funds, withdrew their support. The Franco-Prussian war ended with an alliance of the warring rulers crushing the Paris workers, shooting nearly a tenth of them and deporting thousands. The workers' international, with British support lost, was soon killed by internal dissension.

In 1889 a vigorous French labor movement, rising from this bloody repression of 1871,. observed the centenary of the great French Revolution with a conference to start a new international of union and socialist bodies. Its most enduring consequence is the May First holiday observed by labor almost everywhere except the USA, Canada and Australia, a holiday established on the 1889 proposal of Samuel Gompers for a yearly May Day

festival to urge the 8-hour day. This Second International fell apart in 1914 at the start of the First World War. There had been some talk and hopes of calling a general strike in all affected countries to prevent the war, but party heads said unions must call any strike and union heads said that stopping a war was a job for party heads, and meanwhile governments managed to keep labor leaders in both France and Germany from knowing how willing their counterparts were to take some such action if only they had some assurance it would be mutual. So, cast in the mold of the system of national states, and lacking a supranational communications system, the international labor movement was unable to stop its members from shooting each other.

Prior to 1914, labor leaders were normally in opposition to their governments. But during that war, governments found it convenient to absorb the labor leaders and give them posts of honor, and union memberships grew. Since then the previously traditional labor opposition to government foreign policy has become only intermittent, and the 1914 facade of international labor unity has never been fully restored. The International Federation of Trade Unions that had been founded in 1913 was rebuilt in 1919 in Amsterdam and felt it had to spend much of its efforts in disputes with the Red International of Labor Unions that was built in 1921 to project the Bolshevik revolution worldwide. Neither of these internationals was set up to practice unionism on an international scale. In 1926 the British miners struck against a wage cut. They were backed up by a 10-day general strike of most British unionists, and then by an embargo by European transport workers to stop coal shipments from breaking their strike; but still coal came from the Ruhr through poorly organized Rotterdam and even more from the United States and defeated this valiant thrust toward the practice of unionism across boundary lines. Depression followed and the expansion of fascism, with some belated efforts at united resistance to it, but no concerted action on proposals to refuse as union men to transport to the fascist powers the materials with which to oppress their own people or to subjugate their neighbors. We needed jobs.

During World War II, unions became even more enmeshed with government. The war ended in victory for the alliance of Russia and the west with strong communist influence in the resistance movements in the areas that had been overrun by the central fascist axis. The World Federation of Trade Unions founded in 1945 included both communist and anti-communist labor leaders (and from USA the CIO but not the AFL). It held together for three years. When the wartime alliance between their

governments gave way to the Cold War, the labor leaders fell apart too. British and US labor leaders started a pull-out from the WFTU and set up the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the ICFTU.

The two internationals have contended in all countries where they have entry to ally labor on one side or the other of the Cold War. For a long time, AFL operations in South America have been widely recognized as more anti-communist than anti-employer, and in recent years there has been disclosure of the use of various American unions by the CIA for its irresponsible Cold War crusades. WFTU affiliates, in a sort of mirror image, urge strikes where this may serve Moscow policy but discourage them where Moscow tries to propitiate the local government. In the developing countries this has left the serious business of unionism up to bodies independent of both WFTU and ICFTU; in South America this has left unionism largely to the Catholic labor movement, CLASC.

The Catholic labor center was founded as the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, but in 1968 it changed its name to World Confederation of Labor. In that year, it had six million members paying dues, with 834,000 of them in Belgium, 600,000 of them in France where it is bigger than the ICFTU affiliate, 426,000 in the Netherlands, 750,000 in Vietnam, and a large following as indicated by the arrest of over a thousand of its activists in 1969 in South America among workers so poor most were not asked to pay dues. The WFTU in 1968 gave its membership as 130 million, over a hundred million being in the Soviet economies, and including the major labor movements of both France and Italy, and various developing nations. The ICFTU's 60 million came largely from the NATO nations: 14.3 million from USA, 8.8 million from Britain, 6.5 million from West Germany, 2.4 million in Italy, 2.7 million in the Indonesian Islamic Trade Union Federation, 1.5 million each in Austria and Sweden, and somewhat over a million each in Canada, Mexico and India.

Altogether these union bodies have an imposing display of union offices, extensive research facilities, and publications in hundreds of languages. Collectively they include a wide range of social and economic views that if used as rational tools give the world labor movement an incalculable advantage, but that if used as dogma assure endless bickering and disaster. Somewhere in them is direct familiarity with most of the work done throughout the world and with the varying condition of the workers who do it.

There is a growing awareness that we need to practice unionism across boundary lines and that unless we assert our independence from government we are not free to do so. In the WFTU there was criticism of the Russian government for invading Czechoslovakia, an action denounced by various communist labor leaders, especially from Italy and France. Maoism and the projection of Chinese communism has resulted in splitting some communist parties, as in India, and while this is reflected in their trade union activities, there is so far no Maoist international labor set-up, and here it appears chiefly in some youth groups. In ICFTU there has been a growing resistance to being maneuvered through its largest affiliate for US Cold War purposes; in the AFL-CIO there was disgust over revelations about subservience to CIA, a break-way of Auto Workers over foreign policy, and a growing number of union heads declaring for an end to the war in Vietnam. The Catholic World Confederation of Labor in 1969 declared for cooperation with all labor bodies, communist or anti-communist especially in eastern Europe.

Less noted but of positive consequence is an inevitable change in the world labor force: it consists ever more of workers who matured sometime since 1955 and who share the sense manifest in their generation as in no generation before it that worldwide they face a common future. Half the world is under 25, but the labor movement they inherit was built for action in the system of national markets that once provided a basis for the system of national states. In union structures, and in the various legal frameworks within which unions operate, and in the traditions that shape the thinking and emotional responses of union gatherings, there is a built-in resistance to adjustment to the facts of life of the 1970's.

* * *

III World Business

Ever faster the world market is replacing lesser markets. The process was already underway when the Phoenicians got tin from Britain. Since then every exploratory voyage has given the trader new products to bring home, new markets in which for a time he could be in control. It has created empires and anti-imperialism. For a time it made a few square miles of the earth's surface into the workshops for the rest of mankind. This unstable condition necessarily levels out toward equilibrium. If the trader came up against tariff or other barriers, he built his factory behind them and added the exploita-

tion of native labor to his previous trading profit. If the factory in the colonial area did not get built under the imperialists, it got built after independence as a proud answer to the imperialists--and the worker's way of life tended to remain about the same whichever way it happened. If the trader's home nation erects the barrier, he will find a way: Wilson & Co., the American meat packers, get around an American ban on fresh meat from Argentina by cooking TV dinners there and shipping them frozen to USA. The work tends to get done where it yields the most profit to those who decide what gets done, and today great multinational corporations reach that decision by running the entire range of global opportunities through their computers.

The system of national unionism is no more suitable to cope with this situation than an electrical fan is to fry an egg.

In our own day, growth toward a world economy keeps neck and neck with an accelerating technological development, its way greased by the investment of great surpluses that workers have produced over their own keep and in excess of the growth of industry and the expenses of the elite in the investing country--a process that goes on whether the investing country flies a red flag or one with stars and stripes. In 1967, the US investment abroad was estimated at eight times what it was in 1945. The Statistical Abstract for the United States gives the 1966 total for private US assets and investments abroad as $80,942,000,000 on which it brought in an income of over $6 billion. Japanese and European capitalists own an almost equal amount outside their own countries. In 1930 foreign investment in USA was only two billion; by 1966 it had reached nine billion. On any stock market anywhere in the world anyone with any acceptable currency can buy almost any stock in any major company operating in any country. We move toward a situation where a worldwide class of hired hands, of varying status and skills, works for a worldwide employing class, but with little promise of peace.

A conservative estimate given in Senior Scholastic, March 14, 1968, indicated that US industrial giants controlled 80% of western Europe's computer industry, 90% of its microcircuit industry, 40% of its auto production, and that in Britain these American giants owned over half of the more modern industries, and somewhat less in West Germany but with American holdings there strategically concentrated in oil, chemicals, autos and electrical equipment. Nor does agriculture escape from Dole Pineapple and United Fruit, or the Kleburgs of Texas who own 970,000 acres here from which they draw $5 million livestock income, but ten times that acreage in Austral-

ia, and 513,000 acres in South America, 7,000 in Africa, netting them $4 million from livestock operations abroad to eke out the $20 million they draw from oil. "Of the 500 largest companies in the world," said International Affairs, April 1968, "306 are American and 74 are European." Said Fortune Magazine in September 1968: "In Europe nationalism is little more than a ritualistic slogan...Spurred on by the American omnipresence European bankers are merging internally, consorting externally, and migrating internationally to get a piece of the action."

This American "omnipresence" is being challenged. Chile makes Anaconda sell it back its copper mines. When the International Chamber of Commerce met in Istanbul June, 1969, the main issue was the multinational corporation and the chief dispute whether American business should have complete control of its branch operations or should let local capitalists in on joint ventures. Injections of capital and new management techniques have produced results far from uniform. Productivity has increased faster in Italy than in the rest of Europe or USA, and it has increased still faster in Japan. In USA and most of Western Europe productivity increased 30% over 1958 by 1963 and 70% by 1968; in Italy, 60% over 1958 by 1963 and 130% by 1968; in Japan 90% over 1958 by 1963 and 290% over 1958 by 1968. Japan is today the world's third economic power. It leads in the production of radios and motorcycles and ships, building half the world's shipping; it is second in autos and third in steel.

Italian productivity has not made for workingclass prosperity; Italian workers produce household appliances for export to the rest of the European Economic Community that they themselves cannot afford for their level of consumption remains the lowest of any of the member nations. Through the years 1960 to 1966 unemployment in Italy averaged 3.6%, compared with 0.4% in West Germany, 1.1% in Japan, 1.5% in Sweden, 2.3% in France, 2.4% in Britain, and 5.1% in both USA and Canada. In the less developed part of the world during this period of relative prosperity for the industrialized nations (when workers from the Nile were brought to the Ruhr to fill temporary labor shortages) unemployment and underemployment were massing up. ILO Director Morse estimates that 1960-1980 Asia will add 290 million to the number of job seekers, most of them unabsorbed by industry, and left in an agriculture that is already saturated with partly-employed labor. This gives little reason to mechanize agriculture and adopt the methods that in USA, 1944-1964, enabled agriculture to produce 33% more with 60% fewer manhours, an increase of 233% in productivity.

America also exports its managerial techniques. So does Russia which also makes large government investments abroad. The International Labor Organization, a UN appendage consisting of representatives of government, unions and employers, sponsors "high level management seminars for US and Soviet experts," reported Business Week, June 14, 1969. The same publication a week earlier had reported how managers of American operations in Europe often switch to European companies involved in technologies with which they are entirely unacquainted, but taking with them American management techniques considered transferable to all technologies. Thus workers the world over in free enterprise, Soviet and mixed economies, alike in the developed and the developing nations, face an ever more similar sort of management.

Computers have become indispensable tools to corporate management, as the multinational corporation and especially the conglomerate have taken the place of their smaller ancestors. It used to be that companies combined either horizontally, uniting plants of a like nature to limit competition, or vertically to unite a plant with a supplier of the materials it used. The conglomerate seems helter-skelter but as such publications as Fortune have explained, it results from the use of computers to reach rapid answers on a large range of options regarding tax problems, currency regulations and other managerial questions that have little to do with how best to produce a pump or a pair of socks. The multinational corporation has managerial choices closed to its nation-bound competitors. It can fill orders from plants in whatever areas the currency situation or production costs or political considerations may make most advantageous; it can pay bills from one country for debts it incurred in still another; it can circumvent restrictions on the export of funds by an approved export of goods, at times to their own foreign subsidiaries at prices that hide the transaction. For the future we face a computer-playing standardized interchangeable management of multinational conglomerates that uses war or unemployment as simply part of the tools of its trade; that profits about as well if it has its gadgets made in country A or country B; that feeds into its computers data on its assets and options the world over, on tax and currency situations, on shipping methods and wage rates and production facilities, on birthrates and weather and whatnot, and comes up with answers that determine what we, the hired hands, the world over will be allowed to do.

We cannot be men and women and let our children's health and bread and fate be determined in this manner. To our age-old union reasons, modern technology, as the ecologists point out, have added new and even more pres-

sing reasons why we must oppose and supplant management, whether corporate or political. What management has done to the wealth we have made and to us is bad, but what it is doing to the air and the water and the entire biosphere threatens life on earth with even greater certainty than the horrors of chemical, germ and nuclear warfare. Business management has to decide on the basis of maximum profits. Political management has to decide on the basis of what maximizes and assures retention of power. Neither can be tolerated in a technology that imposes on us the need to reach decisions based on what is good for man and his fellow creatures. A third pattern of decision-making remains: the direction of worldwide industry by those who work in it. Democratic unionism and modern communication techniques make this possible.

* * *

IV Some Strikes Are Hard To Win

In the summer of 1967, the American copper miners, 37,000 strong, struck their employers, most of whom owned mines in other countries. It was the first time that all the copper miners in the United States were in one and the same union, a very obvious advantage yet they had to strike for ten months to win a compromise settlement.

Copper is a world commodity. Its price per pound warrants shipping it long distances. Companies and governments had strategic stockpiles. Production continued outside the United States except it happened that civil war in Katanga checked production there. Late in the strike, American longshoremen offered scattered resistance to imports of copper. Even so, it took a ten month strike in USA to reduce the world copper supply enough to create the pressures to win a settlement.

Should unions of copper miners in the various countries arrange to coordinate their efforts and practice industrial unionism on a global scale? They could have shorter strikes if they struck together instead of in series. In that strategy the main lever is the reduction of the supply of copper in the world market--and this mechanism asks just one question: how much copper, not its source, or the wage rate paid at its source, or the national aspirations or political philosophy expressed there, only how much copper.

Like industrial unionists in other fields they might debate whether this was the best strategy and wonder whether they might work it as the auto workers do who usually prefer to play off one company against another. They might allow continued operations in one country or another if for the duration of the dispute the copper production was kept off the world market and used for internal economic development or stockpiling on the basis of retroactive application of the bargain reached in world negotiations. A basic consideration in any union is how to get maximum results at minimum cost to its members. Worldwide industrial unionism does not necessarily make every strike worldwide; it does require sufficient worldwide communication among those in the industry, sufficient solidarity, and sufficient independence from national power structures to reason out in each instance and pursue the strategy likely to serve its members best.

Because we lack such worldwide unionism, workers often try to isolate their local market. The longshoremen who refused to unload copper imports in that ten-month strike were trying that. It was a generous gesture of solidarity and it helped win the strike but not so enduringly as world unionism would have. If an increase in labor costs in one country can be put across by blocking imports, its share of the world market can be expected to shrink; but no such consequence follows from a worldwide effort to raise living standards for all engaged in the industry.

It works out the same whether the effort to isolate the local market is by tariffs, boycotts or other means. As this statement is being drafted (Aug. 2, 1969) in Chicago the Amalgamated Clothing Workers have set up picket lines outside major stores to ask the public not to buy suits made in Hong Kong. Other needle trade unions are similarly hit. "Imports of women's and children's garments rose from $55 million in 1954 to $284 million in 1964...On a visit to Hong Kong, Dubinsky visited efficient garment factories in which employees worked a 70-hour week for weekly earnings of seven dollars." Electronic workers protest that this side the Rio Grande the minimum wage in their industry is low enough, $1.60, but across the river in tax-free American plants whose production must all return to this country, the minimum wage is 29 cents an hour.

The work done for such pitiful wages no longer uses primitive methods. It used to be that such wage scales made mechanization uneconomic, but mechanization tends to win out anyway for such reasons as uniformity, continuous operation, or faster returns on investment. Where a multinational company sets up some new operation it is

likely to use the newest techniques, not yet adopted in its home plant, even though the wages are insignificant. The January issue of National Geographic, for example, pictures such industry on Taiwan, or the March issue, the industries of South Korea where lumber from Borneo or the Philippines is made into plywood for export to USA or girls operate ultramodern doublehead sewing machines to turn the hair brought in from India and Indonesia into wigs for American women, and earn $33 a month, while workers' shacks "clutter the hillsides" past the new skyscrapers of Pusan.

The labor movement needs to be concerned with the great difference in the chances of workers in various industries and areas to enjoy life. These differences limit its bargaining power as well as challenge its claim to be a labor movement--for can it be a labor movement and yet unconcerned? Whenever job opportunities diminish, there is more clamor to keep out foreign products by legislation or boycotts or any means. The nature of the facts permits only two basically different standpoints--the inside view and the outside view. The traditional view is the inside view, how we in one nation can keep out all strangers and their products that compete with ours but peddle them some of ours for materials we cannot grow here. The outside view is the modern one of the astronaut contemplating the human lot as he circles the earth, or the union organizer walking around a factory he plans to organize and wondering how he is to get these workers to see that they can gain more by acting jointly than each for himself. Experience has shown that strategies based on the inside view are self-defeating. The organizer strategy based on the outside view is to attack these wage differentials around the world as we have had to attack them in each national economy.

Inside the USA, workers in better paying plants have donated money to their fellow workers in poorer paying plants so they could strike and still keep on eating; unions engaged in nationwide bargaining have arranged for step-by-step elimination of area differentials. Usually unions have limited demands to a level that still permitted the victorious workers to have jobs, but if a plant can operate only on starvation wages, then to raise living standards unionism must shut it down and the workers get better jobs elsewhere. Widening employment opportunities is part of the strategy. The entire perspective of unionism needs to shift from the old inside view to the modern outside global view. It involves research on impact of wage boosts on regional wage structures, the new service industries that arise where workers have some money to spend, and much else; but even though the millions of organized workers in the

world cannot make it safe to promote unions in Spain, Brazil or Taiwan, they do have very extensive research facilities and can even buy their own computers. It is a collective undertaking that, unless we are blind, leads us on past these necessary wage and work adjustments to a new set of union-made social and economic arrangements.

There is need for coordination of union research, union decision-making and union action on a global scale. Does this imply global centralization of power? It would surely be most unwieldy. Coordination does not require centralization. Our hierarchic society retains a centralized pattern of decision-making appropriate to the days when information arrived by couriers on horseback, so that in its pyramid of power, the information moved up and the directives move down. With modern communication techniques the labor movement can achieve coordination on the basis of rational response to information shared by those who have congruent interests. Collective union research efforts can build within the present social order the basis for the communication patterns of a future society of free men.

Unions often find it hard to put pressure on those who deny their demands and find instead that they are pinching a public of "innocent bystanders" including fellow unionists. This has made it much easier to pass laws restricting what unions can do. A more flexible labor movement combining both more local autonomy and more options for joint action, could probably exert pressure more adroitly. A union movement seen as shortsighted and greedy by this injured "public" is at a great disadvantage. A well-publicised adoption by the labor movement of this global outside view would give it moral ascendancy over the employers. Otherwise adhering to a policy of economic pressures that fail to work as they used to, a frustrated labor movement is likely to veer toward the nuisance type strike whose aim is to induce political authority to decree a settlement for them. Freedom does not lie in that direction.

* * *

V To Live Better — Decide What Gets Done

In USA from August 1965 to July 1968 the average pay for all workers rose from $96 per week to $109 in

money, but rising living costs cut that pay boost down to the trifling increase in real wages of only twenty-five cents a week. Factory workers whose average pay rose from $108 to $122 actually lost a dollar a week in buying power, but construction workers by jumping their $139 weekly pay to $168 got a real boost of five dollars. Everywhere workers have been finding pay boosts far too illusory. Here for the calender year 1968 the average wage boost was 5.1% (6.5% if fringe benefits are included) eaten into by a 4.8% rise in the cost of living. The French upsurge gained workers there somewhat more; even after a price rise of 5.3% they came out with a remaining 7.7% increase in purchasing power.

For some time the general level of consumption in the industrialized nations has been rising, but from more breadwinners per household unit. If there has been any gain in real wages per hour of work since World War II it has been trifling compared to the new levels of production that modern science makes possible.

Look behind the numbers and money system to what a wage demand means in real terms. Workers ask for more pay in the hope they can buy additional goods and services. If the goods and services of the sort they want are already being used up at the old wage level, then they can add to them with their wage boost only if either previously unemployed workers and unused resources are used to produce them, or workers and resources are switched from producing something that workers don't want to producing something they do want. If neither of these happen, they just get more green paper and no increase in real wages. In real terms a wage demand is a demand either to put unemployed men and resources to work or to re-allocate men and resources. Unless there is more than ordinary unemployment, a wage demand boils down to a demand that some of us be set to doing something different.

It used to be that if workers got a pay increase, some employer would figure he could gain by starting the production of the things he expected them to buy with their increase. Lately that doesn't seem to be happening. In part this is because modern technical and business procedures actually delay such a response; from the time a businessman hatches an idea to produce some consumer item it takes two or three years before his product will hit the market. Today there is very little uncontrolled economic activity. A vast part of the world's work is actually planned as in the soviet economies, or accomodated to overall state plans as in Sweden. In the "free enterprise" areas there are large government contracts and material priorities, near-monopolies and plain understandings among businessmen. None of these

arrangements are designed to re-allocate resources so as to reduce real profits and raise real wages. Consequently if we want to bargain a real increase for ourselves, we need to bargain into existence the goods we want to buy with our increase, or we wind up with more paper and higher prices.

The basic function of the labor movement is to raise living standards. To perform that function here or abroad in a substantially controlled world economy it has to undertake this novel and as yet untried sort of bargaining. Workers in all lands include imports among the things they want to add to their standard of living. We need to bargain worldwide about the work we will do worldwide. To some the idea may not seem so strange. In the soviet type economy bargaining about a higher standard of living is obviously bargaining about resource use and the rate of growth of consumer-goods industries. In many deliberately undeveloped colonial areas the social struggle has often been over a demand that some of the land be shifted from use for the export crop to use for locally needed food. But the facts of life in the seventies require worldwide bargaining in free enterprise, socialist, communist, fascist or other economies about what work gets done and where it gets done and under what conditions it gets done and where the product moves. With whom shall we bargain, and how?

There are about 250,000,000 union members in the world, 6 or 7 percent of the world's population, and our hope has to lie with them. They now have or can provide the facilities for undertaking the research needed to convert their wage demands into terms of re-allocation of men and resources. This is not a statistical Big Brother proposition for it involves the individual hopes and preferences of each worker and his family. If attention in this analysis has focused on the research work of unions it is because the labor movement is primarily a means through which workers achieve collective understandings, and today this is done largely through research. But having formulated these demands, with whom shall we bargain? We can approach an answer to that question only by viewing the new unionism not as some event to be launched on some specific date, but as a process extending from our present awareness of union inadequacy through all actions based thereon, and through all resultant structures, practices and institutions to the outcome of worldwide industry run at the direction of those engaged in it. In the development of nationwide bargaining the process of development itself normally created the two bargaining entities. Cannot a quarter billion unionists by their collective effort conjure up from those currently deciding what gets done and where it gets done, a competent committee to bargain

with about a higher standard of living for us all? If we cannot, then why not among ourselves decide what gets made and where it moves? After all, we make it and we move it.

Habitually we view the power of our social opposition with great awe. Their power is great, but it is derived from a pyramidal pattern of communication channels that feeds information up and directives down, and from an assent that comes from fear of disorder and the uncertain. The new unionism for its basic operations needs to build a more efficient and egalitarian pattern of communication channels; and while the old order is rife with uncertainty and the threat of disaster, the new unionism is enabling a quarter billion unionists to reach a collective understanding about how in the most certain and orderly way to make the best use of the earth's resources. The development of a world labor movement able to make optimum use of its own daily work is of itself a tremendous transfer of power, and a general annihilation of all the old justifications for the oppression of man by man. But to a labor movement unable to make well planned use of its daily work, no transfer of power can be made by any means whatever.

Unions need to take stock of the resources of this entire earth, of the needs of all the people on earth and start figuring how these resources can be used to meet these needs. That is the one part of the world's work we have not been doing. It is a part we are not likely to be hired to do by an employing class. We will have to hire ourselves to do it. This is a critical step in the transformation of man's lot from unawareness of the consequences of his actions to a knowing choice among his options. It is best taken with compass in hand and awareness of its long range consequences. None of the nonsense in the politics of the world has stopped arithmetic from being the same in Chicago and Moscow, and in Paris and Peking. We can undertake such a collective research chore and come up with a workable program under which workers could arrange to keep on working knowing what to produce and where to send it if either general breakdown of present arrangements or general assent in the labor program made it feasible. Creating such a flow sheet and keeping it up to date would press employers in interim bargaining to come up with better offers that they now say they can afford. It is surely a much more sane approach than trying to boycott each other's products in any global recession.

One doesn't have to wait for a new world order to arrange for copper miners to back each other up in a strike, or tin miners to move from the bottom of the social heap, or marine transport workers to start limiting

how long an oil tanker can be with safety, or take other steps that require supranational labor action. Accompanying the growth of a willingness to undertake the sort of collective endeavor outlined here, we can reasonably hope world labor to create pressures to free the thousands of unionists now in jail for advocating unionism. The pressures to create this new unionism come from those who are not satisfied with the world as it is, or with the present relation of themselves to their work and their fellow workers. For this reason we can expect the development of the new unionism to be one of internal changes in the labor movements as well as external links; turning unions from social agencies called "it" or "they" by its members to autonomous agencies spoken of as "us". The good world of tomorrow can only be the elaboration of the means used to bring it about. Developing these means is not merely the goal of the new unionism; it is the new unionism.

What Is The IWW?

It is a fighting labor union which believes that the interests of labor can be fully served only when working people are united as a class. It wants to see all on the same job united, all in the same industry in one union, all who work for wages in ONE BIG UNION.

The IWW differs sharply from the position of other unions that the problems of the working class can be solved by begging crumbs from employers or praying to politicians for favors. While it fights for better conditions today, the IWW insists that working people are entitled to everything they produce, instead of a meager share.

There will be insecurity and hunger among those who toil as long as there is an employing class which benefits from low wages and evil working conditions. The IWW holds that there can be no solution to industrial warfare, no end to injustice and want, until the profit system is abolished.

In striving to unite labor as a class in one big union, the IWW also seeks to build the structure of a new and better social order within the shell of an old system which fails to provide for the needs of all.

who belongs now?

Some of the best and most capable union men are already members of the IWW. They are veterans of many a bitter struggle for improved wages and conditions; rebels against an unjust social order who freely offer their hearts and brains to make labor's bright dream of a better world come true. They are men whom one is proud to know; men who will fight, whatever the odds, and fight on until the battle is won.

Some of the best are not enough. The IWW needs them all. And, equally, all who are struggling for the better world that we can have will find they need the IWW.

who may join?

Any wage earner* may carry an IWW card. No worker is barred because of race, religion, nationality, or sex.

It is *NOT*, however, an organization for scissorbills, for cowards, for those who substitute words for action. It does not want men who are content to unquestioningly follow leaders.

The IWW is a union devised for men, for the best and most intelligent---and growing numbers of such workers are securing IWW cards. They want to help build the union which will rebuild the world.

The IWW needs them, and they need the IWW.

*No unemployed or retired worker, no working class student, apprentice, or housewife shall be excluded from membership on the grounds that he or she is not currently receiving wages.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
2422 N.Halsted, Chicago Ill.60614

☐ I want further information about joining the IWW.

☐ I am unemployed right now.

☐ The job I work on is *NOT* organized.

☐ My job is organized under.....
but I wish to join the IWW as an individual member.

Name:

Address:

City: State: Zip:

Preamble

of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

You've asked the questions we're proud to answer about--

The IWW

Increasing numbers of working people are asking questions of the Industrial Workers of the World. What is the IWW? What does it stand for? What can it do for its members? How does it propose to better conditions?

Here are the honest answers to many of the questions. The final answer, however, can be written for history only by a rank and file of labor which is willing to fight for a world which will be just and secure for all men, a world in which there will be no hungry children.

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The IWW is a union devised for men, for the best and most intelligent, and growing numbers of such workers are securing IWW cards. They want to help build the union which will rebuild the world.

The IWW needs them and they find they need the IWW.

CAN MEMBERS OF OTHER UNIONS JOIN THE IWW?

Yes. The majority of IWW members are also members of other unions. They are men who form the fighting heart of such unions; rank and filers who strive to make their unions yield returns for the membership and not completely degenerate into docile man-catchers serving the boss.

Such men have joined the IWW because they want to build a union stronger, more fearless, more honest, than the unions dominant today. Such a union must, in the end, match the unity of employers with the greater unity of workers, match the power of the employing class with the greater power of the working class.

That union is the one big union of the IWW.

IS THE IWW DUAL?

No. The IWW is the only union which organizes workers as a class, instead of herding labor into small groups which war against each other for the sole benefit of the employing class. The IWW does not believe that one big union of all workers is dual to small groups which divide working people instead of uniting them.

The IWW does not hope to change the labor movement by boring from within to seize control of established unions nor does it seek to elect its members to pie-card jobs. Such maneuvers, even when successful, result in no real gain for labor and only illusory benefits for the victorious group.

Today's inadequate labor movement can be changed, not by a shift of rulers or control, but only by a rank and file that is conscious of its strength and aware of its goal -- a world fit for men to live in.

WHO BELONGS NOW?

Some of the best and most capable union men are already members of the IWW. They are veterans of many a bitter struggle for improved wages and conditions; rebels against an unjust social order who freely offer their hearts and brains to make labor's bright dream of a better world come true. They are men whom one is proud to know; men who will fight, whatever the odds, and fight on until the battle is won.

Some of the best are not enough. The IWW needs them all. And, equally, all who are struggling for the better world that we can have will find they need the IWW.

HOW DO ITS MEMBERS BENEFIT?

While the IWW makes no promises of immediate gain to its members, experience shows that members benefit materially in direct proportion to their efforts in the organization and on the job.

IWW members, familiar with the methods of direct action, do much to enforce and improve conditions on the job. The knowledge and facilities gained through the IWW often prove a major factor in winning grievance cases. Members, working in concert with the IWW and its press, have succeeded many times in needling union officials into demanding and gaining higher wages. IWW members in other unions have rallied decisive support for unions facing defeat in contests with employers.

These things are tangibles which directly benefit the IWW member, as well as all labor. There are equally important intangibles.

The IWW gives its members a sense of solidarity and a sense of direction. It makes union men effective by teaching them how to fight intelligently and as a group. It offers them the companionship of the most honest, fearless group in labor.

IS IT DEMOCRATIC?

The IWW is a fortress of democracy. While majority vote rules, there is scrupulous regard for the right of a minority to hold differing views.

All important questions, including the election of officials, are decided by referendum vote of the membership. Officials who fail to carry out the desire of the majority are subject to immediate recall. "Pie cards" are not tolerated in the IWW.

Wages of officials and employees of the union are set to average the pay received by the members in industry. Terms in office are rigidly limited. Most of the work in the IWW is done without charge because the organization is composed of workers who believe in their movement and gladly give their utmost to promote its growth.

A cornerstone of the IWW is the belief that the rank and file must control the union and its officers, instead of being controlled by them. No union can be rank and file which limits the freedom of its members or muzzles minorities by a host of unnecessary regulations. Therefore the IWW makes no more rules than there is genuine need for.

HOW IS DEMOCRACY SAFEGUARDED?

While the structure and constitution of the IWW jealously protect democracy, no law devised can secure or retain democracy once the will for it is lost. The root of freedom is not law, which man can change, but man himself. Best guarantee of democracy lies in the membership of the IWW; its members, who war against tyranny and injustice, will never allow freedom to be abridged in labor's finest organization.

DOES THE IWW BUILD LEADERS?

In one sense, yes. The IWW rejects "leaders" as such, for if individuals lead they can also mislead. Labor has continually been betrayed by leaders whom it trusted and followed. It will cease to be betrayed only when it accepts the leadership of ideas and not the leadership of men.

Yet there are men who are quick and capable in presenting ideas and in mapping tactics to fit conditions. The best of them do not wish to lead and they will not blindly follow. Such men are developed by the IWW--partly because it is a rank and file organization, partly from the shared experience of its members, partly because IWW members have no lack of intelligence and initiative.

WHY DO EMPLOYERS HATE THE IWW?

So great is the hatred and fear of employers toward the IWW that they have tried to crush it again and again, only each time to see it rise stronger than before.

Basis of their fear is the titanic power which is inherent in the IWW. When

workers are united as a class, when they rely only on themselves, when they use direct action to secure the entire product of the world which their labor has built -- when that day comes, no power on earth can stop the forward march of humanity and that day will forever crumble the stolen power of a master class.

Root of the employers' hatred is the unyielding honesty of the IWW. It will not compromise. It will not collaborate. It will not sell out. It will not retreat or surrender.

Employers do not fear unions which collaborate with them. The "Unionism" of such organizations is so false and can be so cheaply purchased that they are constantly used as a strikebreaking force to smash the picket lines of brother unions.

Other unions accept the power of an employing class. The IWW challenges that power.

Other unions beg for crumbs from the loaf of bread labor produces. The IWW demands the whole loaf.

Other unions, servile to employers, attack strikes of brother unions and parade through picket lines. The IWW, in words and practice, tries to build a working class unity so powerful that labor will be invincible.

That is why employers have begged for agreements with other unions in order to prevent the IWW from representing workers. Bosses want unions they can control, not the one big union controlled by workers.

IS THE IWW A RESPONSIBLE UNION?

Entirely--to its members and to the working class. It has not and never will be responsible in the sense used by employers in praising other unions -- a tamed, house-broken division of labor which is responsible to the boss for restraining its own members from injuring him.

The IWW does not sell out its membership. It does not betray the interests of labor. It is responsible only to the working class.

The IWW has been called red but it has never been called yellow.

IS THE IWW RADICAL?

It is as radical as a scientist in his laboratory, as radical as a surgeon planning the removal of a diseased growth, as radical as a teacher must be to tell the truth.

It is well to note that from radicalism has flowed all that makes life better today than yesterday. It is now, as in the past, the only force capable of leading the world out of its night of hunger, hatred and fear.

Humanity advances over a path blazed by radicals and stained with their blood. So long as there is injustice there will be radicals. The name itself is the proudest title of free men.

DOES THE IWW ADVOCATE FORCE?

No. While the IWW uses every honorable weapon in conflicts with employers it has never initiated the use of force. Its chief weapon is the solidarity of the working class, which builds, and not individual terrorism, which destroys.

Employers have always been the first to resort to force and violence and the IWW teaches only what the law affirms, that workers have the right to defend themselves against attack.

Violence is not necessary when, united as a class, all that workers need do is fold their arms to gain the world.

IS THE IWW AMERICAN?

One might ask if freedom is American or if justice and humanity are American. Wherever men toil, wherever masters rule, there is the IWW or IWW thinking. Since economic injustice is worldwide so, also, is the IWW.

In a narrower sense the IWW, organized in Chicago in 1905, is far more "American" than the corporations, financed by native and foreign masters, which seek to dictate subsistence conditions for American workers. The master class of all nations would force workers into slavery. The IWW would make men free.

IS THE IWW ANTI-RELIGIOUS?

No. It has no religious bias and it does not interfere with the religious belief of any member. Such beliefs are part of the freedom of man and the IWW strives to extend freedom, never to lessen it.

WHY DO LABOR SKATES OPPOSE THE IWW?

"Labor leaders" of other unions have so entrenched themselves in office that they long ago ceased to represent the interests of labor or heed the will of the union membership.

First formed in frank recognition of the opposing interests of worker and employer, other unions have become so decadent that today their chief concern, at best, is to beg for crumbs from the loaf they produce. This debasement is

reflected even more clearly in the type of "leaders" (Beck of the Teamsters, Hutchinson of the Carpenters, MacGowan of the Boilermakers, etc.) who act as trustees for labor.

Basic concern of the labor skate is to perpetuate himself in office and to make that office personally profitable. This is done by crushing democracy, muzzling the rank and file, and punishing revolt or even criticism by summary expulsion.

The interests of such "labor leaders" with employers are identical. Both are concerned with riding, as parasites, on the back of labor. Both profit from the suppression of rank and file demands or protests. Both benefit from maintenance of a servile job trust, chiefly concerned with the profits of its "Leaders" and the employers.

Labor skates oppose the IWW, not because they don't understand it but because they understand it well. A victorious IWW means the end of domination and privilege; it will signal the beginning of complete control by the rank and file of labor.

IS THE IWW SECRET?

Although there have been times (as with other unions) when members, to guard themselves from beating or lynching, have had to carry their IWW cards inside their shoes, the IWW has never been a secret organization.

Members of the IWW are proud of their red cards, which mark them as men and not driven sheep. Halls are open to all; union meetings are held regularly and openly; public meetings are advertised and are open to all workers.

HOW ABOUT POLITICS?

The IWW, as an organization, is non-political and it does not interfere with political beliefs or activities of its members. It requires only that political views do not create division within the union. This rule enables workers of all political beliefs to join together without friction to advance their economic interests.

The IWW concentrates on direct economic action because history shows that whoever holds economic power also holds political power.

The IWW believes that whatever is "given" to workers by politicians can as quickly, with interest piled on the "debt," be taken away. (Need the Wagner act, followed by Taft-Hartley, be cited?) Only that which labor wins by its own economic strength can be retained.

The hard lesson, fully absorbed by the IWW, is that labor cannot depend on pie-cards, politicians or prayers. There is no easy way. Labor can rely only on labor; if it wins it must win by its own economic unity and strength.

WHAT IS DIRECT ACTION?

It is the action labor takes when it fights in the direct, natural way and the way which brings greatest results.

When men rebel on the job and slow down or cease work until their grievances are redressed--that is direct action. When a plant is closed by picket lines until labor's demands are met--that is direct action. When workers, united as a class, conduct a general strike to defend their interests--that is direct action.

Workers are continually betrayed when they rely on other means than direct action--electing politicians to office, submitting demands to arbitration, or permitting the courts or government agencies to settle issues. These are methods designed to benefit the employing class.

To expect justice from these sources is as naive as to believe slot machines are made for the enrichment of working men. The only purpose of the infrequent pay-offs is to maintain the faith of the gullible in the "justice" of a rigged machine.

Employers are vitally concerned only when labor uses direct action to win its demands, for it is a method which is not easy nor cheap to combat. Workers have invariably gained more by acting directly than could have been won by playing ring around the rosy with employer-controlled agencies.

Direct action tore the chains of open slavery from men. Over the centuries it has established individual rights and modified the life and death power of the master class. Used fully, used wisely and well, direct action can forever end hunger, injustice and the mastery of men by other men,

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Alkulause

Tämän Katekismuksen julkaisemisessa on varsinaisena tarkoituksena ollut täten elvyttää haluja Amerikan työväenliikkeen historian tuntemiseen. Käsityksemme mukaan työväenliikkeen edistyminen nojautuu laajemmalle ja syvällisemmälle tietoisuudelle kuin mikä nykyään on vallitsevana työväestön keskuudessa.

Tämä kirjanen on ainoastaan ylimalkainen kuvaus siitä, mitä on tutkittava ennenkuin Amerikan unionismia voi lähemmin tuntea. Me toivomme että kaikki ne, jotka lukevat tämän kirjan, avartavat tutkimuksensa laajemmille aloille. Mutta tällaisenaankin tämä Katekismus tyydyttää kauan aikaa tunnetun tarpeen. Tämän luettuaan lukijat voivat tutustua joihinkin sellaisiin asioihin, jotka heidän tulisi tietää. Niitä teoksia, joista tämä kirjasen sisältö on koottu, on tavallisen työläisen vaikea saada luettavakseen. Yleisissä kirjastoissa ne ovat saatavissa, mutta vain muutamilla työläisillä on riittävästi joko aikaa tai halua pistäytyäkseen noissa laitoksissa; siksipä pidettiinkin sopivana julkaista Katekismus ikäänkuin alkuaskeleena työväenluokan kasvatuksessa. Hintakin on siksi alhainen, että köyhinkin työläinen voi tämän kirjan hankkia itsellensä.

Niin puutteellinen kuin tämä kirjanen lieneekin, tarkoitus kuitenkin on saada Amerikan työväestölle sellaisia tietoja, joita se kipeästi tarvitsee.

Katekismuksen jälkeen on aikomus julkaista toisiakin teoksia, joissa tullaan käsittelemään amerikalaisen unionismin myöhäisempiä vaiheita. Muutamaa näistä jo nyt valmistellaan.

Amerikan Unionismin Historiallisen Katekismuksen me puolestamme esitämme työläistoveriemme luettavaksi sillä vakaumuksella, että se otetaan vastaan arvokkaana lisänä Amerikan työväen kirjallisuuteen.

I. W. W:N KASVATUSTOIMISTO.

Amerikan Unionismin Historiallinen Katekismus

1. Mikä on työväen unio?

Palkkatyöläisten muodostama järjestö, jonka tarkoitus on palvella heidän etujansa palkkatyöläisinä.

2. Mitkä ovat työläisen edut palkkatyöläisenä?

Saada riittävä palkka, kohtuullinen työaika ja hyvät työsuhteet kapitalismin vallitessa. Kapitalismin kukistaminen on työväenliikkeen lopullinen päämäärä.

3. Eikö työläisellä ole muita etuja kuin nämä?

Ei sellaisia, jotka eivät lukeudu näihin.

4. Tällöin siis työväen uniolla ei óle mitään muuta tehtävää kuin saada työläiset kykeneviksi säännöittelemään työpaikkojansa koskevat seikat?

Ei lainkaan. Silloin kun työväen unio pyrkii askartelemaan joissain toisellaisissa tehtävissä, on se silloin tarkoitusperiinsä nähden vierailla vesillä ja tällöin se myöskin luopuu käytännöllisestä merkityksestänsä, mikä uniolla tulee olla työväen taisteluvälineenä.

5. Mikä on riittävä palkka?

Palkka millä työläinen voi elää keskinkertaisen elintason mukaisesti ja kykenee osan palkastansa säästämään sairastusaikain ja vanhuudenpäiväinkin varalle.

6. Tulisiko union tarkoituksena olla saada sellainen palkka pysyväiseksi?

Tämä on union tarkoitus. Yhdessä työajan ja olosuhteiden säännöittelyn kanssa tämä on union varsinainen tehtävä eli tarkoitus jokapäiväisessä palkkataistelussa työmaalla.

7. Eikö se toimi tarkoitusperäinsä puitteissa silloin kun se perustaa sekä ylläpitää sairastus- ja hautauskassoja?

Ei. Jos unio menestyksellisesti toimii omalla varsinaisella alallansa — työmaalla — tällöin työläiset ovat kykenevät huolehtimaan tarpeistansa sairastuksenkin aikana. Mitä taas hautausavustuksiin tulee, niin pantakoon tässä merkille se seikka, että union varsinaisena tarkoituksenahan on hyödyttää ja palvella eläviä työläisiä; ja union uniona — järjestönä taloudellisine tehtävineen — ei pitäisi huolehtia kuolleista.

8. Eikö tämä ole sydämetöin ja raaka katsantokanta?

Teollisuus ei ole hellätuntoinen (sentimentaalinen) ja mehän aijomme tässä tutkia työväenuniota työväen taistelujärjestönä. Löytääksemme totuuden, unionistisen liikkeen synnyt syvät, meidän täytyy sivuuttaa hellätuntoisuus ja ennakkoluulot ja sensijaan on syvennyttävä varsinaisiin perusteihin.

9. Palvelevatko uniot hyviä tarkoituksia maksaessaan sairaus- ja hautausavustusta?

Eivät. Unionistista liikettä käsitellessämme täytyy meidän ottaa huomioon, että me silloin käsittelemme välikappaletta, joka on tarkoitettu toteuttamaan varsinaiset tarkoitusperänsä TEOLLISUUDESSA eikä missään muualla. Jos uniot huolehtivat sairaistansa ja loukkautuneistansa, nämä hylkäävät omat tarkoitusperänsä, joka on, että kapitalistit on pakoitettava maksamaan sellainen korvaus työläisille, että mainitunlainen avustus unioiden taholta kävisi tarpeettomaksi. Tämä lamaannuttaa sen taisteluhengen, joka pakoittaa tunnustamaan, että tarpeenmukainen osuus on työläisille kaikkein ensimäiseksi teollisuuksissa korvattava.

10. Tällöin te siis vastustatte sitä, että työläiset keskenänsä toisiansa auttaisivat?

Ei suinkaan. Sellaisen mielipiteen kasvattaminen, että unio voi menestyksellisesti toimia kahteen vastakkaiseen suuntaan, on työväestön narraamista; että se kykenee saamaan riittävän korvauksen työnantajilta vähentämällä tarpeitansa. Jos työläiset saavat tarpeensa tyydytetyksi, vaikkapa vain puutteellisestikin, työttömyys- tai sairastusaikoina, ovat he jokatapauksessa niin turvatuita, että kapitalismin julmuudet eivät vaikuta heihin kuten ne vaikuttaisivat elleivät he olisi kerrotulla tavalla turvatuita; ja seurauksena tästä onkin, että työläiset eivät innostu taistelemaan korkeampain palkkain puolesta, tai eivät pyri etsimään keinoja, kuinka työttömyys ratkaistaisiin. Jos nämä tällaiset piirteet, jotka ovat tulleet yhdistetyiksi unionismiin, olisi poistettu, niin mahdollisesti konservatiivisetkin uniot olisivat kiintyneet työttömyyskysymykseen; nämätkin olisi-

vat antautuneet harkitsemaan oleellisia työmaakysymyksiä.

11. Olisiko se edullisempi unioille ettei näillä olisi tällaisia piirteitä?

Epäilemättä olisi. Ellei unioilla olisi ollut näitä tällaisia niille ominaisia piirteitä, ne olisivat tomineet hyökkäävämmin työläisten eduksi teollisuuksissa. Ne välttämättömästi taistelisivat korkeamman palkan, lyhemmän työpäivän ja parempain olosuhteiden puolesta.

12. Ja sitten?

Korkeammalla palkalla työläiset voivat saada paremman toimeentulon itsellensä; mitä lyhempi työpäivä, sitä useampi heistä voi saada työtä ja sitä enemmän vapaata aikaa riittää itsensä kehittämiseen; paremmissa olosuhteissa sattuisi vähemmän tapaturmia; sairastuneiden luku suunnattomasti supistuisi; teollisuustautien uhrienkin lukumäärä olisi pienempi j. n. e.

13. Hyväksymällä tällaiset menettelytavat uniot ainoastaan hävittävät omat alkuperäiset tarkoituksensa?

Aivan niin. Koska tahansa unio pyrkii toimimaan missä hyvänsä muualla kuin työmaalla, ei se voi menestyä uniona tai onnistua toisissa tehtävissä. Uniolla on yksi tarkoitus — työpaikan säännöittely työläisten eduksi. Se ei voi toimia muussa merkityksessä. Se ei voi samalla aikaa olla unio ja henkivakuutusyhdistys paremmin kuin saha voi olla juottokolvi; putkityöläinenkään ei saata tinaamalla yhdistettäväin kappalten liitoksia lapiolla puhdistaa.

14. Olisiko union toimittava ainoastaan teollisuudessa?

Ehdottomasti. Kun unio antautuu käsittelemään ainoastaan teollisuuskysymyksiä, toiset seikat tulevat yhdistetyiksi sen taistelujen kautta saavutettuihin voittoihin. Unio on avain, jolla työläiset voivat avata teollisuuden aarreaitan ja kykenevät ratkaisemaan kaikki esilletulevat kysymyksensä.

15. Sallitaanko työnantajain liittyä unioon?

Ei enempää kuin ilveksen sallitaan liittyä lammaslaumaan.

16. Miksikä näin?

Sillä työnantajan ja työläisen taloudelliset edut ovat samoin kuin ilveksen ja lampaankin edut keskenään ristiriitaiset. Unio ei voi palvella kahta herraa, työnantajaa ja työläistä, samalla kertaa, vaikkakin monet työläiset pitävät sen mahdollisena.

17. Miksikä unio ei voi palvella molempia, sekä työläisiä että työnantajia?

Sillä näiden edut ovat vastakkaiset. Työnantaja haluaa pitää palkat alhaisina, jotavastoin työläiset haluavat korkeita palkkoja; työnantaja tahtoo, että työläinen lisäisi työkiihkoansa, työn voimaperäisyyttä, ja työläiset eivät suinkaan halua sitä lisätä. Union siis olisi sula mahdottomuus palvella näitä vastakkaisia etuja.

18. Eivätkö jotkut uniot ota työnantajiakin jäsenyyteensä?

Nämä eivät ole työväen unioita. Ne ovat työnantajain unioita, huolimatta siitä, millä nimellä ne tunnetaan, tai mitä ne lisäksi väittävät olevansa.

19. Sallitaanko työnjohtajain (bosses) **liittyä unioon?**

Ei vielä. Työnjohtajilla te luonnollisestikin tarkoitatte "superintendenttejä", tavallisia työnjohtajia y. m. s. Heidän maailmankatsomuksensa ovat samallaiset kuin työnantajainkin, tai päinvastaisessa tapauksessa he eivät kauan säilyisi nykyisissä asemissaan. Työsuhteita koskevissa kysymyksissä he tiukasti taistelisivat työnantajain puolesta ja siten estäen etujensa puolesta kamppailevat työläiset toimissaan edistymästä. Asiain näin ollen he osoittautuisivat olevansa auttamattomina jarruina uniossa.

20. Eikö työnantajainkin puoli esiinny jokaisessa teollisuuskysymyksessä?

Hyvä. Jos näissä kysymyksissä sellainenkin on, huolehtikoot he puolestaan omista asioistansa. Meillä on kylliksi tekemistä omain asiaimme hoidossa.

21. Te ette siis vähintäkään huolehdi työnantajain eduista?

Me puolestamme pidämme sekä tunnemme heidät ainoastaan vihollisinamme — taloudellisesti.

22. Onko heitä vastaan aina taisteltava?

Jos unio on jostain merkityksestä, on se juuri sitä varten olemassa — se on työläisten taisteluase. Kansa ei kenttäjuhlaan lähtiessään ota taisteluaseita mukaansa; mutta ne ovat aina mukana taistelutantereelle lähdettäessä — ja nykyaikaiset teollisuudet ovat tällaisia taistelutantereita. Siellä on keskeytymätön taistelu työväenluokan ja työnantajain luokan välillä. Unio on ase, jota käyttäen työläiset käyvät taistelua omain etujensa puolesta.

23. Mitä me tiedämme varhaisimmista unioista Yhdysvalloissa?

Sangen vähän tiedetään kertoa Yhdysvalloissa ensimäiseksi toimineista unioista. Kirjaltajilla tiedetään olleen järjestö ja ovat he voittaneet lakkonsa New Yorkissa (1776) ja Philadelphiassa (1786). Philadelphian kirvesmiehet lakkoutuivat 10-tuntisen työpäivän puolesta vuonna 1791. Philadelphiassa myöskin suutarit järjestyivät vuonna 1792, mutta kirjalliset muistiinpanot tämän union toiminnasta ovat hävinneet. He järjestyivät uudelleen vuonna 1794. Tämä unio tunnettiin nimellä Federal Society of Cordwainers (Suutarien Liitto-Yhdistys). Se oli toiminnassa vuoteen 1806 saakka, jolloin sen jäseniä syytettiin salaliittoutumisesta. Tämä unio johti ensimäisen järjestetyn lakon Amerikassa, josta muistiinpanot ovat säilyneet historiallisina asiakirjoina. New Yorkin kirjaltajat järjestivät Typographical Society-nimisen järjestön vuonna 1794. Tämä unio oli toiminnassa kaksi ja puoli vuotta. Myöhemmin siellä järjestettiin Franklin Typographical Society (1799—1804) ja toinen n. k. New York Typographical Society (1809—1818). Yhdysvalloissa suutarit ja kirjaltajat epäilemättä ovat tienraivaajia palkkatyöläisten kesken unionismin kehittämisessä.

Baltimoressa räätälit kävivät menestyksellisiä lakkotaisteluita vv. 1795, 1805 ja 1807. Massachusettsissa oli merimiesten ja laivainrakentajain lakkoja vuonna 1817 ja New Yorkissa oli merimiesten lakko maaliskuussa v. 1800.

Yhdeksännentoista vuosisadan ensimäinen neljännes

on merkillepantava aika siinä suhteessa, että tällöin palkkatyöläiselementit Yhdysvalloissa pyrkivät kehittämään jonkinlaisia välineitä turvataksensa itseänsä työläisinä. Tätä ajanjaksoa voidaan pitää amerikalaisen unionismin aamunsarastuksena.

24. Millä perusteella syytettiin salaliittoutumisesta, johon edellisessä kysymyksessä viitattiin?

Syytös nojautui sille perusteelle, että Federal Society of Cordwainers oli epälaillinen ja rikoksellinen liittoutuma, ollen sen tarkoituksena palkkain kohottaminen.

25. Mikä oli seuraus?

Philadelphian jutussa (1806) lautakunta huomasi syytetyt "syyllisiksi liittoutumiseen kohottaakseen siten palkkojansa". New Yorkin oikeusjutussa langetettiin tuomio suutareita vastaan. Yhdessä Baltimoren jutussa lautakunta ratkaisi jutun suutarien eduksi. Pittsburgin oikeusjutussa (1814) tehtiin kompromissi, suutarit suostuivat maksamaan oikeuskulut ja menivät takaisin työhön vanhan palkkataksan myöntämillä ehdoilla; itseasiassa käytännössä, joskaan ei tosin laillisesti, oli se työläisten häviö. Pittsburgin oikeusjutussa (1815) tuomittiin työläiset maksamaan sakkoja ilman vankeusrangaistusta.

26. Olivatko tuomiolaitokset puolueellisia näissä tutkinnoissa?

Professori Commons teoksessansa "History of Labor in the United States" (Työväen Historia Yhdysvalloissa) kirjoittaa näin: "Tuomarit, erittäinkin Philadelphian ja Pittsburgin jutuissa, langettivat tuomion kokonaisuudessaan syytettyinä olevia ammattilaisia vastaan."

27. Oliko näillä oikeusjutuilla ainoastaan paikallinen merkitys?

Commonsin historiasta lainatussa selostuksessa kerrotaan näin: "Että toisetkin työnantajat olivat erittäin suuressa määrin kiintyneet näihin juttuihin, käy ilmeisesti selväksi siitä 'tehtailijoille ja mekanikoille' osoitetusta vuoden 1815 Pittsburgin oikeusjutun johdosta kirjoitetusta raportterin selostuksesta. Tämä oikeusjuttu koski niitä perustekijöitä, jotka olemusperäisesti

kuuluivat heidänkin etuihinsa ja tämä näiden uskollinen palvelija kirjoituksensa nöyrästi omisti isännillensä . . . Kirjoituksensa johdannossa raportteri erikoisesti mainitsee, että: 'elleivät monet kunnianarvoiset Tehtailijat ja Mekanikot olisi erikoisesti kehoittaneet, ei hän olisi jutun johosta mitään raporteerannut'. Maan tehtailijain eduille tämä lautakunnan langettama tuomio oli mitä suurimmasta merkityksestä; täten tuli lakkautetuksi niiden yhdistysten toiminta, jotka olivat läntisen pallonpuoliskon kapitalistien menestykselliselle toiminnalle aikanaan käyneet perin vahingollisiksi. Mutta tämä oikeusjuttu ei ole tärkeä ainoastaan tässä maassa; se epäilemättä osoittaa, että huolimatta siitä, vaikkakin nämä New Yorkissa ja Philadelphiassa ovat tulleet tuomituiksi, noissa kaupungeissa vieläkin on yhdistyksiä, jotka ulottavat turmiollisen vaikutuksensa union kaikkiin osiin. Noiden kaupunkien asukkaat, eritoten juuri tehtailijat, ovat kiedotut yhteen etujensa perusteella, samoin kuin velvollisuuksiensakin nojalla, minkä he ovat paikkakunnallensa velkaa, ja näiden on noita yhdistyksiä seurattava epäluuloisella silmällä ja ne on asetettava syytteeseen ja tuomittava sekä annettava lainmukaiset rangaistukset salaliittoutujille, jotka ovat niin kovin vaarallisia maan eduille ja menestykselle."

28. Ovatko nämä ensimäiset oikeusjutut, joissa työnantajat käyttivät tuomiolaitoksia apunansa?

Commons historiassansa mainitsee, että: "Nämä oikeusjutut olivat ensimäiset tässä maassa, joissa työnantajat turvautuivat tuomiolaitosten apuun taistelussansa työläisiä vastaan" ja sitten lisää: "Todistuksissa osoitettiin, että herrat rahastivat, ainakin osittain, New Yorkin ja Philadelphian syyttäjiä näiden juttujen ajamisessa."

29. Eikö tämä osoita, että työnantajat sangen varhain käsittivät luokkaetunsa?

Epäilemättä tämä sen osoittaa. Tämähän vielä lisäksi ilmaisee senkin seikan, että tuomiolaitokset jo varhaisena aikana ilmaisivat luokkaluonteensa.

30. Kuinka työläiset käsittivät nämä tuomiot?

Että tänä päivänä löytyy työväenjärjestöjä, puo-

lestaan vakuuttaa meille, että köyhälistö piti nämä tuomiot väärinä ja epäoikeutettuina. Myöhemmissä oikeusjutuissa on työläisten järjestymisoikeus tunnustettu, mutta ne keinot, joita työläiset ovat käyttäneet tarkoitusperiensä edistämiseksi, on sitävastoin selitetty laittomiksi, sillä ne loukkaavat työnantajain taloudellisia etuja ja lisäksi sekaantuivat rajoittamaan niiden oikeuksia, jotka olisivat valmiit työskentelemään muillakin kuin union asettamilla ehdoilla. Nykyaikana avoimen työpajan kannattajat käyttävät aivan samallaisia argumentteja.

31. Kuinka tuona aikana lakkoja johdettiin?

Kun tällöin unioiden vaikutuspiiri oli paikallinen ja nämä muodostuivat taitavista ammattilaisista, oli yksi varhaisimmista keinoista voittaakseen myönnytyksiä työnantajilta sellainen, että uniot ryhtyivät harjoittamaan ko-operatiivista liikettä ja täten alkoivat kilpailla entisten työnantajainsa kanssa. Silloin taasen, kun tällaista menettelytapaa ei noudatettu, tavallisesti ne, jotka olivat työssä, avustivat lyhemmän työpäivän ja korkeamman palkan puolesta taistelevia työläisiä. Suutarit, kirjaltajat ja kirvesmiehet sangen varhain perustivat lakkokassoja, joilla lakkoutuneita jäseniä avustettiin. Näiden ensimäisten unionistien yhtenä vaikuttavana taistelukeinona oli "boikotti", jota nämä käyttivät suunnitelmallisesti ja samalla vaikuttavasti. Lakkolaiset eivät käyneet niissä ravintoloissa, joissa lakkopettureita suosittiin; eivätkä ostaneet niistä kaupoista, jotka myivät tarveaineita mainitunlaisille liikkeille; eivät olleet missään tekemisessä niiden kanssa, jotka liiketuttavinaan suosivat lakkopettureita tai muutoin seurustelivat näiden kanssa.

32. Minkälaiset vaatimukset näitä varhaisimpia unioita enimmän innoittivat toimintaan?

Palkat ja työaika. Erikoisesti se seikka, että oppipoikajärjestelmä nojautui palkkatyölle, sai suurta huomiota osaksensa. Ne työläiset, jotka ainoastaan osan varsinaisesta oppikaudestaan olivat palvelleet, työskentelivät alhaisemmalla palkalla kuin varsinaiset täysinoppineet ammattilaiset.

33. Kuinka työläiset pyrkivät käsittelemään näitä kysymyksiä?

He pyrkivät perustamaan "suljettuja työpajoja", joissa he uskoivat voivansa helpoimmin ratkaista nämä kysymykset.

34. Oliko noina aikoina suljetuita työpaikkoja?

Suutarien unio ei suvainnut jäsentensä työskennellä sellaisissa työpaikoissa, joissa järjestymättömiä eli eiunion miehiä pidettiin työssä, eikä myöskään sellaisille työnantajille, jotka pestasivat järjestymätöntä työvoimaa itsellensä. Kirjaltajat myöskin vastustivat lakkopettureita.

35. Sattuiko sellaisia tapahtumia, joissa lakkopetturit menestyksellisesti voitiin estää työmaalta?

Philadelphiassa, New Yorkissa ja Pittsburgissa suutarit pakottivat vierailta paikkakunnilta tulleet liittymään heihin heti kun nämä saapuivat näihin kaupunkeihin. New Yorkissa suutarit asettivat raskaan sakon kaikille niille, jotka eivät heihin yhtyneet. Pittsburgissa suutarit käyttivät määräysvaltaansa unioon kuulumattomiin nähden, vaativat nämä saapumaan heidän kokoukseensa, jossa esitettiin syytökset heitä vastaan ja nämä saivat sitten puolustautua. Työnantajain täytyi maksaa lakkopettureille langetettu sakko.

36. Oliko lakkokassojen lisäksi vielä muita avustustoimenpiteitä?

Kyllä. Melkeinpä näiden ensimäisestä ilmaantumisesta eli perustamisesta saakka unioilla on ollut sairastus- ja hautauskassoja. Kirjaltajat avustivat "sairaita ja köyhyyteen joutuneita jäseniä, näiden leskiä sekä lapsia, kuitenkin ottaen huomioon, että tällainen avustus älköön olko suurempi kuin $3.00 viikossa". Suutarit maksoivat $3.00 viikossa, vaikkakaan sitä "ei perustuslain pykälissä" erikoisesti lähemmin määritelty.

37. Mikä vaikutus näillä avustuskassoilla oli itse unioihin?

Philadelphian Typographical Societystä Commonsin historiassa mainitaan, että "se kernaasti luopui ammatteja järjestävästä toiminnasta, siten turvatakseen avustuskassansa". New Yorkin kirjaltajat niinikään olivat

halukkaat turvaamaan avustuskassansa ja v. 1818, jolloin lainlaatijakunta kieltäytyi myöntämästä toiminta-oikeutta millään muulla ehdolla, suostui kokonaan luopumaan ammattiunionistisesta toiminnasta.

38. Järjestyivätkö työnantajat ollenkaan siihen aikaan?

Kyllä. The Philadelphia Society of Master Cordwainers (Suutariliikkeiden omistajain yhdistys) järjestettiin v. 1789. The Master Shoe Makers of Pittsburg (samallainen kuin edellinenkin) järjestettiin v. 1814. Näiden lisäksi kirjapainojen omistajat järjestyivät New Yorkissa, Philadelphiassa ja toisissakin kaupungeissa. Työnantajat eivät koskaan ole olleet takapajulla järjestymisessä.

39. Mikä oli työpäivän keskimääräinen pituus siihen aikaan?

Kaikkien työläisten työaika kesti auringon noususta sen laskuun saakka, aamiais- ja päivällisloma siihen luettuna. Tämä määritelmä käsitti koko vuoden ja näinollen siis varsinainen työaika vaihteli vuodenaikojen mukaan. Työpäivä oli kesällä pitempi kuin talvella.

40. Eikö tällaisen menettelytavan käytännössä ollessa kesänaika ollut työnantajille paljon edullisempi kuin talvi?

Epäilemättä.

41. Kuinka työpäivää täten ruvettiin mittaamaan?

Maanviljelyksessä, joka tällöin oli vallitseva teollisuus, auringon nousun ja laskun välinen aika pidettiin työpäivän mittana. Näin juurtui sellainen yleinen käsitys, että tehdasteollisuudessakin se on samoin välttämättömyys. Tämän lisäksi käsitettiin, että työpäivän lyhentämisellä on "turmiollinen vaikutus" kaikellaisilla liikealoilla — maanviljelyksessä samoin kuin liikeelämässäkin. Lisäksi vielä uskottiin, että työpäivän lyhentäminen "synnyttäisi joutilaisuutta ja epäsiveellisyyttä" ja pilaisi työläisten olosuhteet, työläisten, "jotka vaatimattomina, säännöllisinä, levollisina ja vanhanaikaisiin tapoihin tottuneina ovat onnellisia ja hyvinvoipia". Tavallisesti, vieläpä meidänkin päivinämme, lyhemmän työpäivän vaatimukset pidettiin ulkomaalais-

ten ansiona, jotka "tuovat mukanaan heidän tunteensa sekä tapansa, tyytymättömän käsityksensä sekä uppiniskaisuutensa, jotka kaikki meidän kotimaisille ammattilaisillemme ovat olleet tähän saakka aivan vieraita". (1821.)

42. Mikä oli ensimäinen yritys työpäivän lyhentämiseksi?

Union Society of Carpenters (Kirvesmiesten Yhdistys) Philadelphiassa ensimäiseksi vaati lyhempää työpäivää toukokuussa v. 1791. Nämä miehet vaativat, että työpäivä ei saa olla pitempi kuin "kello kuudesta aamulla kello kuuteen illalla."

43. Mikä, pitkää työpäivää lukuunottamatta, aiheutti kirvesmiesten lakon v. 1791?

Kirvesmiehille maksettiin päiväpalkka kesällä ja talvella maksettiin kappaletaksan perusteella.

44. Mitä muita kymmentuntisen työpäivän vaatimuksia on tullut muistiin merkityksi?

Philadelphian ammattilaiset, koneiden korjaajat, asettelijat ja konetyöläiset (1822); bostonilaiset taloja rakentavat kirvesmiehet lakkoutuivat sangen kiireenä vuodenaikana (1825), jolloin "aikaisemmin tapahtuneen onnettoman tulipalon" ja "suurten yleisten korjaustöiden" takia kirvesmiehillä oli tavallista suurempi kysyntä. He "käsittivät, että vallitsevat palkat olivat ei ainoastaan oikeus- vaan myöskin ihmisyysperiaatteita alentavia" ja "että 10-tuntinen rehellinen työ on tästä lähtien pidettävä riittävänä päivätyönä". Tämän lisäksi he myöskin väittivät, että "nykyisen järjestelmän vallitessa niillä palkoilla, mitkä heille nyt maksetaan, ammattilaisten, puuseppäin ja kirvesmiesten on sula mahdottomuus ylläpitää perheensä".

45. Mitä työnantajat vastasivat?

Heidän vastauksensa sisälsi, että "yhtymä tarkoituksella muuttaa työhön alkamisaika ja määritellä heidän päivittäinen työnsä toiseksi kuin mitä se on ikimuistoisista ajoista saakka ollut . . ., on runsaasti tuottava lukuisia ja perin turmiollisia paheita"; sillä on onneton vaikutus, sillä se viettelee heidät pois siltä teollisuuden ja taloudellisen ajan tolalta, "mikä on tuottanut

toivotuita tuloksia oppipoikanaoloajoilla. Lisäksi se saattaisi työläiset alttiiksi monille vaaroille ja harkitsemattomiin toimenpiteisiin, joista he pysyvät erillään silloin, kun he työskentelevät auringon noususta sen laskuun saakka." Nämä varhaisen ajan työnantajat ovat niitä vanhoja hurskaita veijareita, sillä yksi syy, miksikä he vastustavat lyhempää työpäivää, on se, että "me pelkäämme sekä kauhistumme sitä vaikutusta, mikä moisella toimenpiteellä olisi moraaliin ja yhteiskunnan hyvinvointiin". He myöskin olivat patrioootteja, vilpittömiä 100-prosenttisia. He eivät uskoneet, että "tämä suunnitelma olisi uskollisten ja ahkerain Uuden Englannin poikain luoma, vaan olivat pakotetut otaksumaan, että se on ulkomaalaisuuden tuote ja yksi sellainen alote, joka ei tule juurtumaan Massachusettsin suositussa maaperässä". "Ja erikoisesti", näin he vielä lisäsivät, "tämä varhain kohonnut kaupunkimme teollisuuksineen, jonka asukkaat ovat yleisesti hyvin tunnetuita, ei tule saastutetuksi epäluonnollisilla tuotteilla." Tällä tavalla sata vuotta sitten työnantajat ottivat huomioonsa uniot ja työläisten vaatimukset.

46. Eikö itse työnantajiakin lyhemmän työpäivän vaikutukset huolestuttaneet?

Työnantajain tapa on, ja sangen vaikuttava strateeginen menettelytapa onkin, peittää materialistiset etunsa moraalin ja patriotismin taakse, juuri siten kuin huomasitte edellisen kysymyksen vastauksessa; mutta pohjimmaisina vaikuttimina kuitenkin ovat heidän todelliset taloudelliset etunsa. Näin me huomaamme todellisen (taloudellisen) syyn olevan haudattuna heidän moraalisten ja patrioottisten sananparsiensa taakse — "jos sellainen toimenpide (10-tuntinen työpäivä) olisikin joskus oikeutettu, ei se kuitenkaan voi sitä olla tällaisena aikana, jolloin rakennuttajat ovat tehneet sopimukset ja urakat rakennuskautta varten." Sitten, osoittaakseen heidän omanvoitonpyytämättömyytensä (?) ja todellisen kristillisen rakkautensa (?), he ilmoittavat, että he eivät vastusta ainoastaan 10-tuntista työpäivää, vaan että "me lisäksi emme tule antamaan työtä sellaiselle, joka horjumatta kannattaa meidän vastustamaamme

alotetta''. Musta lista oli jo käytännössä niin aikaisin kuin v. 1825.

47. Voittivatko Bostonin kirvesmiehet lakkonsa?

Eivät.

48. Miksi?

Siksi kun liikemiehet liittoutuivat heitä vastaan. Liike-etujen yhdistämät ainekset kokoontuivat kokoukseensa, jossa julistettiin, että ammattilaisten toimenpiteet ovat ''poikenneet niistä hyödyllisistä ja vakiintuneista yleisistä tavoista, jotka ovat olleet käytännössä tässä kaupungissa ja kaikkialla Uudessa Englannissa ikivanhoista ajoista asti''. ''Jos tämä yhdistys'', näin he lisäsivät, vedoten samalla ystäviinsä työnantajiin, ''tulee olemaan jostain merkityksestä paikkakunnalla, **sen täytyy,** ollaksensa johdonmukainen, **laajentua ja huolehtia koko työväenluokasta jokaisessa departementissa tässä kaupungissa ja maassa.**'' Tämä samainen kokous myöskin päätti tukea rakennusurakoitsijoita millä hinnalla tahansa ja tämän lisäksi jatkaa urakoiden täyttämisaikaa ja vieläpä luopuakin, jos niin tarpeelliseksi nähdään, rakentamisaikomuksista kokonaisuudessaan. ''He voivat etukäteen nähdä'', näin he sanoivat, ''ettei niinkään suurta häviötä tai epämukavuutta johdu mainitunlaisesta rakennuttamisaikomuksesta luopumisen kautta, verrattuna siihen, **mitä aiheutuisi, jos sellaisen yhtymään sallittaisiin päästä vaikuttavaksi tekijäksi''.**

49. Aikoivatko he estää unionismin levenemisen?

Todennäköisesti. Yhteiskunnallisten suhteittensa kannalta katsoen he voivat nähdä, mitä työläiset voivat tehdä ja he pelkäsivät, että järjestö ''voi laajentua sekä liittää itseensä koko työväenluokan jokaisessa departementissa kaupungissa ja maalla''. He myöskin havaitsivat, ''etteivät häviöt tai epämukavuudet ole mitään siihen verrattuna, mikä seuraisi siitä, jos moisen järjestön sallitaan kehittyä vaikutusvaltaiseksi''.

Huomautus: Työväenliikettä tutkivan työläisen on hyvä pitää tämä mielessään silloin, kun syventyy myöhäisempäin unioiden rakenteeseen, menettelytapoihin sekä tarkoitusperiin, jotka nämä aikovat taistelujensa kautta saavuttaa — voittaa. Muistettakoon tässä, että

kapitalistinen luokka jo varhain selvästi havaitsi työväenluokan järjestäytymisen välttämättömyyden ja myöskin pelkäsi sitä. Kapitalistit eivät ole koskaan lakanneet punomasta juoniansa, eivätkä koskaan ole häikäilleet niitä käyttää tai aikoneet joutua tappiolle. He tahtovat pitää työläiset hajoitettuina ja ne myöskin ovat hajoitettuina. Työväen riveihin on järjestelmällisesti synnytetty eripuraisuutta ja keskinäistä kahnausta.

50. Kuinka ne Bostonin kirvesmiehet taistelivat työnantajia vastaan?

He järjestyivät ko-operativisesti ja sitten ilmoittivat tekevänsä työt 25 prosenttia halvemmalla kuin mitä varsinaiset työnantajat tavallisesti vaativat suorittamistaan tehtävistä.

51. Oliko heidän ko-operativinen yrityksensä menestyksellinen?

Todennäköisesti ei, sillä työläiset hävisivät tässä lakkotaistelussa. Me hyväksymme Commonsin historiassa esitetyn ajatuksen, että "ko-operativisiin toimenpiteisiin ryhtyminen ei suinkaan ole ammattiunionismin menestymisen ilmaisu, vaan päinvastoin se osoittaa ammattiunionistisen menettelytapain epäonnistumisen eli kelvottomuuden". Myöhäisemmiltä ajoilta meillä on paljon tämäntapaisia todistuksia. Ko-operatsionia on käytetty (1) tarkoituksella erikoisesti kostaa joillekin työnantajille, ja (2) on yritetty päästä siihen asemaan, että voitaisiin saada pysyväinen työpaikka itsellensä. Nykypäiviin mennessä tällainen menettelytapa ei kuitenkaan ole osoittautunut menestykselliseksi.

52. Sallittiinko työnantajain liittyä näihin ensimäisiin unioihin?

Työvälineet siihen aikaan olivat suhteellisesti sangen yksinkertaisia ja siksipä jokainen ammattilainen tällöin arveli jonain päivänä voivansa itse kohota työnantajaksi. Tällainen tunnelma pyrkikin sokaisemaan heidän maailmankatsomuksensa, pitäen unionsa selvinä kaikellaisilta vaikutelmilta, jotka mahdollisesti johtaisivat harhateille niiden menettelytapain muodostamisessa ja periaatteiden ilmaisemisessa. Näillä oli pyrkimyksenä vaimentaa aikansa vaatimuksia, sillä nämä käsittivät nii-

den vaikuttavan heihin itseensä muuttuneissa olosuhteissa mahdollisesti jo huomenna. Tämä oli ja vieläkin on erittäin vaarallinen vaikutelma palkkatyöläisten järjestöissä. Vaikka työnantaja estetäänkin union jäsenyydestä, joten kuitenkaan eivät olleet asiat, hänen maailmankatsomuksensa vaikutukset, näyttelivät verrattain huomattavaa osaa näiden varhaisimpain unioiden sisäisiä asioita käsiteltäessä.

53. Kuinka kauan tällaiset olosuhteet vallitsivat?

Muutamia rajoituksia eli muodosteluita lukuunottamatta nämä ovat säilyneet jotakuinkin nykyaikaan saakka. Työnantajan fyysillinen unioista poissaolo ei ole niinkään suuresta merkityksestä niinkauan kuin hänen henkisyytensä eli käsityskantansa on määräävänä tekijänä union asioissa.

54. Löytyikö tässä suhteessa poikkeuksia?

Löytyy ainakin yksi poikkeustapaus, sillä New Yorkin Typographical Society eroitti jäsenyydestänsä kirjapainon omistajan v. 1817. Commonsin historian mukaan, johon on lainattu kappale Typographical Union No. 6 vuosikertomuksesta, päivätty maaliskuulla v. 1892, kerrotaan näin: "Kokemukset opettavat meille, että ihmisten toimiin vaikuttavat melkein kokonansa heidän taloudelliset etunsa, ja että on **sula mahdottomuus jotta Society (unio) voi olla hyvin säännöitelty sekä käytännöllinen silloin kuin sen jäsenet toimivat toisillensa vastakkaisten voimain ja erilaisten etujen vaikutuksesta.** Tämä yhdistys on kirjaltajain yhdistys; ja kirjaltajain taloudelliset edut ovat **erilaiset** ja joissain suhteissa **vastakkaiset** työnantajain kanssa; me puolestamme pidämme sen kokonaan sopimattomana, että näillä olisi äänioikeus tai vaikutusvalta meidän asioitamme käsiteltäessä."

55. Eikö tässä selvästi tunnusteta luokkataistelu?

Se epäilemättä on selvä lausunto, mutta se todennäköisesti johtuu jonkin jäsenen tai pienen ryhmän vaikutuksesta. Mutta kaikki järjestöt omaksuivat sellaisen käsityskannan, että "kapitalistien ja palkkatyöläisten edut ovat keskinäiset eli yhteiset ja sopusuhtaiset.

56. Kuinka me tiedämme tämän todeksi?

Tässä on vakuudeksi muutamia lausuntoja, jotka sen pätevästi toteavat: Typographical Society (1802), "Me hartaasti toivomme, ettei sellainen aika olisi kaukana, jolloin työnantaja sekä työläinen kilvoittelevat yhteisesti toistensa kanssa, työnantaja riittävän suuren palkan maksamisessa ja työläinen taas puolestansa hyvin sen ansaitsemisessa."

Philadelphian sällit, kirjapainajat (1816) esittäessään hintataksansa kirjapainojen omistajille: "Kirjapainajat pitävät velvollisuutenaan kehoittaa painamaan mieliin sen mitä he tässä esittävät ... He jo ennakolta rohkenevat otaksua, että te mitä suurimmalla jalomielisyydellä kiinnitätte huomionne tähän asiaan sekä päätätte mielihyvällä hyväksyä korotetut hinnat. Teidän vastustusta me puolestamme emme odota."

Varhain toimineet unionistit yleisesti käsittivät, että työnantajain ja työläisten edut ovat yhteiset. Commonsin historiassa mainitaan näin: "Todellakaan siihen aikaan ei vielä ollut olemassakaan 'työväen omintakeista filosofiaa' Ammattitaitoinen käsityöläinen jonain kauniina päivänä arveli kohoavansa työnantajaksi eli mestariksi ja eihän näinollen hänelle voinut tulla mieleenkään ajatus, että järjestön avulla olisi palkkajärjestelmä poistettava."

57. Oliko eri kaupunkien unioiden kesken minkäänlaista yhteyttä?

Joskus uniot olivat keskinäisessä kirjeenvaihdossa, ilmoittivat toisillensa tarkoitusperänsä, mainitsivat joitain heidän vaatimuksistansa ja vaihtoivat veljellisiä tervehdyksiä keskenään. Toisinaan nämä lisäksi myöskin antoivat aineellista avustustakin toisillensa; Philadelphian kirjapainajat m. m. lähettivät $83.50 New Yorkiin tarkoituksella siten avustaakseen köyhyyteen joutuneita jäseniä. Luettelo lakkopettureista myöskin niinikään tavattiin lähettää toisten kaupunkien ammattiveljille. Heidän palkkavaatimuksistakin silloin tällöin ilmoitettiin toisille unioille.

58. Oliko koskaan yhteistoimintaa näiden unioiden kesken?

Joidenkin määrättyjen ammattialain kesken sellais-

takin lienee ollut toisinaan. V:nna 1809 suutarit lakkoutuivat erästä liikettä vastaan. Tämä liike antoi työnsä toisille kenkätehtailijoille. Tällaisessa tapauksessa, voidaksensa menestyksellisesti taistella, suutarit kutsuivat jokaisen miehen lakkoon tällä ammattialalla. Se oli yleislakko suutarimestareita vastaan.

59. Minkälainen oli näiden varhaisten unioiden tulevaisuus?

Napoleonilaisten sotain seurauksena teollisuus lamaantui kauttaaltaan Yhdysvalloissa. Europassa valmistettuja tavaroita virtasi runsaasti tähän maahan. Työttömyys raivasi tiensä työväenluokan keskuuteen ja työläisten kilpaillessa sangen harvalukuisista työpaikoista uniotkin tulivat hävitetyiksi. On mainittu, että yksistään Philadelphiassa, jossa työskenteli 9,762 palkkatyöläistä v:nna 1816, noin 7,500 erotettiin työstä jo v:nna 1819. Luotettavista lähteistä saatujen tietojen nojalla ilmoitettiin, että v:nna 1819 noin 20,000 työtöntä työläistä etsi työtä yksistään Philadelphiassa, samansuuruinen joukko New Yorkissa ja 10,000 Baltimoressa.

60. Kuinka pitkäaikainen oli tämä liikepula?

Se saavutti huippukohtansa tuossa v:n 1820 vaiheilla. Sittemmin aika alkoi hiljalleen vilkastua.

61. Mitä erikoisesti tärkeätä tapahtui juuri tähän aikaan?

Höyryvoima menestyksellisesti yhdistettiin vesiliikenteeseen. Tällöin kauppaliikenne lännen vesillä kävi entistään menestyksellisemmäksi. V:nna 1822 sanotaan olleen 108 höyrylaivaa läntisillä vesillä. Uusi käyttövoima saattoi mahdolliseksi sen, että Mississipin ja toistenkin laivaliikenteelle sopivain vesistöjen vaivaloinen liikenne muuttui helpommaksi ja samalla nopeammaksi. Tämän tuotantokoneiston kehittymisen kautta oli mahdollisuus liittää laajoja uusia alueita entisiin ja täten avautui tuotteillemme tie toisille maailman markkinoille ja meidän markkinat avautuivat heidän tuotteillensa. Höyry käyttövoimana teollisuudessa ja liikenteessä on sellainen väline, josta kapitalistinen määräys- eli hallintovallan saavuttaminen ja siihen kohoaminen oli riippuvainen.

62. Mikä vaikutus teollisuuden elpymisellä oli työläisiin?

Asiaa lähemmin tarkasteltuamme me huomaamme tulleen perustetuksi unioita monille sellaisillekin ammattialoille, joilla ei aikaisemmin ollut järjestöitä olemassakaan. New Yorkissa (1825) "The Nailers Union (Naulantekijäin Unio) ja Weavers Unio (Kutojain Unio) Erien kanalin avaamisen yhteydessä pidetyssä juhlatilaisuudessa yhtyivät useain ammattilaisten yhdistysten kanssa." Lisäksi "naiskutojat" lakkoutuivat miesten kanssa Pawtucketissa, R. I., v:nna 1824. Vuonna 1823 New Yorkin kaupungin kivenhakkurit lakkoutuivat, vaatien $1.62½ päivältä. Hatuntekijät lakkoutuivat Philadelphiassa v:nna 1825, "siten saadaksensa aikaan varsinaisen palkkajärjestelmän ja estääkseen yhden työnantajan myymään tuotteensa halvemmalla kuin joku toinen." New Yorkin hatuntekijät järjestyivät v:nna 1893.

Toisiakin lakkoja julistettiin aiottua palkkain polkemista vastaan. V:nna 1824 Buffalossa räätälit, Philadelphiassa laivatelakkain kirvesmiehet, New Yorkissa talojen maalarit lakkoutuivat korkeamman palkan puolesta. V:nna 1825 oli New Yorkissa räätälien, kivenhakkurien, satamatyöläisten ja ammatittomain proletarien lakko; käsikangaspuilla kutojat Philadelphiassa ja puusepät Baltimoressa sekä Philadelphiassa. V:nna 1825 leipurit, lyhentääkseen työviikkoansa, taistelivat sunnuntaityön poistamisen puolesta. New Yorkin kaupungin leipurit johtivat tätä taistelua.

63. Oliko minkäänlaisia uusia ilmiöitä tuona aikana?

Kyllä. Vankilatyö esiintyi ensimäisen kerran vastakkain "vapaan työn" kanssa. Kapitalistinen luokka, vähentääksensä tuotantokustannuksia, pyrki käyttämään vankityötä apunansa. Tällä luonnollisestikin oli perin turmiollinen vaikutus työmarkkinoihin, jotka olivat äskeisen liikepulan vaikutuksista hiukan elpymässä. V:nna 1823 New Yorkin puusepät pitivät yleisen kansankokouksen ja esittivät anomuksen lainlaatijakunnalle, että vankityön käyttäminen on lopetettava, sillä se uhkaa "hävittää ... vapaat ammattilaiset." Tämän lisäksi he

suosittelivat, että "vankeja pidettäisiin työssä valtion marmorilouhimossa."

64. Periaatteissa nämä eivät siis vastustaneet itse vankityötä, vaan ainoastaan sen vaikutuksia heidän omaan ammattiinsa nähden?

Todennäköisesti. Se seikka, että joskin vankeja olisi käytetty marmorilouhimossa ja siten vaikuttanut turmiollisesti louhimotyöläisiin, ei heitä vähintäkään liikuttanut, kunhan vain puuseppien ammatti sen vaikutuksista olisi vapautunut. Ammatittomain työläisten kerrokset ovat aina olleet jonkinlaisena jätteiden kaatopaikkana silloin, kuin on ollut kysymyksessä ammattitaitoisten työläisten aseman lieventäminen. Tämä pitää paikkansa vielä tänäkin päivänä.

65. Mikä vaikutus näillä unioiden toimenpiteillä oli työnantajiin?

Työnantajat tulivat levottomiksi ja seurauksena oli, että useita salaliittoutumissyytöksiä nostettiin järjestyneitä työläisiä vastaan. Samalla aikaa, kun järjestymisoikeutta ei enää kielletty, järjestöjen rakentamis- eli kohottamiskeinot ja niiden hyväksymät menettelytavat asetettiin kyseenalaisiksi. Sellaiset menettelytavat kuin lakkovahtimiset, myötätuntoisuuslakot, suletut työpajat ja lakkopetturien luettelon jakamisen tuomiolaitokset selittivät epälaillisiksi taistelutavoiksi. Tällaiset keinot pidettiin pakoittavina ja menettelytavat, joita käytettiin, peloittavina. Tuomiolaitoksissa uniot havaittiin syyllisiksi. Työväestöä koskevissa oikeusjutuissa tuomiolaitosten asema ja suhtautuminen oli jotakuinkin samallainen kuin mitä se on tänäkin päivänä.

66. Koska me havaitsemme jonkinlaista yhtenäisyyttä työväenliikkeessä?

Saatavissa olevat muistiinpanot osoittavat, että Philadelphiassa rakennustyöläisten lakon jälkeen v:nna 1827 tuossa kaupungissa järjestettiin ensimäinen yleinen työväen unio — Mechanics Union of Trade Associations.

67. Kuinka tämä ammattiyhdistysten keskusjärjestö muodostui?

Se muodostui toiminnassa olevain ja siihen kuuluvain ammattiyhdistysten valitsemista edustajista. Sii-

hen kuuluivat kirvesmiehet, muurarit ja maalarit. Useat muutkin ammatit kuuluivat tähän keskusjärjestöön; kerran siihen kuului kaikkiaan viisitoista yhdistystä. Se otti tehtäväkseen järjestymättömäin ammattialain työläisten järjestämisen, sellaisten ammattilaisten, jotka eivät vielä kuuluneet ammattiyhdistyksiin.''

Se laati ja hyväksyi itsellensä perustus- sekä sivulait. Arvellaan siinä olleen sellaisen pykälän, jossa järjestö kiellettiin osanotosta poliittiseen toimintaan. Tästä yllämainitunlaisesta pykälästä huolimatta, oltuaan vuoden toiminnassa, yhdistys toukokuussa v:nna 1828 päätti muuttaa itsensä ensimäiseksi poliittiseksi työväenpuolueeksi tässä maassa. Tämän päätöksen, jossa sitouduttiin toimimaan poliittisena järjestönä, varsinaiset uniot ja toiset ammattiyhdistykset äänestyksellä vahvistivat.

Näin tämä Amerikan työväestön ensimäinen sangen lupaava yritys johdettiin sen varsinaiselta taloudelliselta alalta poliittisille harhapoluille. Mikäli poliittinen liike edistyi, sikäli myöskin ammattijärjestöt menettivät maaperänsä taloudellisena tekijänä ja sen viimeisessä kokouksessa, marraskuussa v:nna 1829, ainoastaan neljä uniota oli enään edustettuna. Sen tappoi politiikka. Kaksi vuotta myöhemmin, toukokuussa v:nna 1831, kutsuttiin kokoon yleinen kokous ''harkitsemaan 10-tuntisen työpäivän aikaansaamisesta''; näin tämä ilmeisesti osoittaa, että sinäkin aikana oli jo kaksi koulukuntaa olemassa — työväen politikoitsijat ja taasen ne, jotka luottivat ainoastaan taloudelliseen suoraan toimintaan.

68. Mitkä varsinaiset tulokset johtuivat tästä liikkeestä?

Tämän liikkeen yhtenä tuloksena oli työväen sanomalehti. On myöskin huomattavissa, että luokkajako, vaikkakaan ei vielä erittäin selvästi, tunnustettiin olevaksi yhteiskunnassa. Se selitti väestön jakaantuvan ''rikkaisiin'' ja ''köyhiin'' mieluimmin kuin työväenluokkaan ja työnantajaluokkaan. Tällöin jo oli laajalle levinnyt sellainen käsitys, että se seikka, kun valtiota ''rikkaat'' kontrolleeraavat, on aiheena niihin vaurioihin, joiden alaisena työtätekevä väestö kärsi. Tästä johtuikin sellainen vakaumus, että palkkatyöläiset ja

"yleinen kansa", jotka lukumäärältään ovat suurena enemmistönä, voivat lieventää kärsimyksiänsä poliittisen toiminnan kautta. Valtion todellista luonnetta ei tällöin vielä voitu täydellisesti käsittää — käsitys, joka on itsepintaisesti pysynyt epäselvänä näihin päiviin saakka — ja sen erheellisen käsityksen nojalla, että äänestyslippu kykenee vaikuttamaan heidän pelastumiseensa, työläisten johtajat voivat heidät houkutella näyttelemään poliittista roolia, joka sitäpaitsi näytti olevan oivallinen, helppo ja varma keino.

69. Eikö työväestö voinut nähdä että varmin apu on heidän taloudellisissa järjestöissä?

Eiväthän ne havaitse sitä vieläkään. Nuo samat argumentit, joilla voitettiin eli saatiin työväestö mukaan v:nna 1828, ja sitä seuraavina vuosina, ovat nykyaikana yhtä vaikuttavat voittamaan heidät kuin silloinkin.

Työväenliikkeen lapsuusajoilla oli monia sellaisia asioita, joiden alkuperä ilmeisesti näytti oleellisesti olevan luonteeltaan poliittinen, ja siksipä käsitettiinkin, että ne olivat poliittisen toiminnan tuloksia. Nämä varhaisen ajan unionistit eivät huomanneet, että ne kuitenkin perusteiltaan olivat taloudellisia asioita. Sellaisia olivat (1) pakollinen sotapalvelus, (2) velkavankeus ja (3) opetusvälineiden kieltäminen. Tuon ajan työläiset vapautuivat noista sangen raskaista painajaisista, sillä tavalla, jotka helpoimmin ja parhaiten näyttäytyivät heille poliittisina saavutuksina.

70. Miksikä he kuitenkin vaivautuivat järjestyäkseen unioihin?

He vaistomaisesti käsittivät sen pikaisen vaikutuksen, mikä oli heidän työvoimansa kontrollin seurauksena ja se puolestaan kannusti järjestymään taloudellisesti. Meidän tulee tämän yhteydessä muistaa, että suuret työläisjoukot eivät käsittäneet yhteiskunnallisia suhteita, joiden onnettomia uhreja he olivat ja siksipä olikin varsin helppo heille uskottaa, että asiain nurinkurisuuteen yleensä ovat syyllisiä "meidän huolimattomat sekä oikeudentuntoa vailla olevat hallitsijat ja puolueellinen lainlaadinta;" ja se seikka, että "kaikki lait on laadittu rikkaiden hyväksi ja köyhäin sortamiseksi", on

varsinaisena syynä heidän onnettomuuteensa. Näinollen heidät saatiin taivutetuksi poliittisilla keinoilla korjaamaan näitä vääryyksiä. Tässä suhteessa mentiin niinkin pitkälle, että yksinpä 10-tuntinen työpäivävaatimuskin sai poliittisen vaatimuksen luonteen.

71. Rajoittuiko tämä liike ainoastaan Philadelphiaan?

Ei suinkaan. New Yorkissa samoin kuin Philadelphiassakin se alkuperäisesti oli 10-tuntista työpäiväliikettä. Näihin kahteen järjestöön kuuluvain osastojen lisääntymisen yhteydessä tämä liike laajeni Uuden Englannin valtioihin ja kauttaaltaan eteläisiin merenranta-valtioihin, kunnes sen sanotaan olleen toiminnassa aina Mainesta Georgiaan saakka.

72. Kuinka kauan tämä liike oli toiminnassa?

Se rappeutui tuossa vv. 1831—1832 vaiheilla, sillä "työläiset eivät saaneet taloudellisia parannuksia poliittisella pelillä", ja siksi he väsyivät siihen; siihen vielä vaikutti liiallinen tuttavuus vanhan puolueen politikoitsijoihin kaikkine "pelissä käytettävine kepposineen."

73. Minkä tehtävän se kykeni suorittamaan?

Se kykeni johtamaan työväestön huomion sekä energian teolliselta alalta, jossa he olisivat ehkä kyenneet kohottamaan itsensä pelottaviksi, huomioon otettaviksi, poliittiselle arenalle, jossa he tulivat kapitalistien juonittelun pelkiksi pelinappuloiksi — ollen se selvästi kapitalistien tarkoitus; politiikka palvelee tällaiset pyrkimykset erinomaisen hyvin.

74. Mikä seurasi työläisten poliittista puoluetta?

The New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Working Men (Uuden Englannin Maanviljelijäin, Käsityöläisten ja Toisten Työläisten Yhdistys.)

75. Mikä oli tämä järjestö?

Sen pyrkimyksenä oli kohota kaikkien tuottajain unioksi. Sen ohjelma oli sekä poliittinen että taloudellinen.

76. Mikä oli sen alkuperä?

Se versoi 10-tuntisesta työpäiväliikkeestä. Mainittu 10-tuntinen työpäivä otettiin käytäntöön New Yorkin kaupungissa ja osittain myöskin Philadelphiassa. Raken-

nusalalla toimivat ammattilaiset Bostonissa lakkoutuivat v. 1830 tarkoituksella saada 10-tuntinen työpäivä, mutta he hävisivät taistelunsa. Liike 10-tuntisen työpäivän voimaansaattamiseksi kasvoi nopeasti Uudessa Englannissa. Providencen, R. I., käsityöläiset ja konetyöläiset kokoontuivat marraskuussa v. 1831 ja silloin julistivat, että "vuoden 1832 maaliskuun 20 päivän jälkeen he tulevat työskentelemään ainoastaan kymmenen tuntia päivässä". Saman vuoden (1831) joulukuussa Uuden Englannin eri osista saapuneet edustajat pitivät kokouksen Providencessa ja julkaisivat kokouskutsun, että konventsioni tullaan pitämään Bostonissa helmikuussa v. 1832.

77. Saivatko olla muutkin paitsi palkkatyöläiset?

Kyllä vain, ja siinähän se oli sen varsinainen perusheikkous. Se ilmaisi huolehtivansa ja valittavansa pienistä työnantajista, "jotka puolestaan paheksuivat kilpailua, mikä useasti käy turmiolliseksi näille tyytymättömille aineksille, joilla ovat kilpailijoihinsa verrattuna riittämättömät keinot käytettävänään."

78. Kuinka myötätuntoinen oli työväestö tälle järjestölle?

Asiakirjat osoittavat, että tehdastyöväestöön nähden toiveet vakuuttavasti pettivät. Vuoden 1833 konventsionissa New Havenin edustajat valittivat, että "se seikka kuin tehdaskylistä eivät ole edustajat saapuneet, antaa aiheen peljätä, että työläiset tehtaissa ovat jo taivutettu työnantajain määräyksiin — että nämä ovat jo myyty sortajille, että nämä ovat tunteneet heitä itseänsä ja heidän lapsiansa painavat kahleet. Tällöin siis maanviljelijät ja käsityöläiset ovat amerikalaisen väestön viimeinen toivo. Jos nämäkin, johtuen se heidän tietämättömyydestänsä ja pelkurimaisuudestansa, epäröivät ja horjuvat, jos nämäkin salakavalasti sekä herjaten käännetään vieraille urille heidän tarkoitusperistänsä, silloin tuleva sukupolvi tapaa työväestönsä aristokraattisen hallituksen pelkurimaisina alastomina, nälkään nääntyneinä alamaisina; asuvat itse hökkeleissä, kylvävät, että toiset saisivat niittää, rakentavat palatseja, että toiset saisivat tilaisuuden niissä asua."

79. Mikä oli tämän liikkeen yleinen ohjelma?

"Kehittää keinoja työtätekevän luokan yhteisten pyrkimysten keskittämiseksi, säännöitellä työajan pituus määrittelemällä yksi yleinen työpäivän pituus, vaurastuttaa köyhälistön kasvatustyötä, yleistä tietoisuutta, reformeerata työväestöä vastaan kohdistettuja väärinkäytöksiä ja ylläpitää heidän oikeuksiansa amerikalaisina vapaina ihmisinä." Sen tarkoitus oli perustaa "komitea jokaiseen valtioon, joiden tehtävä on koota ja julkaista työläismiesten, naisten ja lasten asemaa valaisevia tosiasioita, kuin myöskin niitä väärinkäytöksiä, joita työnantajat harjoittavat heitä vastaan." Työaikaa ja tehtaissa raatavain lasten kasvatusta koskevissa kysymyksissä he aikoivat esittää anomuksia lainlaatijakunnille.

80. Oliko tämä vain paikallista liikettä?

Sitä se ainakaan ei pyrkinyt olemaan. Rakenteensa ja suunnitelmainsa nojalla sitä voidaan pitää tuottajain joukkojärjestönä, jotakuinkin samallaisena kuin mitä Knights of Labor (Työn Ritarit) oli sittemmin myöhäisempinä vuosina. Sen toisessa vuosikokouksessa, joka pidettiin State Housessa, Bostonissa (Syyskuulla v. 1832), oli edustajia läsnä Connecticutista, Rhode Islandista, New Hampshiresta, Mainesta ja Massachusettista. Kolmannessa vuosikokouksessa oli toisessa vuosikokouksessa olleiden edustajain lisäksi myöskin edustaja Pennsylvaniasta. Tässä (3:nessa) vuosikokouksessa Thompsonville Carpet Manufacturing Companyn, Thompsonville, Conn., työläisten vangitsemista koskeva kysymys otettiin keskustelun alaiseksi. Mainitun yhtiön tehtaalla oli lakko. Vahingonkorvaus-vaatimus nostettiin lakon johtajia vastaan. Työläisten esittämä palkankorotusvaatimus hylättiin — työläiset lakkoutuivat ja silloin osa heistä vangittiin sellaisen syytöksen nojalla, että he ovat **salaliittoutuneet tuhotakseen mainitun yhtiön liikkeen.** Nimitettiin komitea laatimaan tosiasioihin nojautuva lausunto tarkoituksella julkaista se "The New England Artisan"-nimisessä lehdessä. Vuosikokous paheksui sitä menettelyä, mitä käytettiin lakkolaisia kohtaan mainitun lakon yhteydessä, pitäen sitä "kauhea-

na vallan väärinkäyttönä, jota on kaikella muotoa vastustettava." Tämä vuosikokous myöskin laati suunnitelman tarkoituksella "kutsua kansallinen konventsioni pidettäväksi jossain maan keskipaikoilla sijaitsevassa kaupungissa."

New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and Other Working Men'in seuraava ja samalla viimeinen vuosikokous pidettiin Northamptonissa, Mass., syyskuussa v:nna 1824. Se itseasiassa oli ainoastaan alkusoittoa valtion poliittiselle konventsionille, joka pidettiin samassa paikassa tämän vuosikokouksen päättymisen jälkeen. Työväestön toisenkin taloudellisen liikkeen politikoitsijat hajoittivat.

81. Oliko New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and Other Working Men vastuunalainen minkäänlaisesta työväen taloudellisesta yrityksestä?

Kyllä. Bostonin laivoja rakentavat kirvesmiehet ja tilkitsijät, muurarit, maalarit, kivimiehet ja purjeiden tekijät yhteisesti taistelivat 10-tuntisen työpäivän puolesta, vaikkakin todennäköisesti huonolla menestyksellä. Myöhemmin laivoja rakentavat kirvesmiehet ja tilkitsijät, jotka kuuluivat Associationiin, olivat työsulun alaisina ja niitä työnantajia boikoteerattiin, joiden arveltiin olevan suosiollisia unionmiehille.

82. Onnistuttiinko poliittisessa yrityksessä?

Se ei saavuttanut mitään sellaista, jota varten se varsinaisesti ilmaisi toimivansa. Ne reformit, joita se pyrki hankkimaan, ja jotka olivat edullisia nousevalle kapitalistiluokalle, vallitsevat poliittiset puolueet ottivat vetokorteikseen ääntenkalastuksessa ja näin tulivatkin laillisesti hyväksytyksi. Kapitalistiselta näkökannalta katsoen, mikäli poliittiset puolueet kykenivät estämään teollisen yhtenäisyyden, sikäli nämä puolueet olivat erittäin menestyksellisiä; työväen näkökannalta tarkastellen ne taasen olivat päinvastoin turmiollisia.

83. Jatkoiko mikään unioista toimintaansa poliittisen toiminnan aikana?

New Yorkin ja Philadelphian kirjaltajain yhdistykset, jotka siinä tapauksessa, kun nämä laillistuttamisensa jälkeen olivat puhtaasti apuyhdistyksiä, jatkuvasti

ylläpitivät ei unioa, vaan avustustoimintaansa. V:nna 1833 perustettiin Philadelphian Typographical Association, jonka "varsinaisena pyrkimyksenä" oli "määritellä ja kannattaa kirjapainajille kohtuullinen palkka."

V:nna 1833 Benevolent Society of Journeymen Tailors of New York (New Yorkin Räätälien Apuyhdistys) myöskin jakaantui. Militanttiset jäsenet perustivat United Society of Journeymen Tailors (Räätälien Liittoutunut Yhdistys) nimisen järjestön, johtivat sen industrialistisiin tarkoituksiin, joille vanhakin yhdistys osittain pyhitti toimintansa ja myöskin hoitivat ammattiinsa kuuluvia asioita, sekä kuuluivat kaupungin keskusunioon.

Pennsylvania Society of Journeymen Cabinet Makers (Pennsylvanian Puuseppien Yhdistys) järjestettiin vuonna 1806 ja laillistutettiin v:nna 1825, korjattiin sen perustuslaki v:nna 1829 tarkoituksella sovittautua teollisuuden vaatimusten mukaan; siten tehden tarkoitusperäkseen saada täten vakiinnutetuksi varmat hinnat, joita työläiset voivat pitää ohjeinansa suotuisalla ja tyydyttävällä tavalla sovitellessa niitä riitaisuuksia, jotka mahdollisesti puhkeavat heidän ja työnantajain välillä.

Philadelphian United Beneficial Society of Cordwainers (Suutarien Liittoutunut Apuyhdistys) maaliskuun kuluessa v:nna 1835 piti kokouksen järjestääkseen kaikki järjestymättömät suutarit ja kaksi kuukautta myöhemmin äänestyksellä päätti lakkoutua korkeampain palkkain puolesta.

84. Mikä oli huomioonottamisen arvoista tänä aikakautena?

Työn jakautuminen uhkasi käydä vaaralliseksi käsityöläisille. Käsityöläisoppilaan oppiaika, ennenkuin hänestä voi tulla täysinoppinut ammattilainen, tavallisesti kesti viidestä seitsemään vuoteen. Mutta nyt työjaon edistyttyä ainoastaan muutamat määrätyt osakäsittelyt olivat välttämättömiä ja silloin kuin oppilas tottui joko yhteen tai useampaan näistä käsittelyistä, työnantajan etujen mukaista oli kaikella muotoa saada nämä keskeyttämään opiskelunsa ennenkuin tulivat täysinoppineiksi ammatissaan. Täten työnantaja sai eksperttien

työtä työprosessiinsa käsityöläisoppilaiden suostumuksella. Oppiaikajärjestelmä oli elinkysymys ammattilaisille ja seurauksena olikin, että sitä kaikilla mahdollisilla keinoilla yritettiin säännöitellä. Mikäli pojat, joiden palkat olivat tavallisesti alhaisemmat, valloittivat käsityöläisten paikat työmailla, sikäli myöskin täysinoppineet ammattilaiset löysättiin maantielle. Tämä vaikutti kirjanpainajiin, räätäleihin, köydenpunojiin, leipureihin ja moniin muihin ammateihin toisilla teollisuuden aloilla. Silloin suuressa määrin valitettiin, että työläiset erinäisissä ammateissa ovat joutuneet paljon kärsimään siksi, kun "työ on niin jakautunut, että se, mikä ennen oli yksi ainoa ammattiala, on nyttemmin jakautunut ainakin puoleksi tusinaksi erinäisiä ammateita ja kaikki työvälineet — koneista puhumattakaan — ovat yksinkertaistuneet tai parantuneet.

Oppipoikain lisäksi vielä naiset olivat toisena halvan työvoiman lähteenä. V:nna 1837 naiset työskentelivät useammassa kuin sadassa eri ammateissa. Kolmenkymmen-luvulla, sen alkupuolella, olivat naiset lakkopettureina, latojina, kirjaltajain lakon murtamisessa Philadelphiassa; ja v:nna 1833 ompelijattaret olivat lakkopettureina räätälien lakossa New Yorkissa. New Yorkissa ja Pennsylvaniassa halpa vankityö oli vapaan työvoiman kilpailijana varhaisemmin kuin yhdessäkään toisessa valtiossa. Sitä edellisten lisäksi systemaattisesti käytettiin Massachusettsissa v:nna 1805, Vermontissa v:nna 1808, Marylandissa v:nna 1811 ja New Hampshiressa v:nna 1812. Jo niin varhain kuin v:nna 1828 New Yorkin ja Auburnin vankilat tulivat valtiolle erittäin tuottaviksi laitoksiksi. Connecticutin valtiossa vankilat niinikään (1828) muodostuivat tuottaviksi laitoksiksi, samoinkuin Massachusettsin valtiossakin (1832). V:nna 1835 Sing Sing vankila tuotti voittoa lähes 29,000 dollaria. Mitä arvelette hyötyneen niiden tehtailijain, jotka tekivät kontrahdit käyttääkseen vankien työvoimaa riistettävänään!

85. Minkälainen järjestömuoto seurasi New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and Other Working Men'in jälkeen?

Mechanic's Union of Trade Associations järjestettiin Philadelphiassa v:nna 1827 ja tämäntapaisia työväen keskusunioita järjestettiin.

Näitä unioita ei aivan sanan täydessä merkityksessä voida pitää kysymyksessä mainitun N. E. A. of F. M. and O. W:n seuralaisina, sillä ensimäiseksi mainitut perustettiin New Yorkissa v:nna 1833, jolloin New England Association vielä oli toiminnassa.

Tämänlainen unionismi herätti järjestymishalun muutamain ammattialain työläisten keskuudessa, sillä tällöin me havaitsemme olleen unioita käsikangaspuilla kutojilla, rappareilla, muurareilla, sepillä, sikaarintekijöillä, putkittajilla aivan samoin kuin niilläkin ammattialoilla, jotka huomattavimmin aikanaan edistivät unionismin asiaa, kuten kirjaltajilla, kirvesmiehillä, suutareilla ja räätäleillä y. m.

Naistyöläiset myöskin näihin aikoihin keskuudessaan ilmaisivat heräämisen merkkejä; he perustivat Philadelphiaa ja sen ympäristöä käsittävän Female Improvement Society — (Naisia Kohottava Yhdistys) nimisen joukkojärjestön. Tämän järjestön jäsenyyteen nim. kuuluivat miesten vaatteita valmistavat naisräätälit, ompelijattaret, sitojat, taittajat, muotiliikkeissä työskentelijät, sukankutojat, kureliivien ja vaippain tekijät.

Philadelphiassa tällaisten yhdistysten lukumäärä, joita v:nna 1833 oli yhteensä 21, v:teen 1836 mennessä kohosi 53:meen. Saman ajan kuluessa New Yorkissa näiden tällaisten yhdistysten luku kohosi 29:stä 52:teen.

V:nna 1836 Baltimoressa oli 23 ammattiyhdistystä. Newarkissa, New Jerseyn valtiossa oli 16, Bostonissa samoin 16. Paikallisunioita perustettiin niin kaukana lännessä kuin esim. Louisvillessä, Kentuckyn valtiossa ja St. Louisissa, Missourissa ja näihin lukeutuivat sellaiset kaupungit kuin Buffalo, Pittsburgh ja Cincinnati.

86. Kehittyikö joitain tärkeitä paikallisia järjestöjä?

On vallan merkille pantava seikka, että Buffalon, N. Y., kaikki rakennusammatit kuuluivat n. k. Journeymen Builders Associationiin. Tämä ikäänkuin näyttäisi

olevan nykyaikaisten Building Trade Councilin alkueli lähtökohta.

Philadelphian Female Improvement Society, josta aikaisemmin jo mainittiin, oli sellainen unio, joka ei rajoittanut toimintaansa vain jollakin alalla vallitsevain epäsuotuisain olojen poistamiseksi, vaan sensijaan vaikutti kaikilla niillä aloilla, joissa naisia työskenteli. Sen yhtenä tärkeänä vaatimuksena oli kaikille naisille palkkain kohottaminen ja se voittikin tämän Philadelphiassa. Meille on opetettu, että "työnantajat kohottivat palkkoja ilman lakkotaisteluita ja että pian tämän jälkeen yhdistys hajaantui."

Monissa eri ammateissa naiset turvautuivat järjestöön, pitäen sen välttämättömänä välineenä, jonka avulla he kykenevät parantamaan olosuhteitansa. Näihin aikoihin me havaitsemme olleen naisten unioita toiminnassa New Yorkissa, Baltimoressa ja Flynnissa (Mass.).

87. Mikä saattoi keskusjärjestöjen muodostamiseen?

On tehty sellaisia päätöksiä, että ammattiyhdistykset (craft unions) "saivat selville, että nämä yksityisinä järjestöinä ovat kykenemättömiä käymään menestyksellistä taistelua heitä vastassa olevain lukuisain voimien kanssa ja siksi nämä liittoutuivat yhteen siten keskinäisesti turvatakseen toisiansa." Tällöin yleisesti käsitettiin, että "ammattiyhdistykset ovat työläisille parhaita käytettävissä olevia keinoja" yksityisissä ammateissa ja Trade Uniot (työläisten yhteiset järjestöt) puolestaan taas parhaita taisteluvälineitä kaikille ammateille yhteisesti.

Tällainen käsityskanta edistyi siinä määrin, että useissa Pennsylvanian kaupungeissa puuvillatyöläiset perustivat koko valtiota käsittävän Pennsylvanian Trades Union of Pennsylvania (Pennsylvanian Ammattiunio). Louisvillen, Cincinnatin ja St. Louisin räätälit joulukuussa v:nna 1835 kävivät yhteistä taistelua noissa kolmessa kaupungissa toimivia räätäliliikkeiden omistajia vastaan.

88. Mitä voitettiin näiden keskusjärjestöjen kautta?

V:nna 1833 kirvesmiehet kohottivat palkkojansa ja

voittivat 10-tuntisen työpäivän Philadelphiassa. Useampia palkkain alennusyrityksiä varsin menestyksellisesti tällöin torjuttiin. Useita olosuhteiden parantamiseksi käytyjä lakkoja voitettiin. Nämä järjestöt perustivat työväen sanomalehden ja työväenkysymystä koskevain seikkain yleinen tunteminen näihin aikoihin laajeni.

89. Mikä näyttää olleen näiden yleinen taloudellinen ohjelma?

Työnantajain kanssa riitaantuneet uniot voivat lakkoutua silloinkin, kun heillä itsellään ei näyttänyt olevan riittävästi keinoja taistellakseen voittoisasti. Yleisjärjestöön kuuluvat uniot voivat antaa rahallisen kannatuksensa ja teollista apuakin siten, että kieltäytyivät hankkimasta raaka-aineita lakonalaisiin paikkoihin, taikka sitten kieltäytyivät käsittelemästä lakkopetturien valmistamia tuotteita. Tällä teollisuuden kehistysasteella tällainen toiminta merkitsi laajassa mitassa vaikuttavain voimain käyttämistä ja tietoinen sekä voimain ponnistuksia kysyvä boikotin käyttö osoittautui keinoksi, jonka avulla saattoi menestyksellisesti voittaa suurempia saavutuksia kuin mitä yksityisille ammattiyhdistyksille ominvoiminsa olisi ollut mahdollinen.

90. Mitä nyt voidaan sanoa union poliittisesta toiminnasta?

Nähtävästi uniot oppivat poliittisesta toiminnasta saamastaan läksystä eli opetuksesta ja heidän kokemuksensa olivatkin aivan äskettäin tapahtuneita ja sellaisena niin hyvin muistissa, että nämä voivat ottaa ratkaisevan kannan tässä suhteessa. Siksipä me huomaammekin, että uniot järjestöinä asettuivat vastakkaiselle kannalle osanotossa poliittiseen toimintaan. New Yorkissa he varsinaisesti päättivät, että liittoutuneina työläisinä "he eivät salli lippunsa olla somistamassa minkään poliittisen puolueen toimeenpanemia juhlakulkueita." Baltimoressa ei myöskään tunnustettu eli hyväksytty poliittista toimintaa. Philadelphiassa, tuossa poliittisen toiminnan kotikaupungissa, päätettiin, että tämä unio, "ei tule puolueasioita, poliittisia taikka sitten uskonnollisia kysymyksiä, agiteeraamaan eikä niiden puolesta toimimaan."

V:nna 1836 Philadelphian unio julkaisi kolme varsinaista syytä, minkä takia nämä ovat ottaneet omaksumansa kannan politiikkaan. Kolmannessa näistä syistä, ensinnä viitattuaan Mechanics Union aikoinaan saamiin kokemuksiin, julistettiin, että "Ammattiunio ei koskaan voi olla poliittinen, sillä sen jäsenistö on kokemuksien perusteella tullut huomaamaan, että poliittiseen toimintaan ryhtyminen saattaa heidän yhdistyksensä kykenemättömiksi saamaan minkäänlaisia parannuksia olosuhteihinsa." Käytännössä tämän voidaan sanoa merkitsevän sitä, että nämä käsittivät politiikan olevan aseen työnantajain käsissä.

91. Kuinka politikoitsijat puolestaan suhtautuivat tällaiseen kantaan?

Nämä eivät luonnollisestikaan siitä pitäneet. Että tällainen toimenpide militanttisen union puolelta ei ollut vain pelkkä muotiasia, käy ilmeisen selvästi ilmi siitä, kun New Yorkin General Trade Union ensimäinen presidentti vaadittiin eroamaan virastansa. New Yorkin kuvernööri nimitti hänet siihen komissioniin, jonka tehtävänä oli tutkia vankityötä mainitussa valtiossa ja hän yksilönä puolestaan hyväksyi saamansa nimityksen. Järjestynyttä työväestöä tämä komissionin raportti suuressa määrin hämmästytti — he huomasivat toiveissaan pettyneensä. Työväen presidentti vahvisti sen allekirjoituksellansa. Hänen syytettiin "unhoittaneen käsityöläisten ja työläisten asian." Uniossa kuitenkin kaikitenkin oli riittävästi politikoitsijoita, jotka kykenivät estämään hänen menettelynsä toimittaa minkäänlaista tutkimista tässä asiassa. Politikoitsijat olivat uniossa ja nämä soveliasta tilaisuuttansa odotellessa olivat vaiteliaita.

92. Tuliko sellainen tilaisuus?

Erinomainen tilaisuus tulikin. V:nna 1835 New Yorkin valtion ylioikeus julisti tuomion, jossa suutarien yhdistys selitettiin "yhtymäksi, jonka tarkoitus on vahingoittaa elinkeinoa ja kauppaa." Työnantajat puolestaan omaksuivat tämän yllämainitun tuomion perusteeksi, jonka nojalla he ryhtyivät toimintaan parhaillaan lakossa olevia räätäleitä vastaan. Kaksikymmentä räätäliä vangittiin ja syytettiin heitä "salaliittoutumisesta vahin-

goittaakseen elinkeinoa, sekä kauppaa'' ja myöskin kapinoimisesta, päällehyökkäyksestä ja tappelusta. Räätälit huomattiin syyllisiksi.

Tuomiolaitoksen päätös herätti katkeran suuttumuksen järjestyneiden työläisten keskuudessa. Pidettiin kansankokous, jossa tuomaria sekä tuomiolaitoksia yleensä ruoskittiin. Tämä kokous, ollen se tässä ja toisissakin jutuissa langetettujen tuomiolaitosten törkeäin päätösten vaikutusten alainen, samalla kannustaen tällä hetkellä päättämään taloudellisen toiminnan sijasta poliittisesta toiminnasta ja päätettiin ''ottaa erillään olevan ja selvän poliittisen puolueen muodostamismahdollisuus harkittavaksi, johon työväenluokka ja heidän ystävänsä voivat luottamuksella liittyä. Tällainen tilaisuus sattui ja politikoitsijat olivat valmiita käyttämään sitä hyväksensä.

Jotakuinkin samoin tapahtui Philadelphiassakin v:nna 1836, jolloin noin kolmesataa kivihiilen lossaajaa lakkoutui siten saadakseen päiväpalkkansa kohoamaan 25 sentillä. Muutamia heistäkin vangittiin. Pormestari määräsi $2,500 takauksen. Takaussummaa määritellessään hänen sanotaan selittäneen, että hän on päättänyt ''laskea kirveen ammattiunion juuriin.'' Moinen uhkaus kuin myöskin liian suuri takaussumma nostatti keskusjärjestön taistelukannalle otellaksensa kivihiilen lossaajain puolesta. Tuomiolaitos kumosi molemmat syytökset; salaliittoutumisen ja kapinoimisen. Unio päätti poliittisesti taistella pormestaria vastaan; unionistiset politikoitsijat olivat toiminnassa, mutta pormestari kuitenkin valittiin uudelleen virkaansa.

93. Milloin yleinen 10-tuntinen työpäivä otettiin käytäntöön Yhdysvalloissa, ja missä osassa?

Philadelphiassa, kesäkuussa v:nna 1835. Se voitettiin kaikkien työläisten yleislakon seurauksena, jonka — ihmeellistä kylläkin — toimeenpanivat kaupungin yleisen työn tekijät ja kivihiilen lastaajat. Työläiset lakkoutuivat jokaisella alalla ja työnantajat taipuivat myöntämään 10-tuntisen työpäivän. Suoralla toiminnalla kolmessa tai neljässä päivässä saavutettiin se, missä vuosien politiikalla ei ole päästy edes alkuunkaan. New

Yorkin Journal of Commerce (Kauppalehti), joka oli sangen vihainen työläisille, sittemmin — kun työläiset olivat vaatimuksensa jo voittaneet, myönsi kuitenkin, että 10 tuntia on kyllin pitkä työpäivä. Aikaisemmin tuo työantajain sanomalehti ei voinut taipua vaatimukseen. Se kuitenkin mainitsi, että "sitä päämäärää, mikä saavutettiin, ei lehti muka puolestaan vastustanut, vaan sitävastoin niitä keinoja, joita sen voittamiseksi käytettiin. Entisyys on täynnä tappioita; jos äskettäin voitetut tulokset saadaan lakoilla, niin näillä ei tule olemaan minkäänlaisia rajoja."

Se seikka, että nämä lakkolaiset luottivat järjestöön ja että järjestö oli käynyt välttämättömäksi kieltäytyäkseen toimimasta niiden etujen hyväksi, joiden puolesta lehti puhui, jätettiin sopivasti huomioonottamatta.

Lakkoutumisen kautta voitettiin 10-tuntinen työpäivä ja ammatittomat työläiset olivat siinä johtavassa asemassa. Tämä seikka ansaitsee painaa mieleen — muistaa.

94. Heittäytyivätkö uniot laakereilleen saatuaan 10-tuntisen työpäivän?

Eivät. Nämä vitkastelematta alkoivat toimimaan palkkain kohottamisen puolesta ja olivatkin menestyksellisiä aikomuksissaan.

95. Mikä vaikutus tällä oli?

Tällöin työnantajatkin alkoivat järjestymään. Työnantajain yhdistyksiä tavattiin kaikissa teollisuuskaupungeissa v:sta 1836 alkaen. Mustaa listaa käytettiin aseena unionistisia työläisiä vastaan. Mustalista ei kuitenkaan ollut niin voimakas kuin työläisten unio ja sen käyttämä boikotti ja siksipä työnantajat uudelleen kääntyivätkin tuomiolaitosten puoleen, saadakseen näiltä apua ja siten kyetäkseen tuhoamaan ne saavutukset, jotka järjestynyt työväestö oli kyennyt voittamaan. Tuomiolaitoksetkaan eivät heitä voineet saada epätoivoisiksi ja siten estää toiminnasta.

96. Mikä oli unionismin yleinen vaikutus tämän ajanjakson kuluessa?

Järjestäytymistyössä oli tällöin paljon toimintaa. Olosuhteiden parantamiseksi esitettiin lukuisia vaati-

muksia ja kokonaisuus kaikenkaikkiaan otettuna huomioon, erittäin lupaava kehityksenalaisuus oli havaittavissa työväenluokassa.

97. Pyrittiinkö järjestymään laajemmassa mitassa kuin mitä olivat nämä keskinäiset Labor Uniot?

Kyllä. Ensimäinen yritys kansallisen järjestön muodostamiseksi tehtiin silloin, kun New Yorkin General Trades' Unio puolestaan kutsui kansalliskonventsionin pidettäväksi maaliskuussa v:nna 1834.

98. Missä määrin sen kutsu tuli huomioonotetuksi?

Elokuun kuluessa v:nna 1834 pidettiin konventsioni New Yorkissa, jossa oli läsnä edustajia Bostonista, New Yorkista, Brooklynistä, Poughkeepsiestä, Newarkista ja Philadelphiasta. Washingtonin ja Baltimoren uniot eivät olleet edustettuina. Tässä konventsionissa perustettiin National Trades Union (Kansallinen Ammattien Unio.)

99. Oliko se sopuisa kokous?

Poliittista toimintaa koskeva kysymys oli sen vähällä saada hajaantumaan. Tyhjentävän keskustelun jälkeen konventsioni päätti pysyä kokonaan erillään politiikasta.

100. Julkaisiko konventsioni minkäänlaista ohjelmaa?

Kyllä. Se päätti elvyttää kasvatustyötä työväestön keskuudessa, sillä konventsioni oli vakuutettu, "että kaikkien niiden paheiden ja vastustuksien varsinainen syy, jonka ympäröimänä työväestö on pakoitettu elämään, voidaan muuttaa sellaiseksi kuin tahdotaan oikean kasvatuksen kautta. Myöskin se puolestaan suositteli, että Yhdysvaltain sellaisen työväenluokan, joka ei vielä ole järjestäytynyt yhdistyksiin turvataksensa itseänsä teollisuuksissa, olisi siten viipymättä tehtävä, että he täten voisivat kyetä muodostamaan yhtenäisen rintaman heidän sorrettujen veljiensä kanssa ja entistään nopeammin levittäisivät sellaisia tietoja, jotka olisivat mitä suuremmasta merkityksestä heidän eduilleen ammateissansa, samoinkuin yhteisillekin eduilleen, tuottavina työläisinä." Se myöskin lisäksi viittasi siihen yhteiskunnalliseen rajaan eli eroavaisuuteen, mikä on olemassa rikkauksien tuottajain ja yhteiskunnan sen osan

välillä, joka elostelee ahertavan työväestön kustannuksella.''

101. Kuinka kauan tämä National Trades' Union oli toiminnassa?

Vuodesta 1834 vuoteen 1837.

102. Mikä järjestö tuli sen tilalle?

Kansallisessa mittakaavassa järjestetyt ammattiyhdistykset.

103. Mitkä uniot näin järjestettiin?

National Co-operative Association of Journeymen Gordwainers 1836—1837 (Suutarien Kansallinen Kooperativinen Yhdistys); National Typographical Society (1836) — Kirjaltajain Kansallinen Yhdistys; (V:nna 1837 tämän nimi muutettiin National Typographical Association'iksi). Tämä oli ensimäinen järjestö, joka otti käytäntöön jäsenkortit. Näiden korttien avulla oli tarkoitus saada oppipojat estetyksi työskentelemästä täysinoppineina ammattilaisina. Union kortti vakuutti sen kantajalle ystävällisen kohtelun toisten ammattiveljien puolelta niissä kaupungeissa, joissa häntä ei tunnettu ja joissa tällaiset yhdistykset olivat toiminnassa. Kaikki kampain tekijät, kirvesmiehet ja käsikangaspuilla kutojat perustivat kansallisia unioita ammattialoilleen.

104. Mikä oli näiden unioiden kohtalo?

Politiikka tappoi varhaisemman unionistisen liikkeen, jotavastoin se liike, mikä kohosi vv. 1836—1837 vaiheilla, teki itsemurhan ryhtymällä perustelemaan kooperativisia liikkeitä, joiden takia nämä uniot tulivat näyttämöltä pois pyyhkäistyiksi v. 1837 alkaneen liikepulan kuluessa.

105. Mikä oli työväenluokan katsantokanta unioitten häviämisen jälkeen?

Taloudellisen yhtenäisyyden periaate säilyi vielä näiden unioiden tuhoutumisenkin jälkeen. Kaiken aikaa tämän liikepulan kuluessa, joka kesti aina vuoteen 1849 saakka, työläiset olivat sellaisissa olosuhteissa, joita he eivät mitenkään jaksaneet lähemmin ymmärtää; ja siksipä eivät kyenneetkään niihin suhtautumaan vaikuttavalla tavalla. Koko liikepulan ajan, vieläpä sen sivuuttamisen jälkeenkin, palkkatyöläiset vaistomaisesti käsit-

tivät, että heillä ennenkaikkea pitäisi olla taloudellinen järjestö. Tämän ilmeisesti toteaa se seikka, kun työläiset eivät taipuneet ihmisystävällisten filosofien moninaisiin esityksiin, joita nämä suosittelivat erinomaisina parannuskeinoina.

106. Mitä olivat nämä esitetyt keinot?

Owenismi, joka heräsi henkiin vuoden 1837 jälkeen. Nämä esitetyt keinot jossain määrin erosivat Robert Owensin Coloniasta, joka perustettiin Harmony nimiseen paikkaan Indianassa, v:nna 1826. Huomatuimmat intellectualiset johtajat tässä owenismin henkiinherääämisessä olivat: Emerson, Channing, Brownson, Brisbane, Greeley ja Weitling. Olihan niitä useita toisiakin johtajia, mutta nämä kuitenkin olivat erikoisesti huomattavimpia alallansa.

107. Minkä luontoisia olivat heidän esittämänsä keinot?

Pääasiallisesti ko-operativisia liikeyrityksiä, mutta heidän esittämänsä keinot eivät kuitenkaan olleet yhdenmukaisia toistensa kanssa.

108. Mitä tällöin todelliset palkkatyöläiset tekivät?

Useissa valtioissa kokoontuneista edustajista muodostunut edustajisto piti konventsionin v:nna 1844 ja perusti New England Working Men's Association (Uuden Englannin Työläisten Yhdistys) nimisen järjestön. Sen toisessa konventsionissa ko-operativisten yhdistysten kannattajat olivat määräävässä asemassa. Robert Owen (Englannista), Wm. H. Channing ja Horace Greeley esiintyivät muiden mukana puhujina. Toinen konventsioni pidettiin syksyllä v:nna 1845. Tämä konventsioni hyväksyi ko-operativiset liikkeet ja poliittisen toiminnan. V:n 1846 konventsionissa muutettiin nimi näin kuuluvaksi: Labor Reform League of New England (Uuden Englannin Työväen Reformi Liitto). Vuoden 1847 konventsionin jälkeen tämä järjestö rappeutui — ko-operativistit menivät New England Protective Unioon ja toiset sitävastoin olivat osallisina teollisuuskongressissa.

109. Vaikuttiko tämä järjestö mitään toimintansa aikana?

Mikäli työväenluokan pyrkimyksiä, saada 10-tuntinen työpäivä voimaan, joka oli sen varsinainen tarkoitusperä, pidetään todistuskappaleena, se epäilemättä vaikutti työnantajiin sekä työläisiin. Niin pian kuin yksi 10-tunnin puolesta toimiva järjestö rappeutui sekä hajaantui, toinen perustettiin sen tilalle. Me huomaamme, että New Hampshiren valtio hyväksyi ensimäisen ehdollisen 10-tuntisen työpäivälain v:nna 1847. Pennsylvanian valtiossa seurattiin edellistä esimerkkiä ja laadittiin rajoitettu 10-tuntinen työpäivälaki v:nna 1848; Mainen valtiossa sellainen laadittiin v:nna 1848, mutta tämä ei käsittänyt maanviljelysteollisuutta; Ohiossa v:nna 1852; Rhode Islandissa v:nna 1851, joka myöskin oli ehdollinen samoinkuin New Hampshiressakin; Californiassa v:nna 1851. Georgiassa hyväksyttiin laki v:nna 1853, tehden työpäivän lailliseksi "auringon noususta sen laskuun kaikille valkoihoisille alle 21 ikävuotta vanhoille henkilöille."

110. Kuinka ehdollinen 10-tuntinen työpäivä on ymmärrettävä?

Pitempi työpäivä sallittiin aina siinä tapauksessa, jos urakassa sovittiin pitemmästä kuin 10-tuntisesta työpäivästä. Jos työläiset allekirjoittivat sopimuksen, jossa lupautuivat työskentelemään yksitoista, kaksitoista, tai vaikkapa neljätoista tuntia, niin tällaisessa tapauksessa laki ei ollut siihen esteenä. Vieläpä lapsiakin, joiden vanhemmat taikka holhoojat antoivat kirjallisen kontrahdin, voitiin pitää työssä enemmän kuin kymmenen tuntia. Seurauksena olikin, että työnetsijöille, ennenkuin heille luvattiin työpaikka, annettiin paperit allekirjoitettavaksi ja laki kaikkine tarkoituksineen oli kuollut kirjain. Työväestöllä ei ollut taloudellista järjestöä pakoittaakseen lain hengen otettavaksi käytäntöön ja kirjaimellisesti se oli heitä vastaan. Heillä oli 10-tunnin laki, ja siinä tapauksessa, kun puuttui taloudellinen järjestö, heillä oli kaksitoista tai neljätoista tuntinen työpäivä.

111. Mitä olivat teollisuuskongressit?

Näillä alkuperäisesti oli varsinaisena tarkoituksena saada eriäviä yhteiskunnallisia ja työväenkysymystä

koskevia mielipiteitä omaavat koulukunnat yhdistetyiksi. Tämä liike vähitellen rappeutui maareformi-yhdistykseksi, hyljäten orjain vapauttamisen, 10-tuntisen työpäivän ja ko-operativismin.

112. Oliko vielä sittenkin palkkatyöläisten järjestöjä?

Ilmeisesti sellaisia oli toiminnassa, sillä tältä ajalta on säilynyt muistiinpanoja erinäisten työläisryhmäin toimeenpanemista lakoista. Nämä historialliset muistiinpanot toteavat, että vv. 1849 ja 1852 välisenä aikana räätälit, suutarit, kirjaltajat, muurarit, kirvesmiehet, maalarit, yleisten töiden tekijät, satamatyöläiset ja muutkin palkkatyöläiset ovat käyneet lakkotaisteluita. Jotkut rakennusammattilaisista lakkoutuivat kahdesti vuodessa — keväällä kohottaakseen palkkojansa ja syksyllä taasen siten estääkseen niiden laskemisen. Todennäköisesti suutareilla, kirjaltajilla, räätäleillä ja rakennusammattilaisilla olivat kaikenaikaa jonkinlaiset järjestöt toiminnassa.

113. Mitä erikoista me havaitsemme tänä aikana?

Ammattilaiset puolestaan pyrkivät halveksimaan ammatittomia työläisiä. Muutamat työläiset osoittivat. kuinka ammattilaisten aikaansaama oppipoikajärjestelmä tuottaa kärsimyksiä ammatittomille työläisille ja muodostuu se esteeksi aikansa nuorukaisille. Eräs ammatittomain työläisten puolesta puhuja, protesteeraten oppipoikajärjestelmää vastaan, erikoisesti väitti, että nuorukainen, jolta mahdollisuudet tulevat estetyksi, voi jonain kauniina päivänä sanoa unioille: "Koska te olette meidät hyljänneet kelvottomina joukostanne, me puolestamme tulemme hirmuisesti sen teille kostamaan."

114. Eikö yleinen työväenliike syntynyt teollisen toiminnan mukana?

Sellaisesta ei näy jälkeäkään. New Yorkissa tosin yritettiin perustaa unioiden yhteinen järjestö, mutta sekään ei näytä tuottaneen toivottuja tuloksia. Yhdessä tällaisessa tilaisuudessa, kun oli aikomus perustaa yhteinen järjestö, neljäkymmentäyhdeksän eri yhdistystä oli edustettuna. Tällöin työnantajat omaksuivat sovittele-

van taistelutaktiikan ja mainitunlaisesta yrityksestä työläiset puolestaan luopuivat.

115. Missä määrin ammattiunioita järjestettiin?

Tarkalleen sitä tietysti on varsin vaikea sanoa, mutta vv. 1853 ja 1854 New Yorkissa kuitenkin oli lakkoja seitsemälläkymmenelläneljällä eri ammatti- ja toimialalla. Tähän aikaan sanotaan olleen neljäkymmentäneljä uniota järjestettynä Philadelphiassa, kolmekymmentäkahdeksan Baltimoressa ja kaksikymmentäkuusi Pittsburgissa. Näiden lisäksi oli joitain järjestöitä toiminnassa Albanyssa, Bostonissa, Brooklynissä, Buffalossa, Chicagossa, Cincinnatissa, Clevelandissa, Harrisburgissa, Milwaukeessa, Newarkissa, New Havenissa, New Lontoossa, New Orleansissa, St. Louisissa, Washingtonissa, D. C. ja Uticassa, New Yorkin valtiossa.

116. Vaikkakin tuossa mitassa oli järjestytty, niin miksikä kuitenkaan ei yleinen työväenliike tällöin kehittynyt?

Teollinen lamaannus, joka alkoi vuoden 1854 loppupuolella, hävitti melkein kaikki työväenjärjestöt. Ainoastaan muutamat voimakkaimmat järjestöt sellaiset kuin kirjaltajain, uunintekijäin ja muutamien toisten ammattialain työläisten uniot — tällöin vain kykenivät jatkamaan toimintaansa.

117. Kuinka ankara oli lamaannus?

Teollisuuspula oli sangen ankara. Se ei ainoastaan tuhonnut unioita, vaan kaiken lisäksi turmeli työväenluokan. Politikoitsijat, kuten tavallista, ilmaantuivat taasen näyttämölle parannusresepteineen. Suuria työttömäin kulkueita marssi kaupunkien kaduilla kantaen tauluja, joissa esitettiin vaatimuksia, että heidän kurja kohtalonsa on otettava harkinnanalaiseksi. Huomatuissa kaupungeissa muodostettiin näiden onnettomain avustusyhdistyksiä. Työväestö etsi apua itsensä ulkopuolelta.

118. Mitä mainitsemisen arvoista tapahtui vuodesta 1853 vuoteen 1854?

New Yorkissa tehtiin ensimäinen yritys saada naitetuksi järjestynyt työväenliike poliittiseen marxilaisuuteen.

119. Kuinka tämä yritys otettiin vastaan?

Sangen kylmäkiskoisesti.

120. Mitä kansallisia järjestöjä löytyi 50:luvulla?

Typographical (kirjaltajain) Unio (1850); Cigar Makers' (Sikaarin Tekijäin) Unio (1856 — lopetti toimintansa v. 1857); (Rautatieinsinöörit) National Protective (Kansallinen Suojelus) Unio (1856); Upholsterers' National (Verhoilijain Kansallinen) Unio (1853); Blumbers (Putkittajain) National Unio (1854); National Union of Building Trades — Rakennusammattilaisten Kansallinen Unio — (1854). — Tähän unioon kuuluivat maalarit, kivenhakkurit, kirvesmiehet, muurarit, putkittajat ja kivimuurarit. Toistenkin ammattien työläisiä kehoitettiin siihen liittymään); Mechanics Trades Union of the United States (?) — Yhdysvaltain Käsityöläisten Ammattiunio; Lithographers (Kivipainajain) National Unio (1853); National Silver Platers — Hopeoitsijain Kansallinen Unio (1856); Painters' (Maalarien) National Union (1859); Cordwainers (Suutarien) National Union (1859); National Cotton Mule Spinners' Ass'n of N. A. — Pohjois-Amerikan Kansallinen Pumpulinkutojain Yhdistys (1858); National Union of Iron Moulders (Raudan Valajain Kansallinen) Unio (1859); Journeymen Stone Cutters' Union of U. S. and Canada (Yhdysvaltain ja Kanadan Kivenhakkaajain Unio (1855).

Kaikki nämä eivät onnistuneet toteuttamaan tarkoitusperiänsä. Syttyi kapina — sisällissota — joka luonnollisestikin häiritsi unioiden toimintaa ja siksipä niiden kansallistuttaminen jäikin sodan jälkeen suoritettavaksi.

121. Kuinka monta kansallista järjestöä jäi toimintaan teollisuuksien lamaannuksen ja sodan jälkeen?

Ehkäpä viisi. Typographical Unio; Moulders International Unio; National Union of Machinist ja Blacksmiths (Seppäin ja Masinistien Kansallinen Unio; Hat Finishers' National Association (Hatun Viimeistelijäin Kansallinen Yhdistys) ja Yhdysvaltain ja Canadan Kivihakkurien järjestö.

122. Miten työläiset suhtautuivat sisällissotaan?

He eivät sitä halunneet. He kannattivat jonkinlaista

kompromissia, jonka mukaan orjain vapauttamiskysymys olisi jäänyt muutamain valtioiden ratkaistavaksi. Silloin kun Lincoln kehoitti vapaaehtoisesti liittymään sotaväkeen, niin jokatapauksessa työläiset vastasivat kutsuun runsaslukuisina; kokonaiset paikallisosastot osastoina liittyivät vapaaehtoisina.

123. Tehtiinkö minkäänlaisia yrityksiä työläisten järjestämiseksi sodan aikana?

Ilmeisesti sellaisiakin yrityksiä tehtiin. V:nna 1863 "Fenchers' Trades' Review"-niminen lehti julkaisi luettelon kuudellakymmenelläyhdellä eri ammattialalla toiminnassa olleesta uniosta, ollen ne sangen laajalla alueella.

Seuraava luettelo, osoittaen unioiden lukumäärän useissa valtioissa vv. 1863 ja 1864, valaisee samalla, missä määrin tällöin tehtiin järjestämistyötä.

Valtio	Jouluk. v. 1863	Jouluk. v. 1864
Connecticut	2	6
Delaware	—	1
Illinois	1	10
Indiana	3	17
Kentucky	2	8
Maine	1	7
Maryland	—	1
Massachusetts	17	42
Michigan	4	9
Missouri	4	9
New Jersey	4	10
New York	16	74
Ohio	4	16
Pennsylvania	15	44
Rhode Island	1	7
Tennessee	—	2
Virginia	1	1
Wisconsin	—	1

Kahdellakymmenelläkahdella järjestetyllä ammattialalla New Yorkissa työläiset saivat palkkansa kohotetuksi v. 1864. Työväen sanomalehden perustaminen on

toinen ilmaisu siitä, missä määrin työläiset olivat innostuneet toimintaan.

124. Oliko paikallisunioiden kesken mitään yhteyttä sodan aikana?

Tällaisia paikallisia yhtymiä oli toiminnassa. Nämä olivat "ammattineuvostoita." Ensimäinen näistä "järjestettiin Rochesterissa, N. Y., maaliskuussa v. 1863. Boston ja New York seurasivat edellisen antamaa esimerkkiä saman vuoden kesäkuussa. Vuoden 1863 lopussa oli tällaisia ammattineuvostoita Albanyssa, Buffalossa, Louisvillessa, Philadelphiassa, Pittsburgissa, St. Louisissa ja San Franciscossa. Sodan lopussa näitä ammattineuvostoita oli toiminnassa jokaisessa huomattavassa kaupungissa."

125. Kuinka nämä neuvostot toimivat?

Nämä pitivät palveluksessaan järjestäjiä, kutsuivat ja pitivät kansankokouksia y. m. ja siten yrittivät saada järjestymättömät työläiset järjestetyiksi. Muutamissa tapauksissa ne myöskin perustivat ko-operativisia liikkeitä. Albanyn, Bostonin, Chicagon ja Troyn neuvostot perustivat liikkeitä, jotka käsittelivät ainoastaan ruokatavaroita. Eräässä suhteessa näiden tämäntapaisten ko-operativisten liikkeiden piirre on merkillinen; se nimittäin osoittaa, että työläiset uskoivat tulevansa kuluttajina riistetyiksi.

Chicagon saksalainen ammattineuvosto, Philadelphian ja Troyn neuvostot perustivat vapaita kirjastoja sekä lukutupia.

126. Olivatko nämä neuvostot hyödyllisiä työläisille?

Nämä neuvostot olivat aseina monissa voittoisissa paikallisissa lakkotaisteluissa. Kun työnantajat näitä pelkäsivät, oli se ilmeinen todistus niiden vaikuttavaisuudesta. New Yorkissa ja toisissakin keskuspaikoissa isännistö järjestäytyi vastustaaksensa näitä neuvostoita. Niinkutsuttu Employers' Committee (Työnantajain Komitea) lähetti kyselykaavakkeen ystävillensä työnantajille, jossa esitettiin yksitoista kysymystä ja näistä viides ja kuudes ovat seuraavanlaiset:

"5. Voiko **yhdellä** liikealalla toimivain työnantajain liitto olla kykenevä menestyksellisesti voittamaan hei-

dän työläistensä julistaman lakon siinä tapauksessa, jos näitä lakkoutuneita työläisiä avustavat ylimääräisillä veroilla **toisissa** ammateissa silloin työssäolevat työläiset?

"6. Voisiko Työnantajain Yleinen Liitto, jossa olisi edustettuna erinäiset liike-edut, olla menestyksellinen sellaisessa tapauksessa kuin edellisessä kysymyksessä oletettiin?

Eräässä toisessa kysymyksessä tiedusteltiin: "**Olisiko mahdollista laatia ja lakivoimaisiksi asettaa sellaisia lakeja,** ilman että kansan vapaudet tulisivat loukatuiksi, **jotka kokonaisuudessaan, tai ainakin huomattavassa mittakaavassa, estäisivät teollisuuden häiritsemisen ja torjuisivat lakon vahingollisia seurauksia?**" Aikomus oli estää lakot tekemällä ne laittomiksi. Kapitalistit pyrkivät mainittuun suuntaan silloin, ja ennenkin; samaahan ne vieläkin tavoittelevat.

127. Tehtiinkö minkäänlaisia alotteita aikomuksella muodostaa työväen yleinen järjestö kansallisissa puitteissa?

Kyllä. Masinistien unio konventsioneissansa vv. 1860 ja 1861 päätöksillänsä ilmaisi kannattavansa sitä, että ne kansalliset uniot, jotka silloin olivat toiminnassa, muodostaisivat yhtenäisen kansallisen järjestön. Aikomus kannatuksen puutteessa raukesi.

V:nna 1864 Louisvillen Ammattineuvosto laati kaksikin vetoumusta kansallisen konventsionin aikaansaamiseksi; ensimäisen huhtikuussa ja toisen elokuussa. Kaksitoista edustajaa oli saapuvilla. Perustuslaki laadittiin. Tämän n. k. International Assembly'n seuraava konventsioni määrättiin pidettäväksi Detroitissa vuoden 1865 toukokuussa, mutta aikomus kuitenkin raukesi. Taipuvaisuus poliittiseen toimintaan hajoitti tämänkin yrityksen; lisäksi vielä Philadelphian Teollisuusneuvosto, ollen se voimakkain koko maassa, ei ottanut osaa mainittuun toimenpiteeseen. On arveltu ja muutamain tosiasiain nojalla siinä lienee osittain perääkin, että valurien ja masinistien kansallisen union virkailijat vaikuttivat tuohon edellämainittuun osastoon. Samalla kun nämä kannattivat yleisen kansallisen järjestön perustamista, he olivat sitä mieltä, että kansallinen unio

mieluimmin kuin ammattineuvosto pitäisi olla sen yksikkönä — unittina. Elleivät nämä virkailijat olisi olleet kykenevät vaikuttamaan philadelphialaisiin, Amerikan työväen historia ehkä olisi kirjoitettu toisellaisessa äänilajissa.

128. Mitä kansallisia unioita näyttäytyi 60:luvulla?

V:sta 1863 vuoteen 1866 lukuisia uusia kansallisia unioita perustettiin, nimittäin: Rapparien Kansallinen Unio, Nahkanvalmistajain Kansallinen Unio, Laiva-Kirvesmiesten ja Tilkitsijäin Kansainvälinen Unio, Sikaarintekijäin Kansallinen Unio, Maalarien Kansallinen Unio, Hatuntekijäin Kansallinen Unio, Räätälien Kansallinen Unio; Kirvesmiesten ja Puuseppäin Kansainvälinen Unio, Tiili- ja Kivimuurarien Kansainvälinen Unio.

Kehrääjät olivat ainoat, jotka v:nna 1867 olivat kansallisesti järjestyneet. Knights of St. Crispin (Pyhän Crispinin Ritarit) ja Grand Order of Railway Conductors (Rautatiekonduktöörien järjestö) perustettiin v:nna 1868. Wool Hat Finishers (Villahattujen Viimeistelijät), Daughters of St. Crispin (Pyhän Crispinin Tyttäret) ja Morocco Dressers (marokkonahkan eli sahvianin parkitsijat) järjestettiin v:nna 1869.

Vv. 1870 ja 1873 välillä seuraavat järjestöt herätettiin toimintaan: Pohjois-Amerikan Tynnyrintekijäin Kansainvälinen Unio (1870); Yhdysvaltain Teräksen ja Raudan Kuumentajain ja Valssaajain Veljeskunta (1872); Yhdysvaltain Raudan ja Teräksen Valssaajain Kansallinen Unio; Huonekalutyöläiset; Kaivostyöläisten Kansallinen Yhdistys; Veturin Lämmittäjäin Veljeskunta (1873); Masinistien ja Seppäin Unio, jossa v:nna 1870 oli 1,500 jäsentä ja sen jäsenmäärä kohosi 18,000 v:nna 1873. The Sons of Vulcan (Tulen Jumalan Pojat), johon v:nna 1870 kuului 1,280 jäsentä ja v:nna 1873 siihen kuului 3,048 jäsentä. Veturinkuljettajain Veljeskuuta, jossa oli 4,108 jäsentä v:nna 1869, ja 9,000 v:nna 1873. Kovanhiilenkaivajain järjestöön kuului noin 30,000 jäsentä ja Crispinin Ritareissa oli 50,000 jäsentä. Jotakuinkin tasapuolisesti on arvioitu, että tähänaikaan

Amerikassa oli noin puoli miljoonaa järjestynyttä työläistä.

129.—Oliko useita teollisuustaisteluita?

Järjestyneitä työläisiä vastaan taistellessa Raudan Valurien Uniota vastaan rajuimmin hyökättiin. Rautavalimoiden omistajat järjestyivät vastustaakseen edellämainitun union toimintaan. Tällöin puhkesi kansallinen lakko. Valurit verottivat jäseniänsä ylimääräisillä veroilla kokolailla runsaasti, mutta ilmeisesti se ei tuottanut toivotuita tuloksia; siksipä valurit monissa kaupungeissa perustivatkin ko-operativisia valimoita. Tämän varsin lupaavan järjestön unionistisiin piirteisiin näillä mainitunlaisilla yrityksillä oli sangen turmiolliset vaikutukset tuloksena. Vasta v:nna 1879 tämä järjestö, toinnuttuaan ensinnä sen ko-operativisista ihanteista, jälleen toimi varsinaisena uniona.

Masinistien, kirjaltajain ja toistenkin alain työläisten järjestöillä oli taisteluita työnantajiensa kanssa. Unionistit aivan jatkuvasti toiminnassaan edistyivät.

130. Mitkä muut ammatit sekaantuivat lakkotaisteluihin?

Veturinkuljettajat lakkoutuivat Galina and Chicago Union Rautatieyhtiötä vastaan. Lakon jälkeen saatiin selville, että toiset rautatieyhtiöt avustivat ensiksimainittua yhtiötä. Silloin vallitsi varsin voimakas luokkaviha. Veturin Kuljettajain Veljeskunta oli vain yhden vuoden varsinainen taistelujärjestö, nim. vuoden 1863 elokuun 17 päivästä seuraavan vuoden elokuun 17 päivään saakka — juuri sen aikaa kuin järjestön johdossa oli innokas W. D. Robinson, joka "antautui koko sielullansa ja energiallansa järjestön palvelukseen." Vuosikokouksessa suunniteltiin "salajuoni" ja nostettiin syytös häntä vastaan. New York and Hudson River rautatien uskollinen mies, nim. Wilson, valittiin hänen seuraajakseen. Järjestön rakenne ja toimintasuunnitelma muutettiin rautatien etuja tyydyttäväksi. Veturinkuljettajain Veljeskuntaa Wilson johti Amerikan Rautateiden Yhdistyksen (American Railroad Association) johdon alaisena. Hän oli virassaan aina vuoteen 1874 saakka, jolloin ylimääräinen konventsioni pakoitti hä-

nen siitä eroamaan. P. M. Arthur johti Wilsonia vastaan suunnattua oppositsionitaistelua. Erikoisesti kutsuttuna Robinson oli saapuvilla tässä konventsionissa ja hänen kunniakseen nyt hurrattiin niin että raikui. Arthur kuitenkin taivalsi sitä polkua, mistä hän erikoisesti syytti Wilsonia; ken tahansa voi harkita, kuinka Warren Stone sitä nykyisin tallustelee.

131. Mikä oli Knights of Crispin (Crispinin Ritarit)?

Suutarien järjestö. Seitsemän miestä perusti sen Milwaukeessa. Tämä järjestö kasvoi tähdenlennon tavoin ja levisi nopeasti kauttaaltaan kenkäteollisuuden alalla. Sen varsinainen tarkoitus oli suojella eli turvata ammattitaito suutareille ja näinollen tuo järjestö joutuikin näyttelemään häviävää osaa. Se suuntasi kaiken energiansa tottumattomia käsityöläisiä (green hands) vastaan. Se kuitenkin kehitti muutamia mainioita työväenmiehiä, joista monet myöhemmin olivat johtavia henkilöitä Knights of Laborissa (Työn Ritarit).

132. Mikä oli National Labor Unio (Kansallinen Työväen Unio)?

Se oli koko maata käsittävä yleinen työväen järjestö. Sen varsinainen tarkoitus oli saada 8-tuntinen työpäivä käytäntöön; mutta sen ensimäisessä konventsionissa se johdettiin poliittiselle alalle. Konventsionin edustajat valittiin työväen yleisistä järjestöistä ja paikallisunioista. National Traders' Union virkailijoille sekä edustajille myönnettiin edustusoikeudet. Tämä oli ensimäinen järjestö, joka sai aikaan yhteyden ulkomaalaisten työväenjärjestöjen kanssa. Sillä oli sopimus Kansainvälisen Työväenyhdistyksen (International Workingmen's Association) kanssa.

133. Mikä oli National Labor Union kohtalo?

Se ajautui poliittiselle salakarille ja haaksirikkoutui. Se oli toiminnassa vuodesta 1866 vuoteen 1872 saakka.

134. Minkälainen järjestö tuli National Labor Union tilalle?

Industrial (Teollinen) Kongressi ja Universal Veljeskunta (Brotherhood).

135. Mikä oli tämä Industrial Kongressi ja Universal Brotherhood?

Se oli kansallinen järjestö, joka perustettiin Raudan Valurien Kansainvälisen Union, Masinistien ja Seppäin Kansainvälisen Union, Tynnyrintekijäin Kansainvälisen Union ja Kirjaltajain Kansainvälisen Union virkailijain kokoonkutsumassa konventsionissa. Näiden unioiden edustajain lisäksi kaivostyöläiset, tupakkityöläiset ja sikaarintekijät lähettivät edustajansa samoin kuin tekivät myöskin keskusjärjestöt Columbuksesta, Clevelandista, Indianapolisista ja kahdesta muusta kaupungista. Konventsioni pidettiin Clevelandissa heinäkuun 15 päivänä v. 1873.

136. Mitkä olivat tämän Industrial Kongressin yleiset menettelytavat?

Poliittista toimintaa on kartettava, ko-operatsionia ei pitäisi ottaa kovin vakavalta kannalta ja järjestön on pyhitettävä itsensä taloudelliselle toiminnalle. Poliittisena mielilauseena käytetty "palkitse ystäväsi" sai varsinaisesti alkunsa tämän union yhteydessä. Se toimi vuodesta 1873 vuoteen 1875. Ne seikat, kun se kieltäytyi pelaamasta politiikkaa, eikä yrittänytkään saada jäseniä järjestöön periaatteittensa kustannuksella ja lisäksi vielä teollinen lamaannus tappoivat sen.

137. Mihinkä työläiset silloin luottivat?

Riittävän suuri määrä työläisistä luotti politiikkaan ollaksensa Greenback-nimisen puolueen selkärankana.

138. Mikä oli Sovereigns of Industry?

Järjestö, joka toimi ko-operativisella alalla. Edellä kerrottu Industrial Kongressi kieltäytyi liittoutumasta Sovereigns of Industryn kanssa ja täten menetellen sai sen vastaansa taistelemaan. Se oli toiminnassa v:sta 1874 vuoteen 1878. Se ei onnistunut pelastumaan liikepulan ja epärehellisten virkailijain vaikutuksista. Näin ko-operatsioni sai toisen mustan silmän.

139. Mikä oli unionismin yleinen tilanne tämän vuosikymmenen kuluessa?

Kansalliset uniot muodostuivat itsenäisistä paikallisista osastoista. Keskitettyä valtaa, joka nykyään on samaa kuin diktatuuri, ei tällöin ollut myönnetty paremmin kansallisille kuin kansainvälisillekään unioille. Tätä seikkaa, näinkin on väitetty, vaikkakin se tosin

on epäilyksenalainen, on pidetty näiden järjestöjen yhtenä heikkoutena. Toinen seikka, joka sopii tässä panna merkille ja jolla on ollut turmiollinen vaikutus työväenliikkeeseen, oli se, että sen kyvykkäimmät miehet eivät voineet vastustaa kiusausta käyttääkseen huomattavaa asemaansa omain poliittisten tarkoitusperäinsä edesauttamiseksi. Istuin kongressissa tai hyvä asema joissakin hallituksen viroissa saattoi monet näistä työväenjohtajista työväenluokan vihollisiksi. Kuusikymmenluvun viimeisinä vuosina useat järjestöt tulivat lakaistuiksi kokonaan pois näyttämöltä ja kaikki niistä menettivät jäseniänsä. Gompers on arvioinut, että vuonna 1878 järjestöissä ei ollut enemmän kuin 50,000 jäsentä.

140. Mikä vaikutus tällä oli työväestöön?

Paljon siitä, minkä 8-tuntinen työpäiväliike voitti palkkain kohottamisessa ja työpäivän lyhentämisessä, tällöin menetettiin. Useita katkeria lakkoja käytiin tarkoituksella siten ehkäistä aijotut palkkain laskemiset ja työpäivän pitentämiset. Sikaarintekijät hävisivät lakkonsa, joka kesti 107 päivää. Tekstiilityöläisten palkkoja aijottiin laskea 40 prosenttia ja sitä vastaan taistellessaan hekin epäonnistuivat. Seitsemänkymmenluvulla kaivostyöläiset taistelivat katkeran lakon ja niinikään hävisivät. Heidän virkailijansa eivät "pelanneet suoraa peliä".

141. Mitä olivat Molly McGuiret?

Mollien historian ovat kirjoittaneet ainoastaan heidän vihollisensa. Mitä varmaa me tiedämme näistä heidän vihollistensa kertomana, on se, että Reading rautatieyhtiön kätyrit heitä pettivät ja punoivat "salajuonia" näitä vastaan. Mainitulla yhtiöllä oli suuria omaisuuksia Pennsylvanian kovanhiilen kivihiilialueella. McParland-niminen lurjus lähetettiin tälle alueelle urkkijaksi ja varsinaiseksi provokaattoriksi. Hän kehoitti herkkäuskoisia narrejansa avustamaan itseänsä murhain suorittamisessa, taikka seuraamaan häntä murhausretkillänsä. Hän oli palkattu johtaja. Hän saattoi kymmenen miestä hirtettäväksi ja neljätoista tuomittiin vankilaan. Häntä on ylistetty puhtaana ja tahratto-

mana kuin enkeliä; hän petti Mollien jäseniä ja saattoi Philadelphia & Reading rautatieyhtiön kykeneväksi alkamaan kaivostyöt kivihiiliomaisuuksillansa.

142. Koska alettiin käyttää urkkijoita työväen keskuudessa?

Tähän kysymykseen on vaikea vastata. Philadelphia & Reading rautatieyhtiön presidentti Gowen palkkasi urkkijaksi hävyttömän McParlandin ja vielä me havaitsemme hänen pitäneen kätyreinään Pinkertonin salapoliiseja Veturinkuljettajain Veljeskunnassa. Gowen huomautti tiellänsä työskenteleville veturinkuljettajille, että heidän olisi erottava Veturinkuljettajain Veljeskunnasta. He sen tekivätkin, mutta kuitenkin aikoivat julistaa yllätyslakon. Pinkertonin urkkijat ilmoittivat tästä aikomuksesta Gowanille, jolla oli uudet miehet varattuna lakkoutuvain veturinkuljettajain tilalle.

143. Olivatko veturinkuljettajat ainoat järjestyneet työläiset rautatiellä?

Ei. Konduktööreillä ja lämmittäjilläkin oli järjestöt. Vuonna 1877 edistyttiin huomattavasti junamiesten union järjestämisessä. Aikomus oli saada "veturinkuljettajat, lämmittäjät, konduktöörit ja jarrumiehet kolmella valtatiellä järjestetyksi samaan yhtenäiseen järjestöön" ja sitten julistaa lakko yht'aikaa näillä teillä. Lakko määrättiin alkavaksi kesäkuun 27 päivänä puolenpäivän aikana. Neljäkymmentä miestä lähetettiin Pittsburgista ilmoittamaan tästä erinäisille osastoille. Aivan viimeisellä hetkellä puhkesi erimielisyyksiä työläisten kesken ja koko suunnitelma meni myttyyn. Olikohan tämä rautateitten palkkaamain agenttien ansio?

Rautatieteollisuudessa käytiin joitakin katkeria lakkotaisteluita. Kaikki lakot tarkoitusperiinsä nähden hävittiin. Jos junamiesten unio olisi ollut toiminnassa, niin tällöin ilmeisesti olisi toisellaiset tulokset meillä kerrottavana.

144. Mikä oli seuraava tärkeä työväenjärjestö?

Noble Order of Knights of Labor (lyhyesti: Työn Ritarit), salainen järjestö, perustettiin Philadelphiassa joulukuussa v. 1869. Alkuperäisesti se oli vaatteiden

leikkurien unio, mutta kuitenkin siihen otettiin "kunniajäseninä", jotka eivät maksaneet jäsenmaksua, työläisiä kaikista ammateista. Jotain erikoista ammattia koskevissa asioissa nämä eivät voineet olla varsinaisesti osallisina.

Kuusi tekstiilityöläisten neuvostoa järjestettiin vuoteen 1874 mennessä. Kaikki nämä olivat Philadelphiassa. Joulupäivänä v. 1873 järjestettiin piirineuvosto (No. 1) Philadelphiassa ja kolmekymmentäyksi paikallista neuvostoa yhtyi siihen. Tästä ajasta alkaen järjestö jatkuvasti kasvoi. Kannattajansa se sai pääasiallisesti kahdesta lähteestä: yhtäältä toiminnasta lakanneiden kansallisten unioiden paikallisosastot liittyivät siihen ja riippumattomat järjestöt myöskin heittivät roponsa sen helmoihin; toisaalta kaivostyöläisten paikallisosastot, masinistien ja seppäin paikallisosastot, St. Crispinin Ritarien paikallisosastot, laivoja rakentavain kirvesmiesten ja tilkitsijäin paikallisosastot samoin liittyivät siihen. Se nopeasti levisi Pennsylvaniaan, Ohioon, Indianaan, Illinoisiin, Marylandiin, New Yorkiin ja New Jerseyhin. Katolisen kirkon ankara vastustus ja toisetkin vaikuttimet pakottivat sen hylkäämään salaperäisyytensä ja muuttumaan julkiseksi järjestöksi ja vuonna 1878 aikomuksena oli muuttaa se kansalliseksi järjestöksi.

Vuoden 1876 Nuoremmat Pojat (Junior Sons of '76), toinen salainen järjestö poliittisine taipumuksineen, jotka kielsi jäsenyydestään professionaaliset henkilöt, taitavat politikoitsijat, keinottelijat, korporatsionien jäsenet eli monopolistit, ellei näitä hyväksytty neljä viidettäosaa käsittävällä äänten enemmistöllä, kutsui kaikki toiminnassa olevat työväenjärjestöt saapumaan Tyronessa, Pennsylvaniassa, pidettävään konventsioniin joulukuussa v. 1875. Työn Ritarit ja Pohjois-Amerikan Sosiali-Demokratinen puoluekin lukeutuivat kutsun vastaanottaneiden joukkoon.

145. Mitä tehtiin tässä konventsionissa?

Se muodostui vallasta riiteleväin greenback-puoluelaisten ja sosialistien taistelutantereeksi. Toinen konventsioni pidettiin vuonna 1876 Pittsburgissa.

146. Minkälaisen tehtävän Pittsburgin konventsioni suoritti?

Yleisesti puhuen taloudelliset periaatteet pääsivät voitolle, vaikkakin edellä mainitut greenbackerit näyttivät olevan niin suurena enemmistönä, että sosialistit näkivät parhaaksi poistua konventsionin istunnoista. Konventsioni käsitti, että uuden itsenäisen puolueen perustaminen olisi typerä teko, mutta samalla neuvoi noudattamaan sellaista menettelytapaa, että olemassaolevia puolueita on painostettava lainaamaan huomionsa työväen olosuhteita koskeville asioille.

147. Miksi Työn Ritarit (Knights of Labor) kannattivat salaista järjestäytymistä?

Löytyi paljon sellaisia, jotka uskoivat, että "salaperäisyyden verhoon pukeutumisella on suurempi vaikutus hyvän eduksi kuin mitä julkisen järjestön suorittama kasvatustyö vaikuttaisi joukkoihin". Kuitenkin pyrkimys päästä vaikuttamaan kansallisessa mittakaavassa pakotti luopumaan alkuperäisesti omaksutusta ehdottomasta salaperäisyydestä ja niinpä me havaitsemmekin, että Philadelphian konventsionissa (kesäkuun 3 p. v. 1876) kyseessä oleva järjestö otti nimeksensä: Pohjois-Amerikan Kansallinen Työväenliitto. Katolisen kirkon vastustus, varsinkin kaikilla niillä paikkakunnilla, joilla suuret työläisjoukot olivat sen kontrollin alaisina, oli tässä suhteessa sellainen voima, joka täytyi ottaa laskuissa huomioon. Lisäksi vielä Molly McGuirein salaperäisyydellä ja sen saavuttamilla tuloksilla oli huomattava vaikutus Työn Ritarien päätökseen tullaksensa julkiseksi järjestöksi. Se tehtiin vitkallisesti, mutta varmuuden vuoksi se kuitenkin viimein toteutettiin.

Kaikilla niillä järjestöillä, jotka omaksuivat salaperäisen toimintaohjelman itsellensä, näyttää olleen pyrkimyksenä, että näin menetellen nämä voivat pitää työnantajat tietämättöminä siitä, mitä kokouksissa tehdään sekä toimitaan ja union ohjelma myöskin pysyy isännistölle tuntemattomana. Luonnollisesti tällainen käsitys aikaa voittaen osoittautui vääräksi — harhaluuloksi. Salaiset neuvottelut ja toimenpiteet muodos-

tuivat erinomaisen viljavaksi maaperäksi, jossa työväen keskuudessa maleksivat ammattiurkkijat versoivat kuin rikkaruohot. Vuonna 1879 Työn Ritarit lopullisesti hylkäsi salaisen toimintansa ja omalla nimellänsä kehittyi kansalliseksi järjestöksi.

148. Minkälainen oli Työn Ritarien järjestörakenne?

Se oli joukkojärjestö. Se otti jäsenyyteensä kaikki 18 vuotta täyttäneet henkilöt, jotka "tekivät palkkatyötä, tai **jotka ainakin toisin ajoin olivat palkkatyössä**", mutta sellaista henkilöä, joka joko myi väkijuomia tai hankki toimeentulonsa väkijuomain myynnillä, ei otettu järjestöön; lakimiehiä, lääkäreitä tai pankkiireja ei myöskään huolittu sen jäsenyyteen.

Paikallisneuvostoa "ei voinut muodostaa vähemmän kuin kymmenen jäsentä, joista vähintäin kolme neljäsosaa piti olla palkkatyöläisiä; tällainen osamäärä on aina myöskin säilytettävä". Piirineuvostot muodostuivat paikallisneuvostoista ja oli ensiksi mainitulla määräysvalta viimeksi mainittujen ylitse. Pohjois-Amerikan Työn Ritarien Yleinen Neuvosto oli järjestön korkein virasto ja oli sillä täysi ja lopullinen päätösvalta kaikissa esilletulleissa asioissa.

149. Aherteliko Työn Ritarit luokkajärjestön puolesta luokkarajain mukaisesti?

Todennäköisesti ei. Jos se niin olisi tehnyt, ei suinkaan järjestö olisi ottanut jäsenyyteensä muita kuin palkkatyöläisiä. Sen säännön mukaan, että ne, "jotka ainakin joskus tekevät (ovat tehneet) palkkatyötä", John D. Rockefeller, Carnegie, Schwab ja toisetkin kapitalistit voisivat olla jäsenkelpoisia. Tämän lisäksi säännöissä vielä se kohta, jossa määritellään, että paikallisneuvostoissa tulee olla kolme neljäsosaa palkkatyöläisiä, osoittaa, että yhden neljäsosan ei tietenkään tarvitse täyttää tuota vaatimusta. Toimintansa alussa Työn Ritarit vastusti itsenäisten ammattiunioiden perustamista, vaikkakin se myöhemmin mukautui niin paljon, että sen riveihin kuuluvat "kunniajäsenet" (sojourners) saivat oikeuden perustaa ammattiunioita. Tämän suunnan omaksuminen johtui siitä, kun jouduttiin kilpailemaan vuonna 1881 Pittsburgissa perustetun

Amerikan Federation of Laborin kanssa. Sen alkuperäinen nimi oli: Yhdysvaltain ja Canadan Liittoutuneet Ammattiuniot, mutta myöhemmin otti nimeksensä: Amerikan Työväenliitto (American Federation of Labor).

150. Koska Työn Ritarit omaksui kansallisen järjestömuodon?

Vuonna 1878 pidetyn Readingin (Pa.) konventsionin tekemän päätöksen nojalla, missä määriteltiin kansallinen keskusjärjestö (General Assembly), johon järjestön kaikkien osain oli alajärjestöinä kuuluttava.

151. Millä tavalla Työn Ritarit aikoi edistää työväestön etupyrkimyksiä?

Käyttämällä taloudellista toimintaa, kasvattamalla työväestöä ja harjoittamalla myöskin ko-operativista toimintaa. Voimistuessaan se joutui käymään monia lakkotaisteluita. Vastustusrahasto (Resistance Fund), joka koottiin siten, että jokainen jäsen maksoi siihen 5 senttiä kuukaudessa, alkujaan aijottiin käyttää työväestön kasvatus- sekä ko-operativisiin tarkoituksiin; kuitenkin jouduttiin se käyttämään lakkojen rahastamiseen. Sen varhaisimpina vuosina tehtiin monta yritystä tarkoituksella saada Työn Ritarit omaksumaan poliittinen ohjelma, mutta siihen aikaan se kuitenkin kammoksui politiikkaa.

152. Kietoutuiko Työn Ritarit moniin lakkotaisteluihin?

Työn Ritarien historia on jatkuva kertomus lakoista. Useat sen paikallisneuvostoista sekaantuivat suureen rautatieläisten lakkoon vuonna 1877. Käytiin useita lakkoja, joihin järjestö syöksyi ennenkuin suuri telegrafistien lakko puhkesi vuonna 1883. Nämä telegrafistit lakkoutuivat Western Union komppaniaa vastaan kuusipäiväisen viikon, 8-tuntisen päivävuoron sekä 7-tuntisen yövuoron ja 15 prosentin palkankorotuksen puolesta. Lakko hävittiin, kestettyään yhden kuukauden — kesäkuun 19 päivästä jotakuinkin heinäkuun loppuun saakka. Vuonna 1882 New York Central rautatieyhtiön rahtitavarain käsittelijät lakkoutuivat New Yorkin kaupungissa. Kestettyään yhden kuukauden

tämä lakko murtui. Illinoisin kivihiilenkaivajain lakko (Piirineuvosto No. 33) niinikään hävittiin ja silloin kaivostyöläiset erosivat Työn Ritareista. New Yorkin Työn Ritarien neuvosto, johon kuuluivat mainitun kaupungin raitiotieläiset, kapitalistien palkkaamain kätyrien turmelemana rappeutui ja viimein hajaantui kokonaan.

Muutamia lakkoja Työn Ritarit sentään voittikin. Eräs yleinen lakko oli Saginaw Valleyssä, Mich., 1885; (työläiset, enimmäkseen puolalaisia, alkoivat tämän lakon itsestään ilman minkäänlaisen ulkonaisen kiihotuksen vaikutuksesta; se kesti noin kuusi viikkoa). Union Pacific rautatieyhtiön pajatyöläisten lakko, joka myöskin alkoi itsestään, kun palkkoja uhattiin laskea 10 prosentilla, voitettiin kolmessa päivässä. Pajatyöläisten lakko Gouldin rautatieverkkoon kuuluvilla teillä (Wabash ja M. K. & T.) puhkesi keväällä vuonna 1884, jota tukivat veturinkuljettajat, lämmittäjät, kondukt öörit ja jarrumiehet, myöskin niinikään voitettiin. Mainitun rautatieverkon pajatyöläiset voittivat vuoden 1885 lakonkin, vaikka junamiehet kieltäytyivät heitä tukemasta siten kuin tekivät edellisessä lakossa. Vuoden 1886 toukokuun 1 päivän suurella lakolla, joka käytiin 8-tuntisen työpäivän puolesta, onnistuttiin voittamaan 8-tuntinen työpäivä tuhansille työläisille. Toisiakin lakkotaisteluita käytiin, mutta tästä lakosta aiheutui häpeällinen Haymarketin verinäytelmä Chicagossa.

153. Mikä johti Haymarket-torin verinäytelmään ja mitä silloin tapahtui?

Lakko julistettiin alkavaksi toukokuun ensimäisenä päivänä, Vappuna, 8-tuntisen työpäivän puolesta ja Chicagon työläiset vastasivat siihen lukuisempina kuin yhdessäkään toisessa kaupungissa Yhdysvalloissa. Niistä 80,000 työläisestä, jotka lakkoutuivat Chicagossa, 10,000 oli laudankäsittelijöitä. Kun joukko näitä laudankäsittelijöitä piti kokousta toukokuun 3 päivänä McCormick leikkuukonetehtaan luona, silloin suuri poliisiosasto saapui ja ampui kokouksessa olijoihin, tappaen neljä henkilöä ja haavoittaen useita. August

Spies, joka oli mainitussa kokouksessa pitänyt puheen, ilmoitti yleisen kansankokouksen pidettäväksi Haymarket-torilla toukokuun 4 päivänä protestiksi tätä törkeätä väkivaltaisuutta vastaan. Hän kehoitti työläisiä tulemaan varustettuina puolustamaan itseänsä. Noin 3,000 oli saapuvilla tässä kokouksessa, jossa puhujina esiintyivät August Spies, Albert R. Parson ja Samuel Fielden; nämä puhuivat tässä esitetyssä järjestyksessä. Carter H. Harrison vanhempi, Chicagon pormestari, oli läsnä tässä kokouksessa. Ankara, myrskyinen sade harvensi kokousyleisön muutamiksi sadoiksi. Silloin, kun yleisö oli supistunut näin pieneksi, marssi 180 poliisia kokouspaikalle. Näiden saapuessa Fielden huusi osastoa komentavalle päällikölle: "Tämä on rauhallinen kokous!" Räjähtävä pommi heitettiin; kuka sen teki, siitä ei koskaan ole mitään varmuutta saatu; ja poliisikersantti kaatui kuoliaana maahan. Kahdeksaa miestä syytettiin murhasta, huomattiin anarkisteiksi ja samalla myöskin syyllisiksi; seitsemän heistä tuomittiin hirtettäväksi. Spies, Fisher, Engels ja Parson hirtettiin; Fieldenin ja Schwabin tuomio lievennettiin elinkautiseksi vankeudeksi. Oscar Neibe sai 15 vuoden vankilatuomion. Lingin arvellaan tehneen vankilassa itsemurhan.

154. Saivatko he osaksensa tasapuolisen kuulustelun tuomiolaitoksessa?

Luonnollisesti eivät. Silloin, kun kuvernööri Altgeld vapautti Fieldenin, Neiben ja Schwabin, hän puolestaan paheksui sitä tavallisuudesta poikkeavaa ja puolueellista tapaa, jota noudattaen lautakunta valittiin. Lautakunta valittiin tällä tavalla: Tuomari Joseph E. Gary nimitti erikoisen konstaapelin, joka valitsi sellaiset miehet, jotka hän, oikeudenpalvelija, sopivaksi havaitsi, eikä näiden nimiä vedetty laatikosta, jossa on satain miesten nimet lippuihin kirjoitettuna. (On sanottu, että jokainen mies, joka istui lautakunnassa, lupautui saattamaan syytetyt syyllisiksi.) Altgeld myöskin oli lausunut, että tuomari kuulustelua johtaessaan oli niin puolueellinen, että syytettyjen lakimiehen oli aivan mahdottomuus saada väitöksensä huo-

mioonotetuiksi; että lautakuntaan on epäoikeutetulla tavalla vaikutettu saattamaan miehet syyllisiksi; että tuomari suvaitsi ottaa lautakuntaan sellaisia miehiä, jotka myönsivät olevansa vihamielisellä kannalla syytettyihin nähden, kuuluen siihen m. m. yksi pommin tappaman uhrin sukulainen; että tuomari myönsi päätöksissään jättäneensä käytännössä olleet tavat huomioonottamatta silloin kun hän kielsi syytetyiltä uuden kuulustelun; ja että tuomarin persoonallinen käytös oli aivan kerrassaan epärehellinen kauttaaltaan koko kuulustelun ajan. Tasapuolinen kuulustelu! Heidän hirttämisensä oli oikeusmurha.

155. Protesteerasiko työväestö?

Köyhälistön parhaimmat protestit eivät pukeudu sanoiksi. Työväestön sydämissä vieläkin kytevät protestit tällöin tehtyjä vääryyksiä vastaan. Amerikan Työväenliitto (A. F. of L.) anoi puolestaan armoa näille miehille, mutta Powderly sitävastoin käytti kaiken vaikutusvaltansa Työn Ritarien Yleisen Neuvoston ilmaisemaa sympatiaa vastaan ja niinpä tämä korkein edustava neuvosto pysyikin äänettömänä silloin, kun sen urhoollisimmat miehet kärsivät katkeran kuoleman hirsipuussa.

156. Miksikä Powderly näin menetteli?

Ainoastaan Powderly itse ja hänen kanssaan liittoutuneet sen tietävät. Juuri siihen aikaan, jolloin Työn Ritarit päätti alkaa lakon toukokuun ensimäisenä päivänä 8-tuntisen työpäivän puolesta, tämä samainen Powderly lähetti salaisen kirjelmän luutnanteillensa, heittäen kylmää vettä mainittua aikomusta vastaan. Myöhemmin Powderly sai toimen liittovaltain hallitukselta. Tämän mainitun toimen ja sen askartelun välillä, minkä hän teki suhtautuessaan kahdeksantunnin lakkoon ja Haymarketin jutun yhteydessä tapettuihin Työn Ritareihin kuuluviin miehiin, mahdollisesti lienee jotain yhteyttä.

157. Rappeutuiko Työn Ritarit Haymarket-torin tapahtumain vaikutuksesta?

Päinvastoin se nopeasti kasvoi; mutta ei myöhemmin kuin vuoden kuluessa se alkoi menettää kannatta-

jiansa. Tämä osittain johtui Amerikan Työväenliiton sitä vastaan sotajalalle asettumisesta, mutta varsinaisesti itse järjestön rakenteen luonteenomaisista heikkouksista. Jokaisella piirillä oli oma autonomiansa — olivat siis itsenäisiä. Tämän seurauksena kolme tärkeätä työnsulkua vuonna 1886 osoittautui liikkeelle turmiota tuottavaksi. Troyssa, New Yorkin valtiossa, noin 3,000 Työn Ritareihin kuuluvaa pesulaitostyöläistä joutui työnsulun alaiseksi; 12,000 heidän työläistoveriansa lakkoutui ja siten yhtyi ensiksi mainittuihin. Viisi viikkoa myöhemmin Hayes, Työn Ritarien silloinen yleinen kirjuri, hyväksyi isännistön tarjoamat sovintoehdot ja samalla julisti lakon päättyneeksi. Amsterdamissa ja Cohoessa, New Yorkin valtiossa, piirineuvosto No. 104 määräsi 20,000 kudottujen tavarain valmistajaa lakkoutumaan. Lokakuun 16 päivänä 1886 työnantajat julistivat Työn Ritarit työnsulun alaisiksi. Tämän riitaisuuden sanotaan johtuneen siitä, kun käsityöläisoppilaat ylennettiin uusien koneiden käyttäjiksi. Viisi kuukautta myöhemmin, toukokuussa v. 1887, lakko julistettiin päättyneeksi.

Chicagon lihanpakkauslaitoksissa isännistö päätti ottaa jälleen 10-tuntisen työpäivän lokakuun 11 päivästä alkaen. Nämä kieltäytyivät neuvottelemasta työläistensä kanssa ja työnritarit asetettiin mustalle listalle. Lihanpakkauslaitosten isännistö päätti poistaa mustan listan marraskuun 10 päivänä, jolloin saapui sähkösanoma Powderly'lta, julistaen lakon päättyneeksi. Tämä antoi ritareille mustan silmän. Powderlyn salainen kirjelmä 8-tuntisen työpäivän lakossa; se seikka, kun hän ei sallinut järjestön puolustaa Parsonia ja hänen toivereitansa; hänen edelläkerrotussa tapauksessa lähettämä sähkösanomansa juuri silloin, kun nämä kahdeksan miestä odottivat kohtaloansa eli kuolemaansa, puolestaan saattaa asiat näyttämään siltä kuin Powderly olisi palvellut joidenkuiden muidenkin kuin työläisten etuja.

Kivihiilen käsittelijäin ja satamatyöläisten lakko New Yorkissa tammikuun ensimäisenä päivänä v. 1887, laajeni siinä määrin, että lakkoon yhtyivät kaikki satamatyöläiset, rautatie-rahtitavaran käsittelijät, laiva-

lastien tiivistelijät (Ship Trimmers) y. m., kuuluen siihen noin 28,000 työläistä. Tämä lakko riutuen raukesi.

Tammikuulla v. 1888 työnritarit lakkoutuivat Philadelphia & Reading rautatiellä, mutta Veturinkuljettajain ja Lämmittäjäin Veljeskunnat olivat lakkopettureina näitä lakkoutuneita työläisiä vastaan ja saattoivat heidät häviämään lakkonsa. Myöhemmin samana vuonna, kun veljeskuntain miehet lakkoutuivat Chicago, Burlington & Quincy rautatiellä, työnritarit tällöin maksoivat näille velkansa.

Ammatittomat työläiset, ollen kykenemättömät saamaan mitään etuisuuksia itsellensä Työn Ritareihin liittymisensä kautta, hiljalleen alkoivat eroamaan tuosta järjestöstä ja jo v:nna 1891 se itseasiassa sulautui People's Partyn — Kansan Puolueeseen.

158. Oliko Työn Ritarit todellinen työväenjärjestö?

Kyllä. Se oli kehittymässä luokkajärjestöksi ja olisi sellaiseksi tullutkin, jos sen rakenteessa ei olisi löytynyt sellaisia heikkouksia, jotka estivät sen siksi kehittymästä. Siitä olisi voinut tulla ammatittomien ja puolammattilaistyöläisten puolesta taisteleva järjestö, jos sen sisäisestä rakenteesta olisi kyetty poistamaan ne puutteellisuudet, jotka siellä vallitsivat, ja joista puutteellisuuksista on jo edellisissä kohdissa mainittu.

Työn Ritarit jakautuivat itsenäisiin piirijärjestöihin, se antoi osaltaan tilaisuuden johtajiston kehittymiselle; kaikesta huolimatta se kuitenkin osaltaan kehitti industrialistista unionismia. Siinä olevat ammattiunionistiset ainekset yliarvioivat ammattiunion merkityksen ja siksi joutuivat sangen tukalaan asemaan. Amerikan Työväenliitolla oli kiinteä järjestymismuoto, ja se seikka, kun ritarit joutuivat kilpailemaan sen kanssa, viekotteli Työn Ritarien intellektualit jäljittelemään samallaista järjestöä ja sovittamaan sitä järjestönsä puitteisiin; nämä eivät kuitenkaan voineet löytää soveliasta ilmapiiriä ja seurauksena olikin, etteivät he voineet onnistuakaan aikomuksissansa. Työn Ritarien joukossa oli aineksia, joita vaivasi pelkuruus; sensijaan, että he olisivat Haymarket-torin tapahtumista kehittäneet veto-

kortin, jolla olisi voinut lähestyä työväestöä, he sen unhoittivat, menettivät köyhälistön kannatuksen ja samalla jättivät erinomaisen tilaisuuden käyttämättä. Useat niistä kansainvälisistä, jotka nyt on järjestetty Amerikan Työväenliittoon, ovat alkuperästänsä velkaa Työn Ritareille — nämä aikanaan kuuluivat siihen. Se oli mainehikas järjestö ja saavutti Amerikan, sekä koko maailman työväenluokalle sellaisia kokemuksia, joita vieläkin voi käyttää erinomaisina esimerkkeinä.

159. Mikä oli Kansainvälinen Työväen Unio (International Labor Union)?

Järjestö perustettiin vuoden 1878 alkupuoliskolla. Tämän järjestön pyrkimyksenä oli liittää työväenluokka tarkoituksella poistaa palkkajärjestelmä. Se toisten asiain ohella esitti:

"1. Olisi muodostettava yhdistetty (Amalgamated) työväen unio siten, että jäsenet millä alalla tahansa voisivat liittoutua yleisen järjestön jäsenyyteen ja näin muodostaisivat kohdaltansa osan tällaisesta yhdistetystä ammattiuniosta.

"2. Perustettava yleinen rahasto suojelus- sekä avustustarkoituksia varten.

"3. Kaikkien työläisten järjestäminen unioihin heidän ammateissansa ja sellaisia unioita on perustettava sinne, missä niitä ei vielä ennemmin ole toiminnassa.

"4. Kaikki työväen uniot on kansallisesti ja kansainvälisesti yhdistettävä.

Vuoden kuluessa tämän union jäsenmäärä kohosi 8,000, joista melkein kaikki olivat tekstiilityöläisiä. Se valitsi edustajansa olemaan läsnä seuraavassa Englannin ammattiunioiden kongressissa. Tekstiiliteollisuudessa puhkesi sarja epäonnistuneita lakkoja; näiden seikkain vaikutuksesta jäsenmäärä supistui siinä määrin, että ei ollutkaan riittävästi varoja mainittuun kongressiin edustajan lähettämistä varten; aikomus siis raukesi. Tämä unio, johon viime aikoina kuului ainoastaan Hobokenin paikallisosasto, nimellisesti oli toiminnassa vuoteen 1887 saakka, jolloin se lopullisesti hävisi näyttämöltä.

160. Kuinka monta ammattia oli järjestetty kansallisesti 70:nen luvun lopulla?

Silloin oli noin kolmekymmentä järjestettyä ammattia. Paikallisia ammattineuvostoita oli toiminnassa noin kolmessakymmenessäviidessä kaupungissa ja kauntissa, joissa toista sataa ammattia oli edustettuina.

161. Koska Amerikan Työväenliitto (A. F. of L.) perustettiin?

Vuonna 1881 Pittsburgissa, Pennsylvaniassa. Tällöin se tunnettiin nimellä Yhdysvaltalain ja Canadan Liittoutuneet Ammatti ja Työväen Uniot (Federated Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada). V:nna 1886 sen nimi muutettiin Amerikan Työväenliitoksi (American Federation of Labor).

162. Suunniteltiinko A. F. of L. perustettaessa kansalliseksi taloudelliseksi järjestöksi?

Ensimäistä konventsionia varten laadittu kokouskutsu on tässä suhteessa sangen epämääräinen. Alkuperäisesti ikäänkuin näyttäisi olleen sellainen tarkoitusperä, että liittoutuneet uniot voivat yhdistetyin voimin toimia aina silloin kuin välttämättömyys eteen sattuu. Sanotussa kokouskutsussa mainitaan, että "ainoastaan sellaisessa järjestössä (Ammattien liitossa) voidaan sopivalla tavalla toimia teollisuusluokkain yleisen hyvinvoinnin kohottamiseksi. **Sellaisessa järjestössä me voimme keskustella ja tutkia kaikkia jokaisen sekä jok'ainoan ammattialan työläisten kansallisia etuisuuksia koskevia kysymyksiä ja yhdistetyin voimin kyetään saamaan oikeutta, jota eristetyt ja erillään toimivat ammatit ja työväen uniot eivät koskaan voi täydellisesti voittaa itsellensä.**" Jäsenistölle tällainen "voimain yhdistäminen" tietysti ei voi merkitä mitään muuta kuin teollista yhteistoimintaa, jota vastoin virkailijat saattavat sen tulkita miten vain kulloinkin haluavat.

Kongressisalin etuhuoneissa vehkeileminen pidettiin suotavana ja siksipä komitean sinne lähettäminen pidettiin toivottavana — yksinkertaisesti selitettiin, että sellainen "voidaan valita kehoittamaan sekä edistämään lainlaadintaa Washingtonissa kaikissa sellaisissa esityk-

sissä, jotka tavalla taikka toisella muka hyödyttävät työväestöä.''

Myöskin kannatettiin sellaista periaatetta, että ''tämän tapainen liitto voidaan järjestää siten, että sillä on vain lyhyet sekä yksinkertaiset säännöt ja palkatuita virkailijoita ei tarvita lainkaan.'' Tämä kuitenkin on sellainen periaate, josta liitto on aivan tykkänään luopunut.

163. Kehittyikö A. F. of L. kansalliseksi liikkeeksi?

Vieläkään se ei ole vaurastunut sellaiseksi liikkeeksi. Se on siihen kuuluvain kansainvälisten unioiden kannettavaksi kuormitettu suoranaisesti poliittinen järjestö, jonka tehtävä on hankkia myönnytyksiä kongressilta, ratkaisten siihen kuuluvain unioiden välisiä, näiden etuoikeuksista johtuneita kysymyksiä eli riitaisuuksia, mutta kuitenkin ollen ilman valtaa pakoittaakseen päätöksensä toteutettavaksi käytännössä. Se ei voi julistaa lakkoa, eikä se myöskään voi sitä julistaa päättyneeksi, eikä liitto voi siihen kuuluville unioille laatia minkäänlaista ohjelmaa, ei se myöskään kykene kieltämään mitään, minkä jokin näistä unioista päättää tehdä tai tekemättä jättää. Se ei ole kansallinen liike, vaan sensijaan on se alistunut estämään eli vastustamaan taloudellisen liikkeen kansallisessa tai kansainvälisessä mittakaavassa muodostamista. Ainoastaan kahdessa erinäisessä tapauksessa se on yrittänyt toimia kansallisesti taloudellisella tavalla: Ensimäiseksi, siinä tilaisuudessa, kun käytiin lakko toukokuussa v. 1886 kahdeksantuntisen työpäivän puolesta ja toisen kerran silloin, kun vuoden 1888 konventsionissa tehtiin päätös, että liittoutunein voimin tehdään yritys saada 8-tuntinen työpäivä voimaan toukokuun ensimäisenä päivänä v:nna 1890. Äänestyksessä 38 äänellä 8 vastaan esitys tuli hyväksytyksi. V:nna 1889 konventsionissa tämä päätös, että toimitaan yleislakon edistämiseksi ja sen aikaansaamiseksi, kumottiin ja hyväksyttiin toimintaohjelma, jonka mukaan jokin unioista voi lakkoutua ja toiset uniot antavat sille aineellisen kannatuksensa. Sen jälkeen kuin yksi unioista on voittanut 8-tuntisen työpäivän, jokin toinen unio voi esittää vaatimuksensa;

näin menetellään siksi kunnes 8-tuntinen työpäivä on yleisesti otettu käytäntöön. Että tällaiset uniot, jotka ovat ryhtyneet lakkotaisteluun, saisivat aineellista apua, toimeenpanevalla neuvostolla on oikeus asettaa ylimääräinen kahden sentin viikottainen verotus jokaiselle jäsenelle viiden viikon ajaksi.

164. Kuinka tämä ohjelma menestyi käytännössä?

Kirvesmiesten unio oli ensimäinen järjestö, joka valittiin sitä kokeilemaan toukokuun 1 päivänä v. 1890. Tällöin kirvesmiesten tiedotetaan "voittaneen 8-tuntisen työpäivän 137 kaupungissa ja myöskin saavuttaneen 9-tuntisen työpäivän sitäkin useammissa paikoissa." Kaivostyöläiset valittiin alkamaan lakkotaistelu v:nna 1891, mutta toukokuun edellisinä kuukausina kaivostyöläiset, joiden järjestöön ei kuulunut kuin yksi kymmenesosa kaivosmiehistä, joutuivat lakon pyörteisiin n. k. Connellsville koksi (rikistä puhdistettu kivihiili) alueella. Tässä näin välttämättömässä tapauksessa nämä lakkolaiset pyysivät A. F. of L:n Toimeenpanevalta Neuvostolta, että se asettaisi ylimääräisen verotuksen heidän avustamiseksi tässä lakkotaistelussa.

A. F. of L:n Toimeenpaneva Neuvosto kuitenkin kieltäytyi näin tekemästä. Moisen menettelyn seurauksena olikin, että United Mine Workers (Hiilenkaivajain Järjestö) kieltäytyi, eikä alkanutkaan lakkoa toukokuun ensimäisenä päivänä. Vuoden 1891 konventsionissa parturien union puolesta esitettiin, että sen sallittaisiin puolestansa yrittää seuraavana vuotena — siis v. 1892. Mainittu esitys lykättiin A. F. of L:n Toimeenpanevalle Neuvostolle, johon se tulikin haudatuksi, ja toista yritystä sittemmin ei olekaan tehty. Tähän kahdeksan-tunnin liike, mikäli A. F. of L. on kysymyksessä, riutui ja hävisi näyttämöltä.

165. Eikö siis A. F. of L. kannattanutkaan lyhempää työpäivää?

Toiminta puhuu voimakkaampaa kieltä kuin itse sanat ja sitä tällaisissa tapauksissa voidaan pitää mittana. Sen jäsenistö huulillansa kylläkin lörpöttelee tällaisista ihanteista, mutta järjestönä ei kuitenkaan tehdä mitään sen edistämiseksi. Samalla aikaa, kun sanotaan

sen alkaneen lakon 8-tuntisen työpäivän puolesta v:nna 1886, on kuitenkin muistettava, että tämä on mieluimmin luonteeltaan vain ilmoitusta kuin mitään muuta, koska sen yhteydessä oleviin kuului vähemmän kuin yksi-neljäosa silloin järjestyneistä työläisistä. Siihen aikaan saakka sen vuotuiset tulot eivät koskaan kohonneet $700 suuremmaksi. Sen kunniakkaana pyrkimyksenä oli voimistuminen ja voidaksensa tämän tehdä, se oli pakoitettu saamaan lisää jäseniä ja enemmän huomiota osaksensa. Lainlaatijakunnissa pokkuroivana ja sitä tietä parannuksia hankkivana järjestönä se ei voinut innoittaa työväestöä. Siksipä vuoden 1884 konventsioni aprikoitsikin kahdesta sille tehdystä esityksestä: (1) yleislakko 8-tuntisen työpäivän puolesta toukokuun ensimäisenä päivänä v:nna 1886 ja (2) että jokainen siihen kuuluva unio sitoutuu maksamaan kaksi prosenttia yleistuloistansa lakkorahaston kartuttamiseksi. Tämä oli sellainen yritys, jonka tarkoituksena oli saada A. F. of L. muutetuksi kansalliseksi taloudelliseksi järjestöksi. Lakkorahastoa koskeva esitys lykättiin pääjärjestöön kuuluvain unioiden lopullisesti ratkaistavaksi. Niin muutamat harvat näistä unioista kannattivat tällaista periaatetta, että esityksestä tuli täydellisesti pannukakku. V:nna 1888, kuten mainittiin yhden edellisen kysymyksen vastauksessa, lakkorahasto jälleen perustettiin uudelleen mukailtuna, mutta pian siitäkin aikomuksesta luovuttiin.

166. Jos A. F. of L. alkoi lakon 8-tuntisen työpäivän puolesta v. 1886, niin kuinka siihen Työn Ritarit sitten sekaantuivat?

Lyhempi työpäivä on erittäin mielenkiintoinen asia kaikille työläisille. Tällöin A. F. of L., kuuluen siihen ainoastaan 50,000 jäsentä, ei voinut itse ja itsensä kautta paljoakaan vaikuttaa. Siksipä se kehoittikin Työn Ritarit liittymään kanssansa yhteistoimintaan. Ritarit mitä suurimmalla mielihyvällä ja lämmöllä ottivat mainitun vetoomuksen vastaan. Powderly ja hänen virkailijoistaan muodostunut perhekuntansa kuitenkin heittivät kylmää vettä tätäkin toimenpidettä vastaan. Johtavat ainekset itse A. F. of Laborissakin olivat aikomuk-

seen nähden varsin kylmäkiskoisia. Jospa samallainen innostus, mikä elävöitti järjestyneitä työläisjoukkoja näissä molemmissa järjestöissä, olisi vallinnut virkailijainkin keskuudessa, paljon enemmän olisi voitu tehdä kuin mitä kyettiin voittamaan. Ainoastaan vähäinen osa siitä, mitä olisi voinut olla mahdollisuus toteuttaa, näinollen kyettiin hankkimaan työväestölle. Lisäksi vihamielisyyden ja kostonhimon siemen kylvettiin työläisten mieliin ja ennakkoluulojen sekä vastenmielisyyden rehevä sato kasvoi heidän keskuudessa; se tietysti laimensi heidän luokkavaistonsa ja ehkäisi varttumasta mielipiteiden suvaitsevaisuuden, jolle työväenluokan edistymisen tulee nojautua.

167. Miksi sellainen järjestö kuin Työn Ritarit kuoli ja samalla aikaa A. F. of L. kuitenkin jäi edelleen toimintaan?

Jos te olette työnantaja, on varsin todennäköistä, että te ette suinkaan suvaitsisi sellaista järjestöä työpaikassanne, joka rasittaisi teitä ja pakoittaisi teidät tekemään sellaisia myönnytyksiä, joita ette suinkaan sellaisessa tapauksessa, jos tuollaista järjestöä ei olisi olemassakaan, hiventäkään ottaisi huomioonne. Vallan ilmeisesti te huolehtisitte mieluimmin, kuinka moisesta painajaisesta voisitte vapautua. Nyt sitten tässä tapauksessa, kun Työn Ritarit pakoittivat Jay Gouldin taipumaan ehtoihinsa, se ilmeisesti osoitti, että solidarinen työväestö oli aivan yhtä väkevä kuin sen ajan mahtavin korporatsioni oli voimakas. Tämän näin valtavan voimain näytteen kapitalistit pitivät itseensä nähden sellaisena vaarana, joka kaikinmokomin olisi poistettava. Kaikki sellainen, mikä tarjoaa sekä tuo mukanansa toiveita työväestölle, on aina uhkaava vaara kapitalistiluokalle. Nyt kapitalistit huomasivat olevansa tekemisissä työväestön yhtenäisen järjestön kanssa, joka esiintyy kokonaan eri tavalla kuin jotkut toiset työväenjärjestöt. Siksi nämä olivat valmiit viipymättä käyttämään tilaisuutta hyväksensä. He käyttivät A. F. of Laboriin kuuluvia unioita aseina iskeäksensä Työn Ritareita selkään. Tällaisella menettelyllänsä työnantajat onnistuivat loitsumaan ilmoille sellaisen ajanjakson, jol-

loin näiden järjestöjen kesken viskeltiin syytöksiä edestakaisin, että jokainen näistä järjestöistä on "skääpännyt" toisiansa vastaan. Näiden molempain murhaavan menettelyn pohjimmaisena syynä oli pyrkimys saada jäsenmäärät kohoamaan. Noista kahdesta pahasta A. F. of L. tilapäisesti nautti kapitalistien suosiota. Aikaavoittain tässä taistelussa Työn Ritarit löi A. F. of Laborin raajarikoksi; sen seikan, että tuo järjestö on kapitalistien "agentti", kalvoi se poltinraudalla niin syvällisesti, ettei se ikinä siitä lähde pois.

168. Eikö A. F. of L. voittanut joitain vaikeuksia, jotka olivat näiden varhaisten unioiden pyrkimyksien tiellä?

Se on elänyt yli neljäkymmentä vuotta, mutta tämä on sille ollut mahdollinen ainoastaan siten, että se on sivuuttanut kaikki sellaiset tehtävät, joita työväenjärjestön olisi pitänyt ainakin yrittää suorittaa. Jos se olisi pyrkinyt olemaan sellainen järjestö, jolla lainlaadinnassa on varteenotettava vaikutus, olisi sen pitänyt perustaa poliittinen puolue. Sitäkään se ei ole tehnyt. Jos sillä olisi ollut tarkoitus vaikuttaa lainlaadintaan vetoamalla taloudelliseen voimaansa, sen tietysti olisi pitänyt muodostua taloudellisen mahdin ilmaisijaksi kansallisessa mittakaavassa. Tämänkin se on jättänyt tekemättä. Moraalin ja ihmisyyden perusteella esittämillään vetoomuksilla se on yrittänyt tai teeskennellen ollut yrittävinään siten edistää sekä lisätä työväen laillisia oikeuksia. Se tosiasia, että työväestön lailliset oikeudet nykyään ovat vähäisemmät kuin koskaan ennen, ilmeisesti puolestaan osoittaa, että se tällaisena lainlaatijakunnissa pokkuroivana järjestönä ei ole tarkoituksissaan onnistunut. Nekin lait, jotka näin on onnellisesti saatu laadituksi, ovat merkitykseltään toisarvoisia, ja tästä huolimatta tuomiolaitokset ovat sangen monet näistä laeista julistaneet perustuslakivastaisiksi. Se on kapitalistinen ja militaristinen — molemmat työväestölle vastakkaisia eli vihamielisiä piirteitä. Työväestölle vihamielisiä toimenpiteitä tai lainlaadinnallista toimettomuutta se ei koskaan asetu vastustamaan vetoamalla taloudelliseen voimaansa. Parhaimmassa tapauksessa on se

vatsallaan ryömivä järjestö, joka pettää työväestöä ja pitää heidät avuttomana pääoman jokaisen hyökkäyksen edessä. Sen epäonnistuminen työläisten asian ajamisessa, jos ei sen suorittama työväenluokan opettaminen, on se hinta, minkä se on maksanut päästäksensä kapitalistien suosioon.

169. Onko A. F. of L. ollut koskaan todellinen työväen järjestö?

Ei. Commonsin kirjoittamassa Työväen Historia Yhdysvalloissa (History of Labor in United States) nimisessä teoksessa mainitaan näin niistä epäonnistuneista yrityksistä, joilla kansalliset uniot pyrkivät vaikuttamaan kansalliseen järjestöön (Tarkoittaa A. F. of L. — Suom.): "Ne alkuunpanevat voimat, joiden suorittamat yritykset lopullisesti seppelöitiin menestyksellä, ilmeisesti lähtivät liikkeelle ei-ammattiunionistisista lähteistä. Työn Ritareihin kyllästynyt ryhmä, **jonka aikomuksena oli perustaa kilpaileva järjestö,** kutsui neuvottelukokouksen tätä tarkoitusta varten." Se luonnollisesti oli merkillinen ilmiö, että 107:stä edustajasta 68 oli Pittsburgin ympäristöltä ja pääasiallisesti työnritareita. Commonsin historiassa mainitaan näin: "Läsnäolleiden ritarien suuri lukumäärä johtui siitä pelosta, että nyt on aikomus heidän järjestöllensä perustaa kilpaileva järjestö." Heidän pelkonsa ei aiheetoin ollutkaan.

170. Onko sisältä poraamisella mahdollisuus muuttaa eli uudistaa A. F. of Labor?

Jotensakin yhtä mahdollinen kuin olisi Saharan erämaa kastella kasvitarharuiskulla. A. F. of L. on kapitalistinen ja sellaisena ei voi suvaita, että työväenluokan ihanteita levitettäisiin sen riveissä. Ne, jotka saarnaavat kapitalististen unioiden sisältä poraamista, ovat käsityskannaltansa samallaisia niiden työläisten kanssa, jotka maksavat jäsenmaksunsa ja kuuluvat jäseninä kauppakamareihin tarkoituksella käyttääksensä sitä apuna proletariaatin pyrkimysten edistämiseksi. Ammattiuniot, näinä meidän päivinämme, eivät ole työväen unioita; ne ovat kapitalististen "agenttien" kontrollin alaisia työväen kokoomuksia. Niitä ei ole järjestetty

tarkoituksella kohottaa työläisten asemaa, vaan päinvastoin pitämään työväestö kurissa kapitalistisen pääoman eduksi. Niin kauan kuin työväestö käsittää niillä olevan hyvät tarkoitukset, mutta että ne ovat perin kelvottomasti rakennetuita ja aivan tietämättömästi hoidetuita työväenluokan aseita, yritetään niitä uudestaan muodostaa ja uudesta synnyttää. Ainoastaan silloin kuin työväestö tunnustaa ne kapitalistisiksi aseiksi — instrumenteiksi — joita ne ovatkin, köyhälistö jättää ne sivuun ja muovailee nykyaikaisen, heitä tyydyttävän aseen, aseen sellaisen, jolla se on kykenevä menestyksellisesti edistämään työväenluokan pyrkimyksiä maailman laajuisessa taistelussa. Kairilla voidaan kaivaa sellainen reikä, joka tyhjentää vesisäiliön, mutta kairilla tai näverillä ei voida vesisäiliötä uudelleen toisellaiseksi muodostella. A. F. of L. uudistaminenkin on mahdottomuus. On yhtä mahdottomuus uudistaa se kuin on suden muuttaminen sylikoiraksi, tai kotikissan värkkääminen hajunäädäksi.

171. Ellei A. F. of L. ole työväen järjestö, niin mikä se sitten on?

Sitä voidaan kutsua työväen kaupustelijain kansalliseksi yhdistykseksi. Olemassaolonsa ensimäisinä vuosina oli sillä jonkinlaisia vaikutelmia työssänsä, yrittäessänsä muovailla sen kansallisen kuosin mukaiseksi taloudelliseksi järjestöksi. Kymmenen vuotta ne ainekset, jotka pyrkivät mainittuun suuntaan ja taas toiset, joilla oli päinvastaiset harrastukset, kiistelivät keskenään. Kaikki ne ainekset eli voimat, jotka työskentelivät taloudellisen toiminnan kannalla, on potkittu pois järjestöstä ja samalla aikaa, kun A. F. of L. vakiintuneesti on asettunut pokkuroimaan poliittisissa konventsioneissa ja hartaasti rukoilemaan lainlaatijakunnissa, ovat kansainväliset uniot osastojensa kautta tehneet kaikkensa saadaksensa työmaakontrollin ja kyetäkseen myymään työvoimansa. Näistä työsuhteita koskevain asiain järjestelyä koskevista tehtävistä uniot on saatu luopumaan ja prostitueerattu ne välikappaleiksi, joita käytetään aseina virkamiehistön luvun laajentamisessa. Monia vuosia virkamieskoneisto on kontrolleerannut näi-

tä unioita ja käyttänyt niitä poliittisina vipusimina, valtaannousemisensa astinlautana ja virkailijain ryhmälle rahallisten asiain turvaajana.

Minkä tahansa kaupungin ammattiunionistinen liike sisällyttää itseensä tällaiset harrastukset. Rakennusammatit kohosivat vaikuttaviksi tekijöiksi aikana, jolloin eroavaisuudet ammattilaisten ja urakoitsijain välillä olivat vähäiset. Kilpailevat urakoitsijat kilvoittelivat keskenänsä päästäksensä sellaisten miesten suosioon, jotka unioissansa olivat varsin huomattavassa asemassa ja tällaisen kilvoittelun seurauksena turmeltuneet liike- ja poliittiset yhtymät tulivat perustetuiksi. Vähäpätöisiä etuisuuksia sentään varsinaiselle jäsenistöllekin täytyy myöntää ja union työmaalähetti (Ammattiunioissa n. k. Business Agent) tai työväenjohtaja, joka käsittelee asioita, mitkä edes vähässäkään määrässä jäsenistöä hyödyttävät, tietysti voittaa heidän luottamuksen puolellensa. Tällaisesta automaattisesti tulee sellainen henkilö politikoitsijoille, jonka kanssa sopii olla yhteistoiminnassa ja myöskin liike-etuja valvovain sopii hänen kanssaan päästä tekemisiin. Moisille johtajille avautui tilaisuus palvella omia etujansa ja yhtenä seurauksena näinollen olikin, että kehittyi uusi, sanottaisiinko, välimies-aines unionistiseen liikkeeseen; se ei palvellut kapitalisteja eikä työläisiä — vaan oli osilla kapitalistien kanssa ja rähmästeli työväestön kustannuksella. Nämä aina silloin, kuin heidän arvelujensa mukaan tilanne oli kypsä, "julistivat" ja "sopivat" lakkoja aina siten kuin heidän omat etunsa määräsivät.

Unionismin nimessä ja sen kustannuksella tällainen puliveivaaminen eli n. k. "gräftäys" on tullut aivan säännölliseksi. Tämä on niin totta, että milloin tahansa varsinainen työväestö on tehnyt valituksia moisesta puliveivauksesta, näitä veijareita on varsin harvoin muistutettu tai nostettu varsinainen kanne heitä vastaan; näin suuremmoiseksi on heidän valtansa kasvanut. Edellinen pääasiallisesti koskee paikallisia työväenliikkeitä, mutta näiden tulee olla kansallisista ja canadalaisista yhteyksistä riippuvaisia. Näinollen siis — kasvaneena tälle perusteelle — kansalliset virastot voivat erota ai-

noastaan käyttämäinsä keinojen määrittelyssä. Missä työmaalähetit (Business Agents) yhtyvät paikallisten politikoitsijain kanssa, korkeammat union virkailijat istuvat suur-kapitalistien ja kansallisten puoluepukarien kanssa Civic Federationissa (Työnantajain yhdistys — Suom.) ja koko ammattiunionistisessa järjestelmässä ovat nämä työväenluokan eduille vieraat, sopimattomat ja vihamieliset ainekset vaikutelmineen vallitsevina tekijöinä. Yhdysvaltain ja Canadan niinkutsuttu työväenliike on liikelaitos, jonka tarkoituksena on kontrolleerata ja ohjata työväestön tyytymättömyys sellaisille vanavesille, jossa se käy kapitalistien etuja vähimmän uhkaavaksi; toisin sanoen, että siitä varsinaiselle työväestölle olisi mahdollisimman vähän hyötyä.

172. Tarkoitetaanko sanoa, että A. F. of L. tietoisesti näin menettelee?

Aivan sitä. Jokainen sellainen vierailija A. F. of L:n konventsionissa, joka seurustelee edustajien kanssa ja jolla amerikalaisen työväestön hyvinvointi ja onni on sydämenasiana, huomaa sen erinomaisen valppauden, millä kansainväliset virkailijat tukahduttavat, tai naivisti syrjäyttävät varsinaisen jäsenistön mielipiteiden ilmaisun, joka panee kyseenalaiseksi heidän älykkyytensä ja rehellisyytensä, tai heidän järjestönsä vaikuttavaisuuden. Konventsioni vilpittömästi edustaa vallitsevaa työväenliikettä Amerikassa. Järjestön jäsenyyteen kuuluvain työläisten edut tai mielipiteet eivät saa minkäänlaista huomiota konventsionin keskusteluissa. Sitä on paljon sopivampi kutsua amerikalaisen työväestön kaupustelijain konventsioniksi. Nämä edustajat, lukuunottamatta muutamia harvoja, joiden äänivalta on sangen vähäinen, edustavat kontrolleeraavia voimia amerikalaisen järjestyneen työvoiman ylitse. Tämä on heidän erikoinen ja ominainen tehtävänsä; ja nämä lihavat, hyvin palkatut liikemiehet eivät mitenkään voi suvaita sellaisia käsityksiä, jotka voisivat riistää heiltä verrattain mukavat elinkeinot ja karkoittaisivat heidät takaisin vanhoihin työpaikkoihin, joista yksinpä muistokin on sangen vastenmielinen mieliin palauttaa.

173. Kuinka nämä miehet käyttävät edelläselitetynlaista valtaansa?

Jos sinä olet vain tavallinen unionisti, sinä liityit unioon; maksoit sisäänkirjoitusmaksun, jonka itseksesi ajattelit liian korkeaksi, suoritit jäsenmaksusi, jotka käsitit olevan yli sen määrän, mikä olisi tarpeellinen uniolle. Kokouksen tai parin jälkeen sinä lakkasit käymästä kokouksissa muulloin kuin joissain erikoistapauksissa; näin menettelit vain siksi, että paikallista osastoa huomasit hallitsevan sellaisten voimain, joita vastaan sinä ja ne, jotka ajattelivat kanssasi samalla tavalla, havaitsit olevasi voimatoin ponnistelemaan. Mielessäsi oli aina ajatus, että koska hyvänsä sinut voidaan eroittaa nykyisestä työpaikastasi, tai vaihtaessasi paikkakuntaa sinun täytyy etsiä itsellesi toinen työpaikka, olitpa entisellä taikka uudella paikkakunnalla ja union kortti taskussa on kuitenkin helpompi näin menetellä. Lisäksi, kuten tavallisesti, palkat, työaika ja olosuhteet ovat paremmat unioniseeratuissa eli siis järjestetyissä työpaikoissa. Siksipä sinä pidätkin "maksetun jäsenkortin" taskussasi. Vierailla paikkakunnilla tämä kortti on esitys- ja suosituskirje työpaikkaa etsiessä; vanhoillakin seuduilla työtä etsiessä asianlaita on aivan sama. Näin sinä union maksuja rupeat pitämään työnvälityspalkkiona, joka on suoritettava siitä mahdollisuudesta, että unioon kuuluvana on tilaisuus saada helpommin työpaikka kuin olisi päinvastaisessa tapauksessa. Johdonmukaisena seurauksena onkin, että paikallisen tai kansainvälisen union asioihin sinä et kiinnitä vähintäkään enemmän huomiotasi kuin minkä tahansa työnvälitystoimiston liikeasioihin, joille olet joutunut välityspalkkion maksamaan. Sinä pidät täysinmaksetun unionkortin helpottaaksesi työnsaantia. Uniotasi et sinä todenperäisesti pidä sellaisena aseena, jolla paljon suurempia etuisuuksia voidaan turvata ja vakavampi työpaikka hankkia. Itseasiassa kohdattuasi tuon kaikkialla läsnäolevan työmaalähetin, sinä opit pitämään häntä henkilönä, jota on enemmän peljättävä kuin työnjohtajaa tai ylipäällysmiestäsi (superintendent), joiden alaisena sinä työskentelet. Elämäsi hän kontrolleeraa täydellisem-

min kuin yksikään toinen asioimistoimisto, joiden kanssa olet joutunut tekemisiin. Hän on se, joka päättää ja myöskin "seisoo" sen takana. UNIO ON HÄNEN. Näin todella ovatkin asiat, sillä union jäsenet ovat luopuneet asiain hoidosta union virkakunnan eduksi. Tämä on se valta, jota A. F. of Laborin virkakunta käyttää; tämä on heidän tehtävänsä.

174. Miksi sanotaan A. F. of Laborin toimivan kapitalistien agenttina?

Koska se niin tekee. Se on menettänyt sen militanttisen taisteluhenkensä, joka oli erikoisesti merkille pantava ilmiö järjestön olemassaolon ensimäisenä vuosikymmenenä. Kansainväliset uniot kilvoittelivat saadaksensa itsenäisen määräysvallan — autonomian — ja siksipä tulikin perustuslain Ensimäisen luvun ensimäinen ja toinen pykälä hyväksytyksi. Ensimäinen näistä rajoitti A. F. of L:n toiminnan pyrkimykseen saada työväestöä suosivia lakeja lainlaatijakunnissa, esti siltä tilaisuuden koskaan tullakseen kansalliseksi työväen unioksi; ja toisessa pykälässä kansainvälisille unioille pidätetään oikeus ollaksensa heidän erikoisesti järjestettyjen ryhmäin ainoina kansallisina yhtenäisyyden ilmaisijoina taloudellisella alalla. Tästä ilmeneekin, että aivan sen perustamisesta alkaen liitosta tuli mitä höllin side näiden kansainvälisten unioiden välille. Se omaksui itsellensä kansallisen yhtenäisyyden ilmaisumuodon, jonka taakse kätkettiin Amerikan työväenluokan vakiintunut ja muuttumatoin hajanaisuus.

A. F. of L. ei oikeastaan toimi mitään työväestön hyväksi, vaan tämä sen kautta, että se jatkuvasti hajoittaa ja näinollen heikentää Amerikan työväenluokan asemaa, palvelee kapitalistien etuja. **Mikä hyvänsä palvelee kapitalismia, on kapitalistinen.** Sen perustuslain esipuhe on ristiriitainen itse perustuslain kanssa. Esipuheessa tunnustetaan luokkataistelu ja perustuslaissa se kielletään. Missä "jokaisen ammattialan autonomia tiukasti säilyy, se" — A. F. L:n esipuheen mukaan — "tuottaa turmiollisia tuloksia raataville miljoonille." Yhteen liittoon kuulumattomain unioiden ja niiden välillä, jotka yhdistyneinä tiukasti säilyttävät itsenäisyyden kulle-

kin ammattialalle, on sangen vähäinen eroavaisuus, ja mikä tahansa tämä eroavaisuus lieneekin, kääntyy se näiden yhteenkuulumattomain unioiden eduksi. Silloin, kun A. F. of L. säilyttää yhtenäisyyden vain mielikuvissa, näiden erinäisten ryhmäin teollinen yhteenkuuluvaisuus ei koskaan tule ilmaistuksi.

Niin kauan kuin vakiintunut järjestö, rukoillen työväestöä hyödyttäviä lakeja lainlaatijakunnissa, perustuu sannalle, eikä kansallisten unioiden vaikuttavalle yhtenäisyyden pohjalle, järjestyneet työläiset on petollisesti taivutettu alistuvaisuuteen. Jos enemmän kuin kaksi miljoonaa työläistä parhaimmassa tapauksessa kykenee hankkimaan itsellensä vain muutaman lainlaatijakunnassa pokkuroivan komitean suosion ja siten jonkin verran kyeten vaikuttamaan, mikä kuitenkaan ei ole työväestön vaikutusta, on tämä heidän harhaanjohtamista. Ja mikä ei ole työväestön vaikutusta kapitalistisessa yhteiskunnassa, on tietysti kapitalistista vaikutelmaa. Puolueettomuudelle ei ole perusteita olemassakaan.

Ja mitä ovat nämä työväen puolesta rukoilijat saaneet useammalle kuin 2,000,000 järjestyneelle työläiselle? Kerjäläisen osan — enemmän kieltäytymisiä kuin lakeja. Nekin lait, mitä näin on saatu laadituksi, ovat aivan toisarvoisia ja silloin, kun tuomiolaitoksilla on lopullinen päättämisvalta, nämäkään eivät ole lopullisesti vahvistettu — turvattu. N. k. Lever-lain laatiminen kaivostyöläisiä vastaan v:nna 1919 ja aivan äskettäin tehty päätös Coronado jutussa, ovat asioita, joiden pitäisi opettaa Amerikan työväestölle toisellaisen toimintasuunnan välttämättömyyden kuin mitä on lainlaatijakunnissa kerjääminen ja alinomainen kumarteleminen tuomiolaitosten edessä. Ammattiuniot on järjestetty tilauksen mukaan kapitalisteille.

Menettelytapa, että tehdään aikamääräisiä sopimuksia kapitalistien kanssa, joka sai alkunsa v. 1890, ammattiunioiden menettelytavoissa, on ilmeisesti kapitalistinen piirre. Kaikki työsopimukset on laillistettu siten, että ne päättyvät eri aikoina. Seurauksena onkin, että työnantaja, jonka teollisuus on järjestetty ammattiunio-

nistisen järjestelmän alaisena, on aina vakuutettu, että häiriöt hänen teollisuudessaan tulevat olemaan niin vähäiset kuin suinkin mahdollista. Ammattiunionismi on vakuutus työnantajille sangen vakavaluontoisia häiriöitä vastaan. Työtätekevälle ammattilaisryhmälle, jonka on taisteltava vain omiin voimiinsa luottaen, se päinvastoin on sangen tukala ja samalla vakavaluontoinen häiriö; järjestetyssä työpaikassa yksi ryhmä union työläisiä voi lakkoutua korjatakseen asemaansa, mutta jälelläolevat järjestyneet työläiset samalla teollisuuden alalla, heidän työsopimuksensa kahlehtimina, jäävät työhön ja siten auttavat työnantajaa — täten avustaen puolestaan lakkolaisia häviämään, juuri niitä, joiden kanssa he sympatiseeraavat viimeiseen sydämen tykytykseen saakka. Ammattiunionistista järjestelmää lukuunottamatta, ei näitä mikään mahti maanpäällä voisi taivuttaa "skääppäämään" heidän tovereitansa.

Tällaisia sattumia on tapahtunut niin usein, että kaikista lukuisista tapahtumista erikseen mainitseminen olisi vain pelkkää paperin tuhlausta. Tässä mainittakoon ainoastaan muutamat julkeimmat tapahtumat:

Homestead lakko (1892); Buffalon vaihdemiesten lakko (1894); pehmeänhiilen kaivajain lakko (1902); lakko Harrimannin rautatieverkkoon kuuluvilla teillä (1911); San Franciscon raitiotietyöläisten lakko (1907); Chicagon teurastamotyöläisten lakko (1904), y. m. Nämä ovat vain muutamia niistä menetetyistä lakoista, joista ammattiunionistinen järjestelmä on täydellisesti vastuunalainen. Nämä ovat ainoastaan esimakua siitä, mihin sittemmin ja varsinkin nykyisen "avoin työpaja" taistelun aikana ammattiunionistit ovat saaneet tilaisuuden tutustua.

Työsopimuksienkin tekemisestä ovat kapitalistit kieltäytyneet ja vaatineet sovittelua — arbitration. Tähänkin A. F. of L. näyttää taipuvan, että kaupustelijat vielä edelleenkin voisivat kauppailla amerikalaista työvoimaa; tänäpäivänä (heinäk. 22, 1922) me huomasimme, että A. F. of Laboriin kuuluvain rakennusammattien kansainvälisistä virkailijoista muodostettu komitea on päättänyt saada Chicagon rakennusammattilaiset taipu-

maan Landisin häpeällisten työehtojen alaiseksi ja järjestyneen työväestön vihollisista muodostetun kansalaiskomitean määräysvallan alaiseksi; ja näin tehdäksensä nämä järjestävät Rakennusammattien Kaksois-Neuvoston. Toden totta A. F. of L. kantaa kapitalistien agenttuurien polttomerkkiä.

175. Miksikä sanotaan: ammattiunio-järjestelmä (Craft Union System)?

Ellemme tarkastele ammattiunioita järjestelmänä, niin silloin emme voi ymmärtää niiden merkitystä. Jokin ihmisryhmä, seuraten tarkasti erikoista työalaansa, voi menestyksellisesti järjestäytyä unioon siten edistääkseen taloudellisia etujansa. Sitten kun nämä huomaavat, että sellainen unio ei olekaan riittävä palvelemaan heidän pyrkimyksiänsä, he luonnollisesti kääntyvät niiden puoleen, joiden kanssa he kykenevät menestyksellisesti toimimaan tilanteessa tai tilanteissa yhtyäkseen heihin, joissa he yksinänsä olisivat kykenemättömät menestyksellisesti vaikuttamaan omalla tavallansa. Koska unioiden toiminta on taloudellista liikettä, niin silloinhan on luonnollista, että näiden liittoutumalla — unioiden federatsionilla — on taloudelliset tarkoitusperät. Näinollen siis milloin tahansa me tapaamme sellaisia liittoutumia, jotka palvelevat toisia ja erilaisia tarkoitusperiä siinä määrässä, että ne täydellisesti kumoavat yhtyneiden yksikköjen luonnollisen päämäärän, silloin niiden työläisten tarkoitukset, jotka muodostavat nämä yhtyneet järjestöt, ovat tulleet harhaan johdetuiksi. American Federation of Labor yksistään on ainoastaan tämän järjestelmän yksi osa. Rautatieläisten uniot ovat toisena osana. Nämä yhteisesti muodostavat järjestelmän (system), jonka avulla siihen kuuluvain unioiden tarkoitusperät ovat tulleet hävitetyiksi.

176. Kuinka tällainen järjestelmä saatiin muodostetuksi?

Pitämällä työväestö taloudellisesta asemastaan tietämättömänä. Ilman sitä moisen järjestelmän alaiseksi saattaminen olisi ollut aivan sula mahdottomuus. Se seikka, että individualismin filosofia on ulotettu ainoastaan ryhmää käsittäväksi, on perusta, jolle kyseessäole-

va järjestelmä on rakennettu. Jokainen ihminen on kylliksi yksinkertainen saadaksensa tietoonsa naapuriensa mielipiteet ja työväen maailmassa, kuten kansallisessa elämässäkin, jokainen ihminen ja ihmisryhmä haluaa, että sitä pidettäisiin patrioottina. Silloin kuin patriotismi ei merkitse mitään muuta kuin olla sitä muka olevinansa, niin onhan yleistä ja mieluista myöskin olla patriootti — isänmaallinen. Näin me löydämme yhtenäisyyden ilmaisun ammattiunionistisessa järjestelmässä, näin peitetään vaikuttava ja samalla turmiollinen hajanaisuus. Tällä järjestelmällä, joka ei ainoastaan hajoita — vaikkapa se samalla kertaa näyttää kokoavan, on ainoa puolustus olemassaoloonsa murhaavassa ristiriidassa, jota se ei voi perinjuurin poistaa tuhoamatta itseänsä.

177. Mitä tarkoitettiin murhaavalla epäsovulla?

Unioiden välisiä valtapiiri-riitaisuuksia. Silloin kun kahdesta uniosta kumpainenkin väittää, että tämä tai tuo työläinen, joka suorittaa jotain määrättyä tehtävää, kuuluu sen taikka tämän union jäsenyyteen — ja tällaisia tilaisuuksia sattuu aivan lakkaamatta — eivät suinkaan unionismin tai jäsenistön varsinaiset edut ole kysymyksessä, vaan ainoastaan keskenään kinastelevain virkailijain "oikeudet" periä jäsenmaksut työläisiltä, jotka raatavat tuollaisissa riidanalaisissa työpaikoissa. Jos olisi ainoastaan unionismin etu kysymyksessä, niin yksi vaatimus pitäisi olla riittävä jokaisessa uniossa. Jos taasen olisi työväenluokan eduista riita, niin työkykyisyys olisi ainoa vaatimus. Tällaisten unioiden välisten riitaisuuksien sovitteleminen merkitsee työtä toimeenpaneville neuvostoille, joka kuitenkaan ei koskaan tyydytä. Autonomia on unioiden eripuraisuuksien suuri jumala. Autonomian eduksi on miljoonia dollareita tuhlattu ja järjestyneet työläiset ovat menettäneet tuhansia tilaisuuksia.

178. Kuinka tilaisuudet on myönnetty?

Jos vaikkapa vain murto-osa siitä työväestöstä, joka nykyisin on järjestetty ammattiunioihin, toimisi taloudellisena yksikkönä, he voisivat ilmaista sellaisen voimanäytteen, että lainlaatijakunnat ottaisivat sen huomioon ja tuomiolaitoksetkaan eivät ylimielisesti uhkai-

lisi. Ammattiunionistiseen järjestelmään kuuluvina he ovat estetyt näin tekemästä. Isännistön taistelu avointen työpajain puolesta olisi rauennut ennenkuin nämä pääsisivät kunnollisesti edes alkuun. Kaivostyöläisten lakko olisi kyetty voittamaan viikossa. Terästyöläisten lakkoakaan ei olisi hävitty. Rautateiden kunnossapitäjäin ensimäinenkään palkkain polkeminen ei olisi onnistunut — toisesta puhettakaan. Pajatyöläisetkään eivät olisi taistelussansa epäonnistuneet. Coronadon päätöstäkään ei olisi tehty; Mooneyn juttuakaan ei olisi ollut, eikä myöskään Centralian murhaa. Kaikki nämä ja tuhannet toiset samoin ikävystyttävät ja huolestuttavan pahat asiat työväen luokan kannalta katsoen, ovat tapahtumia, joihin tutustumalla voidaan seurata ammattiunio-järjestelmän tallaamia polkuja. Se ei estä mitään muuta kuin työläisten pyrkimykset; ei kiellä mitään muuta kuin heidän toivonsa; ja eikä puolestansa tyhjäksi tee mitään muuta kuin heidän halunsa alkaakseen yhtenäinen toiminta asiansa eduksi kapitalistista luokkaa vastaan.

179. Jos kaikki tämä on totta, niin kuinka järjestelmä pysyy pystyssä?

Kapitalistisista lähteistä sen saaman kannatuksen ei välttämättömästi tarvitse olla rahallinen.

180. Jos näin ovat asiat, kuinka avoin työpaja taistelu on ymmärrettävä?

Kapitalistinen luokkakin on eripurainen. Työnantajaluokan ylimmät kerrokset eivät siedä minkäänlaisia työläisten yhtymiä, jotka hivenenkään verran kykenevät vastustamaan kapitalistien pyrkimyksiä. Ammattijärjestelmään kuuluvain työläisjäsenten keskuudessa on sellaisia henkilöitä, jotka heidän taloudellisen asemansa luonteen innoittamana ovat pakoitetut analyseeraamaan omia unioitansakin ja sitä järjestelmää, mihinkä nämä uniot yhtenä osastona kuuluvat. Ammattijärjestelmää eli systeemiä kapitalistit pitävät arvossa aina sen mukaan, missä määrin systeemin johtajat ovat kykenevät kontrolleeraamaan unioiden varsinaista jäsenistöä. Jos — milloin tahansa — tämä jäsenistö käyttäytyy tavalla, joka osoittaa, että se ei ole-

kaan enää näiden johtajain kontrolleerattavissa, silloin luonnollisesti tuloksena voi kehittyä tilanne, mikä saattaisi olla äärimmäisen vaarallinen kapitalistiselle yhteiskuntajärjestelmälle.

Esimerkiksi jos union jäsenet käsittäisivät kapitalistisen järjestelmän todellisen luonteen ja syrjäyttäisivät unionistisen systeeminsä johtajat pois kontrollista, nämä jäsenet — ollessaan tietoisia järjestäytymisen merkityksestä — yhdistäisivät voimansa yhteen ainoaan unioon, niin silloin yhteiskunnan kapitalistisen kontrollin kohtalo voisi olla hyvin onneton. Jos kaikessa tapauksessa, ammattijärjestelmän avustamana, he kykenisivät tuhoamaan nämä uniot, unionistiset periaatteet saisivat sellaisen iskun, jonka vaikutuksesta selveneminen ottaisi jonkun verran aikaa. Ammattijärjestelmän suorittamista avuista huolimatta kapitalistit ovat alkaneet näiden olemassaolevain unioiden tuhoamisen, ei sen takia, että nämä uniot unioina olisivat minkäänlaisena esteenä, vaan päinvastoin siksi, että nämä ovat viljeltävänä peltona, josta voi pistäytyä esille tuo vaarallinen kasvi — työväenluokan yksi unio.

181. Ovatko suurkapitalistit "avoin työpaja" liikkeen takana?

Siltä se ainakin näyttää. He eivät ole ainoastaan käyttövoimana tämän unionismia vastaan tähdätyn ryntäyksen takana avoin työpaja liikkeessä, vaan kaiken sen lainlaadinnallisenkin touhun takana esittäessään, että olisi perustettava kansallisia sovintolautakuntia, joiden avulla heillä on aikomuksena pakoittaa työläiset raatamaan työttömyyden synnyttämissä sietämättömissä olosuhteissa. Teollisuuskongresseilla, avustusyhdistyksillä, eläkerahastojen, n. k. Industrial Relation planien, Loyal Legionien y. m. avulla he yrittävät salakavalasti tukahduttaa työläisten järjestymispyrkimykset.

182. Miksi suurkapitalistit sellaisen ohjelman toteuttamisessa ottavat johtavan aseman?

Koska he edustavat, laajimmassa tunnustetussa mittakaavassa, kapitalististen pyrkimysten täydellisyyttä, jotavastoin heidän puolestaan työskentelevät voimat — vähäinen ammatti-proletariaatti — suuressa määrin edus-

taa toista äärimmäisyyttä. Noissa sangen suurissa teollisuuslaitoksissa tuo n. k. ammatitoin työväestö on vallitsevana tekijänä. Nämä työväenluokan elementit kun kerran saadaan järjestetyiksi, silloin kapitalismin päivät ovat luetut. Niin kauan kuin ammattijärjestöt ovat olemassa sellaisina, ettei ole minkäänlaista vaaraa olemassa siinä suhteessa, että nämä pyrkisivät järjestämään työläisiä määriteltyjen rajain ulkopuolella, silloin on olemassa innostuksen lähde, vaikkakin se on esimerkkinä osoittamaan, mitä kaikkea voi kiertää ja tekemättä jättää. Näinollen yksimieliset, mutta samalla kertaa pelkurimaiset kapitalistit hajoittavat niitä telkeitä, joiden takana hekin ovat turvapaikan löytäneet. Se on ollut paljon parempi turva kuin kaikki se, minkä he — juuri he itse — ovat kyenneet luomaan.

183. Mutta eivätkö ammattiuniot järjestä ammatittomia työläisiä?

Ei niinkuin ne tulisi ja pitäisi järjestää. "Yksikään ihminen ei ymmärrä paremmin kuin kuningas, kuinka paljon ihminen kuningas on." Ja kukaan ihminen ei tiedä paremmin kuin nykyaikainen "ammattilainen", missä määrin hänen oletettu "ammattinsa" on vain pelkkä mielikuva. Milloin vaan ammattiuniot siirtävät jäsenyyskelpoisuutta koskevia rajoja siten, että apulaisetkin voivat päästä niiden jäseniksi, ei tehdä näiden apulaisten avustamiseksi, vaan päinvastoin heitä itseänsä uhkaavan vaaran poistamiseksi. Aivan vain tavallinen apulainen, suhteellisesti lyhyessä ajassa, voi oppia sen työn, jonka suorittamisessa hän "ammattilaista" auttelee. Näin on siis meneteltävä ainoastaan siksi, että apulainen saadaan unioon sen määräysvallan alaisena. Kauan jonkin liikkeen palveluksessa olleita koskevat säännöt (Seniority rules) ja toisetkin seikat vaikuttavat siten, että häntä on helpompi kontrolleerata ja kaikellaisissa tilaisuuksissa hän ryhtyy toimintaan uskollisesti, tuntien olevansa ikäänkuin yhden suuren perheen jäsen. Kaikessa tapauksessa hän kuitenkin jää vain "apulaiseksi" ja työttömäksi jouduttuaan hän jälleen palaa huonosti palkattujen ja ammattitaidottomain työläisten valtakuntaan. Löydettyänsä uuden työpaikan jollain toi-

sella alalla järjestetyssä työpajassa, hänestä uudelleen taas voi tulla "unioon kuuluva apulainen", jos hän nim. maksaa uuden sisäänkirjoitusmaksun ja uudet jäsenverot. Jos hän haluaa kaikellaisten teollisten epävarmuuksien — pulakausien — varalta turvata itseänsä, voi hän vanhankin jäsenkortin pitää täysinmaksettuna uuden union korttinsa rinnalla ja näin meillä on halpapalkkaisin työläinen teollisuudessa, sillä hänen on täytynyt maksaa korkein rahallinen vakuutus unioon yhtymisestänsä ja unionismiin luottamisestansa. Näin ammattitaidotoin, tai vain hiukan ammattitaitoa omaava työläinen muutamain vuosien kuluessa huomaa kuuluvansa useampiin erinäisiin ammattiunioihin — pannuseppäin, masinistien, putkittajain, lämmittäjäin, kaivostyöläisten (hiili ja metalli), rakennustyöläisten y. m.; näihin kaikkiin kuuluminen ei ole ainoastaan aineellisesti sula mahdottomuus, vaan on se sydämettömyyttä ja mielettömyyttä edes olettaa hänen näin tekevän. Näin jokainen ajatteleva ihminen vain silmäyksen luotuaan on kykenevä näkemään, että ammattiunionistinen järjestelmä ei ole ainoastaan kykenemätön järjestämään n. k. ammattitaidottomia työläisiä, vaan tarkoitus on tältä elementiltä riistää jokainen mahdollinen järjestymistilaisuus.

184. Onko A. F. of Laborissa n. k. "federal unioita", joihin kuuluu jäseniä kaikilta elämänaloilta?

Kyllä. Mutta nämä ovat vain pelkkiä "rekryyttiunioita"; ensimäiseksi näitä perustettiin kilpailemaan Työn Ritareihin kuuluvain sekalaisten neuvostojen kanssa ja myöhemmin niitä on käytetty taistellessa I. W. W:tä vastaan. Koska tahansa näissä unioissa jäsenmäärä niillä aloilla, jotka ovat kansallisesti järjestetty, kohoaa siihen vähimpään määrään, mikä vaaditaan johonkin kansainväliseen unioon kuuluvan paikallisosaston lupakirjan hankkimiseen, on sellaisen kansainvälisen vaatimuksesta näiden erottava "federal uniosta" ja samalla järjestettävä kansainväliseen kuuluva paikallisosasto. Näistä unioista voidaan sanoa, että yhtenäisyys on näin saavutettu vain tarkoituksella voidaksensa hajoittaa.

185. Mihinkä tällainen on viittaus?

Tällainen on viittaus siihen, että sittemmin, kun työläiset toteuttivat yhtenäisyyden "federal uniossa", kapitalistit ottivat sen haltuunsa ja jakoivat sen heidän etujansa tyydyttävällä tavalla. Sinä työläisenä tietysti haluat sellaisen union kuin mitä Federal Labor unio edellytti — kaikki työläiset yhteen unioon. Työnantajista muodostunut ryhmä, tai yksityinenkin työnantaja haluaisi ne jakaa sekä sitoa säännöillä ja sopimuksilla siten, että ne eivät mitenkään voi toimia yhtenäisesti. Tämä Federal Unio ja taasen se, mikä siitä myöhemmin tuli, osoittaa työväenluokan unionistisen käsityksen ja kapitalistisen maailmankatsomuksen välisen eroavaisuuden. Se on juuri sama eroavaisuus kuin työväenluokan maailmankatsomuksen ja A. F. of Laborin elämänymmärryksen välilläkin on olemassa. A. F. of L. katselee ja kohtelee työväestöä aivan kuten kapitalistitkin tekevät.

186. Mikä oli American Railway Union?

Maalla toimivain liikennetyöläisten teollisuusunio. Tämä unio perustettiin Buffalon vaihdemiesten lakossaolleiden rautatieläisten saamain kokemusten vaikutuksesta kehittyneenä ja sen suoranaisena tuloksena. Se edistyi nopeasti ja keväällä v. 1894, vähemmässä kuin kolmessa viikossa, saavutti voiton Great Northern rautatieyhtiön rautateillä. Samana kesänä käytiin Pullmannin lakko ja ammattijärjestelmän tekemäin petosten takia hävittiin. Tämän lakon häviämisen on sanottu johtuneen siitä, että tuomiolaitokset ja liittohallitus asettuivat siihen nähden vihamieliselle kannalle; mutta todellisuudessa lakko hävittiin siksi, kun unionismin ammattijärjestelmä ei voinut myöntää apuansa lakkoutuneille työläisille. Tämän lakon yhteydessä Yhdysvaltain työväenliikkeessä kansallisesti tunnettujen henkilöiden yleinen neuvottelu pidettiin Chicagossa. On sanottu, että tämä neuvottelu "järjesti American Railway Union hautajaiset", kuten edellinen samallainen neuvottelu saattoi Buffalon vaihdemiesten lakonkin perikatoon.

187. Mikä oli tämän A. R. U:n kohtalo?

Vuoden 1894 lakon häviämisen jälkeen se nopeasti

menetti tenhovoimansa ja mitä siitä oli jälellä, yhtyi Sosiali-demokraattisen puolueen kanssa v:nna 1889.

188. Kuka kansainvälisesti tunnettu henkilö toimi A. R. U:n yhteydessä?

Eugene V. Debs. Debs, päinvastoin kuin kaikki hänen edeltäjänsä, luopui huomattavasta asemastansa Veturinlämmittäjäin Veljeskunnasta (Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen) tarkoituksella järjestääksensä edellämainitun American Railway Union. Hän on omistanut elämänsä työväestön vapauttamiselle ja uutterasti työskenneltyään ihanteittensa toteuttamiseksi, on hän saanut itselleen niin paljon vihamiehiä kuin kuka tahansa historiallisista suuruuksista. Hänen ihailijainsa luku kohoaa miljooniin ja enimmät hänen vihollisistaankin kuuluvat näihin. Vihata ja vainota, kuten hänen vihollisensa ovat tehneet Debsille, on samaa kuin peljätä häntä ja pelko on kaikkein korkein kunnianosoitus ihailtavallensa.

189. Mikä oli Western Federation of Miners (Lännen Kaivosmies Liitto)?

Kaivostyöläisten teollisuusunio, joka käsitti kaikkien niiden alain työläiset, jotka olivat välttämättömiä mineraalien tuotannossa sekä käsittelyssä. Ensinnä siihen kuuluivat hiilenkaivajat samoin kuin metallin kaivajatkin, ja koksityöläiset samoin kuin jauhimo- sekä sulattotyöläisetkin. Tämä oli yksi militanttisin työväenjärjestö Amerikassa. Sen rappeutuminen johtui siitä, kun Kaivosten Omistajain Yhdistyksen (Mine Operators Association) agenttien johtama murhaava taistelu suunnattiin sitä vastaan.

190. Koska W. F. of M. järjestettiin?

V:nna 1892 käydyn Coeur d'Alenen (Idahossa) lakon jälkeen. Sitä aikaisemmin lännen metallin- ja hiilenkaivajat olivat järjestyneet paikallisiin unioihin. Mainitun Coeur d'Alenen lakon tulokset osoittivat laajemman yhtenäisyyden tarpeen ja seurauksena oli W. F. of M:n perustaminen. Amerikan työväestön taisteluissa sillä on kunniakas historia takanansa siihen saakka, kunnes vanhoilliset ainekset vaikutuksineen pääsivät sen koneiston kontrolliin. Yhdeksänkymmenluvulla ('90)

ja kahdennenkymmenennen vuosisadan ensimäisenä viitenä vuotena ainoastaan rippeet olivat siitä jälellä, kuuluen siihen erinäisiä osastoita, joiden avulla se arveli kykenevänsä voittamaan tai hidastuttamaan elinvoimaisen seuraajansa kohoamisen.

191. Minkälaisten tapahtumain yhteyteen W. F. of M. kietoutui?

Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone jutun ja Industrial Workers of the Worldin perustamisen kanssa. Se myöskin avusti Western Labor Union (Lännen Työväen Unio) perustamista.

192. Mikä oli Amerikan Labor Unio?

Se oli järjestö, jonka aikomuksena oli järjestää ammattitaidottomat ainekset amerikalaisissa teollisuuksissa — työväenluokan union perusteeksi.

193. Mikä oli Amerikan Labor Union kohtalo?

V:nna 1905 se muuttui I. W. W:n yhdeksi osaksi.

194. Mikä oli Rautatieläisten Liittoutunut Veljeskunta (United Brotherhood of Railway Employes)?

Se järjestettiin protestiksi ammatittain järjestäytymistä vastaan rautatieteollisuudessa. V:nna 1905 sekin sulautui I. W. W:hen.

195. Mitä me havaitsimme katsauksessamme amerikalaiseen unionismiin?

Että politiikka on unionismia kuolettava.

196. Mitkä tapahtumat toteavat sen?

Mechanics Union of Trade Societiesta — Philadelphiassa — alkaen aina Työn Ritareihin saakka politiikka tappoi jokaisen lupaavan unionistisen liikkeen.

197. Mitkä toiset tekijät auttoivat unionismin tuhoamista?

Ko-operativiset liikeyritykset. Amerikan varhaisimmat uniot aikanaan ryhtyivät moniin ko-operativisiin yrityksiin ja ne joko liikemieskykyjen puutteen, taikka sitten näiden liikkeiden johtajain epärehellisyyden takia säännöllisesti epäonnistuivat, sulkivat ovensa ja samalla näihin nojautuvat taloudelliset järjestötkin ränsistyivät. Molempain, sekä katolilaisen ja protestanttisen aineksen vastustuksen vaikutus — nämä nimittäin pitivät ko-operativista toimintaa unioille sopimattomana menet-

telytapana — epäilemättä jossain määrin esti rahastamasta näitä mainitunlaisia liikkeitä. Katolilaiset kirkonmiehet vastustivat niitä "ensimäisenä askeleena sosialismia kohti;" eräs kirjoittaja Christian Advocate-nimisessä julkaisussa paheksui, että "jumalallisen lain korjaamisyritys ei ole mikään naurettavan yksinkertainen asia; se on mielettömyyttä ja jumalan pilkkaamista. Elleivät ihmiset voi elää ja tulla toimeen siten kuin jumala on järjestänyt ja säätänyt, eivät he tule toimeen millään muullakaan tavalla."

Uunien valureilla yhteen aikaan oli yksitoista ko-operativista valimoa. Yksi Troyssa, New Yorkin valtiossa, menestyi varsin hyvin. Tämä liikeyritys menestyi niin mainiosti, että sen yhteydessä olevat ko-operativisen liikkeen kannattajat omaksuivat aito kapitalistisen maailmankatsomuksen, nim. että "mitä vähemmän on osakkeiden omistajia yhtiössä, sitä suuremmat menestymismahdollisuudet sillä myöskin ovat." Samalla aikaa, kun nämä mainitut ko-operativistit vielä edelleenkin pysyivät jäseninä Valurien Uniossa, he kuitenkin tapasivat sanoa: "mutta todellisuudessa ammattiunioilla ei ole minkäänlaista merkitystä." Henkilöt menestyksellisissä ko-operativisissa liikkeissä tuntevat, että union säännöt rajoittavina telkeinä ovat häiritsevinä esteinä toiminnassa.

198. Minkälainen johtopäätös voidaan tästä vetää?

Me olemme oikeutetut vetämään sellaisen johtopäätöksen, että milloin tahansa unio pyrkii ahertelemaan varsinaisen toimintapiirinsä ulkopuolella — tekee jotain muuta kuin säännöittelee olosuhteita työmaalla — silloin se varmasti kumoaa omat tarkoitusperänsä ja tuhoaa itsensä.

199. Mikä on Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.)?

Työväenluokan järjestö — tarkoitusperänä kapitalismin kukistaminen. Järjestön yksikkönä (unit) on teollisuus. Kaikki teollisuusuniot yhdistyvät yleisjärjestössä. Kaikki säännöt eli lait alunperin laaditaan yleisessä konventsionissa ja tulevat lakivoimaisiksi vasta sitten kuin enemmistö jäsenistöstä on ne yleisäänestyk-

sellä hyväksynyt. Sen tarkoituksena on sisällyttää jäsenyyteensä kaikki palkkatyöläiset ja tämän toteuttaakseen se kannattaa alhaisia sisäänkirjoitusmaksuja sekä jäsenveroja. Käytännössä on n. k. "universalinen jäsenkirja järjestelmä", joka merkitsee sitä, että jäsen voi siirtyä yhdestä teollisuusuniosta toiseen maksamatta minkäänlaisia lisäkuluja; täten tekee se mahdolliseksi jäsenistöllensä sen, että työpaikan vaihdoksista ja paikkakuntien muuttamisista huolimatta kukin voi pysyä jatkuvasti järjestön jäsenenä.

Tämä unio on erinomaisesti menestynyt johtaessaan sellaisia suuria lakkotaisteluita kuin oli tekstiilityöläisten lakko Lawrencessa ja toisissa Massachusettsin valtion kaupungeissa ja Pattersonissa sekä Little Fallsissa, New Yorkin valtiossa. McKees Rocksissa, Pennsylvaniassa, se myöskin herätti kauhua teräskuningasten sydämissä. Akronin, Ohio, kumiparoneille I. W. W. niinikään opetti katkeran läksyn. Tällä järjestöllä, vaikkakaan sen jäsenluku ei ole ollut suuri ennenkuin vasta nykyisin, on ollut niin voimakas vaikutus työväenluokkaan, että se on voinut tunkeutua aivan järjestymättömille alueille ja on kyennyt herättämään koko työtätekevän väestön työläisinä toimintaan heidän omien etujensa puolesta.

Aivan sellaista järjestöä kuin I. W. W. on ei ole koskaan näyttäytynyt amerikalaisen työväestön näköpiirissä — horisontissa. Se on yhdistänyt kaikki Amerikan työväestön kokemukset ja kiteyttänyt eli kristallisoinut kaiken sen sisäisen innostuksen ja maailmankatsomuksen. Se on puhtaasti väärentämätöin eli alkuperäinen proletarisen tyypin mukainen järjestö. Ammattiunioilta se repii kaikki valheverhot ja osoittaa ne työväestölle, näyttäen kaikki niiden puutteellisuudet sekä heikkoudet. Ammattiunioiden harvainvallalle — oligarchy — on se kauhuna, kuten kapitalisteillekin. Molemmat ovat sitä halveksineet, parjanneet ja vainonneet. Toista järjestöä ei ole niin loukkaavasti väärin selitetty ja niin säälimättömästi parjattu. Samalla aikaa kuin sen jäseniä on valikoitu — ja vieläkin niin tehdään — petkutettavaksi ja piinattavaksi teollisuuksissa ja sitä

ovat tehneet virkailijat lain turvissa, itse järjestö tästä huolimatta on lisännyt jäsenmääräänsä sekä vaikutusvaltaansa ja tänäpäivänä on strategisesti parhaimmassa asemassa kuin yksikään toinen taloudellinen järjestö Amerikassa.

Jokainen I. W. W:tä vastaan tähdätty hyökkäys onkin ponnahtanut, osoittautunut sen hyödyksi — saattanut sen vakuutetummin maailman työläisten tietoon. Tämän järjestön jokainen toimenpide, varsin omituista kylläkin, on saanut alkunsa proletariaatin toimesta ja kaikki menettelytavat on hyväksytty teollisuuksissa saatujen työläisten kokemuksien nojalla. Se on proletariaatin avustamana, jota se todella selittääkin edustavansa, kyennyt kääntämään järjestöä vastaan tehdyt hyökkäykset omaksi ja jäsenistönsä eduksi. Silloin kuin jokin tehtävä on suoritettava teollisuudessa, on se myöskin empimättä tehtävä; häviötä ei mitenkään ole tunnustettava. I. W. W:ssä on samanlainen henki vallitsevana. Tämähän se tekeekin järjestön arvoitukseksi kapitalistiselle luokalle ja tuottaa häiriötä "kapitalismin työläisluutnanteille", kuten Mark Hanna aikoinaan erittäin sattuvasti nimitti ammattiunion virkamiehistöä. He eivät ymmärrä työväenkysymystä ja näitä liikuttaa ainoastaan kapitalistien puoli mainitusta kysymyksestä. Siis kaikki se, mikä eittämättömästi koskee työväestöä, on käsittämättömästi salaperäinen asia.

Jos I. W. W:tä olisivat intellektualit kontrolleeranneet, tai professionaliset työväenjohtajat sitä hallinneet, se olisi mennyt sen tien aivan kuin edellisetkin yritykset saada kehitetyksi vaikuttava ase työväestön käytettäväksi. Pysytellen erillänsä ja siten vapautuen tuollaisten ainesten kontrollista olemassaolonsa varhaisina aikoina ja pysyttyään puhtaasti proletaaristen ainesten kontrolleerattavana, on se purjehtinut kaikilla myrskyisillä merillä ja ennenkaikkea pitänyt suuntansa häväistyksen nostattamista pyörremyrskyistä huolimatta. Kasakanpamput, kuulat, vankilat, hirttämiset ja tervapytyt — kaikenlainen väkivaltaisuus, kaikellainen mitä törkein hyökkäys järjestöä vastaan on lisännyt yhden uuden lehtisen sen propagantaan, puhaltanut uutta henkeä jo-

kaiseen uuteen vetoomukseen. I. W. W. on loistavasti osoittanut, että kapitalismi ei voi värvätä käytettäväkseen sellaisia voimia, jotka kykenisivät sen tuhoamaan tai saisivat luopumaan ottamaltansa suunnalta. Ulkonaisia voimia I. W. W. ei pelkää; se voidaan hävittää ainoastaan sisältäpäin ja sen proletaarinen piirre tekee järjestön sellaiseksi, että tämäkään ei tule onnistumaan.

200. Mitä sana "intellektual" merkitsee?

Tämä määritelmä on sovellutettu niihin, joilta palkkatyöläisten saamat kokemukset puuttuvat ja kuitenkin työväenliikkeessä pyrkivät näyttelemään enemmän tai vähemmän tärkeätä osaa. Tätä määritelmää ei pidä käyttää epämääräisesti sisällyttämällä siihen kaikki ne, jotka eivät tee ruumiillista työtä. Selvällä luokkataistelun kannalla oleva työväenliike on kaikellaisten n. k. "intellektualien" maalitauluna. Varsinaisia tunkeilijoita ovat papit, lääkärit, koulumestarit, lakimiehet y. m. Nämä tavallisesti käsittävät, että he ovat syntyneet työväenjohtajiksi. He todellakin näyttävät käsittävän, että siinä tapauksessa, ellei heidän sallita kontrolleerata työväen kohtaloita, työläiset "nuijivat nuppinsa päin seiniä." Tavallisesti "intellektuali" on — useammin kuin päinvastoin — selvällä luokkataistelun kannalla olevalle järjestölle vahingollinen ja haitallinen.

201. Koska I. W. W. perustettiin?

Chicagossa, kesäkuun 27 päivänä, v. 1905. Perustavina jäseninä siihen liittyi jotakuinkin noin 50,000 työläistä.

202. Onko se puhtaasti taloudellinen järjestö?

Kyllä. Alkuperäisesti se julisti kannattavansa työläisten poliittista samoin kuin taloudellistakin toimintaa, mutta neljännessä konventsionissa (1908) poliittista toimintaa koskeva käsityskanta hyljättiin ja tällöin I. W. W. järjestönä päätti rajoittaa toimintansa yksinomaan ja ainoastaan taloudelliselle alalle. Näin tehtyänsä se sai politikoitsijain vihat vastaansa. Tosiasiallisesti sen jälkeen, kun järjestö kieltäytyi olemasta kaikellaisten petollisuuden kylvöjen maaperänä, onnistui se saamaan vastaansa kaikki työväen viholliset ja sellai-

setkin ainekset, jotka näennäisesti puolustavat työväestön etuja.

203. Minkälaiset ovat sen periaatteet?

Sen perusperiaatteena on luokkataistelun tunnustaminen. Tämän vuoksi se onkin militanttinen työväenjärjestö. Sen varsinaisena pyrkimyksenä on järjestää työväestö tarkoituksella voittaa kapitalistinen luokka. Sen periaatejulistus eli perustuslain esipuhe, sellaisena minkälaiseksi se täydennettiin neljännessä konventsionissa ja jäsenistö sittemmin vahvisti, on seuraava:

ESIPUHE.

Työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla ei ole mitään yhteistä. Mitään rauhaa ei voi olla niin kauan kuin nälkää ja puutetta on olemassa miljoonilla työläisillä ja niillä harvoilla, jotka muodostavat työnantajain luokan, ovat kaikki elämän hyvyydet.

Näiden kahden luokan välillä täytyy taistelun jatkua niin kauan kunnes maailman työläiset järjestyvät luokkana, ottavat haltuunsa maan ja tuotantokoneiston ja poistavat palkkajärjestelmän.

Me huomaamme, että teollisuuksien johdon keskittyminen yhä harvempiin ja harvempiin käsiin tekee ammattiyhdistykset kykenemättömiksi pitämään puoliaan työnantajaluokan alati kasvavaa valtaa vastaan. Ammattiyhdistykset pitävät yllä sellaista asiaintilaa, että se katkeroittaa yhden työläisjoukon toista vastaan ja siten auttaa työläisiä tuhoamaan toinen toisensa palkkataistelussa. Tämän lisäksi ammattiyhdistykset auttavat työnantajain luokkaa johtamaan työläisiä siihen harhaluuloon, että työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla on yhteisiä etuja.

Tämä asiaintila voidaan muuttaa ja työväenluokan edut säilyttää ainoastaan siten muodostetun järjestön avulla, että kaikki työläiset yhdellä teollisuusalalla, tai kaikilla aloilla, jos välttämätöntä, lakkaavat työstä milloin lakko tai työnsulku on julistettu jossakin järjestön osassa, siten tehden loukkauksen yhtä vastaan loukkaukseksi kaikkia vastaan.

Vanhoillisen mielilauseen: "Tyydyttävä päiväpalkka tyydyttävästä päivätyöstä" asemasta meidän on kirjoitettava sotalippuumme vallankumoukselliset tunnussanat: "Palkkajärjestelmän poistaminen."

Työväenluokan historiallinen tehtävä on kapitalismin kukistaminen. Tuotannon armeija on järjestettävä ei ainoastaan jokapäiväistä taistelua varten kapitalisteja vastaan, vaan myöskin jatkamaan tuotantoa sitten kun kapitalismi on voitettu. Järjestymällä teollisuuksittain me muodostamme uutta yhteiskuntarakennetta vanhan kuoren sisällä.

204. Mitä "teollisuuksittain järjestymisellä" tarkoitetaan?

Palkkatyöläisinä teollisuudessa järjestyministä — taloudellisesti — eikä poliittisesti. I. W. W. käsittää, että työläinen rikkauksien tuottajana on yhteiskunnallinen yksikkö — "unit" — sillä yhteiskunta ei mitenkään voi olla olemassa ilman työläisiä. Politikoitsijat taasen päinvastoin käsittävät, että kansalainen on yhteiskunnallinen yksikkö — "unit." Siksipä I. W. W. luottaakin työläisiin, joiden tulee olla tuottajina järjestetty saadaksensa teollisesti suurempi vaikutusvalta kuin mitä olisi mahdollista heille kansalaisina kapitalistisessa yhteiskunnassa. Juuri tätä tarkoitettiin silloin kuin esipuheessa mainittiin: "Järjestymällä teollisuuksittain me (työväenluokka) muodostamme uutta yhteiskuntaa vanhan kuoren sisällä." Tämä kieltää sen mahdollisuuden, että poliittisella toiminnalla taikka jollain muillakin keinoilla voitaisiin näin tehdä.

205. Selittäisitkö tämän vähän selvemmin?

I. W. W. pyrkii järjestämään työläiset kaikissa teollisuuksissa yhteen järjestöön. Mutta tämä kuitenkaan ei ole mikään joukkojärjestö (mass organization). Sen suunnitelmana on seurata sitä järjestystä, missä työläiset nykyaikana ovat itse tuotannossa ja järjestää heidät siten kuin heidän yhteiskunnallinen asemansa edellyttää teollisuudessa. Se ei koskaan kysy työläiseltä minkälaista työvälinettä hän käyttää, tai mitä työtä hän suorittaa. Se ainoastaan tiedustelee, mikä on se tarkoitusperä, päämäärä, jonka toteuttamiseksi hänen työ-

voimansa kulutetaan. Jos hänen työvoimansa on kulutettu tarkoituksella siten avustaa hiilituotantoa, silloin se luokittelee hänet hiilenkaivajaksi ja kirjoittaa tällaisen työläisen jäseneksi Hiilenkaivajain Teollisuusunioon No. 220 (Coal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220). Jos hänen työnsä taas avustaa rautatieliikennettä, niin tällöin ei ole hiventäkään väliä, minkälaista työtä raataja tekee, hän kuitenkin liitetään Rautatieläisten Teollisuusunioon No. 520 (Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520). Samoin ovat asiat kaikellaisiin töihin nähden kutomatehtaassakin; josko hän on insinööri, kangastuolien korjaaja, tai vaikkapa siivooja, hänen kaikessa tapauksessa on otettava paikkansa Kutomoteollisuustyöläisten Teollisuusuniossa No. 410 (Textile Workers Industrial Union No. 410); ja näin aina edelleen kunnes kaikki työväenluokan moninaiset tehtävät ovat tulleet huomioonotetuksi. I. W. W. aina järjestää, kasvattaa työläisiä, opettaa heille uuden maailmankatsomuksen, varustaa eli täyttää heidät uudelle tietoisuudella. Milloin hyvänsä sen järjestö on riittävästi laajakantoinen, ulottuvainen, sen jäsenistö harjaantunut ja järjestökuriin tottunut, silloin se on valmis ottamaan teollisuudet haltuunsa vain siksi, että se on valmistanut ja opettanut työläiset näin tekemään.

206. Mitä me tarkoitamme teollisuusuniolla?

Kaikilla työläisillä maailman jokaisella äärellä, on yhteiset edut ja lisäksi he ovat toisistansa keskenään riippuvaisia — yhden maan työläiset ovat kaikkien toisten maiden työläisistä riippuvaisia. Työläiset yhdellä teollisuuden alalla ovat samoin riippuvaisia kaikilla toisilla aloilla toimivista työläisistä ja taasen päinvastoin toiset työläiset heistä. Lisäksi vielä teollisuudessa, ottaen huomioon koko yhteiskunnallisen tuotannon, kansallisen tai kansainvälisen, ovat huomattavissa enemmän tai vähemmän selvästi määrätyt eroavaisuudet; jotakuinkin samallaiset tuotantoalat me tunnemme teollisuuksina, sellaisina kuin kivihiilen kaivaminen, rautatieliikenne, puutavaratuotanto, maanviljelys, terästuotanto, valmisteteollisuus y. m. Kun työläinen raataa jossain näistä teollisuuksista, tulee hän luonnollisestikin

läheisempään kosketukseen kanssatyöläistensä kera kuin jonkin toisen työväenluokan osan kanssa. Esimerkiksi hiilikaivannossa, taikka kaivoksen päällä, mitä tahansa kukin työläinen tehneekin, tehdään työtä tarkoituksella nostaa kivihiili maan uumenista ja kulettaa se sopivaan paikkaan, josta se voidaan siirtää sinne missä kivihiiltä kulloinkin tarvitaan. Mikä hyvänsä hän lieneekin — insinööri, masinisti, seppä, kaivosmies, ajuri, kuormittaja, punnitsija, kirjanpitäjä — mitä ikinä työläinen tehneekin tällä alalla — hänen työnsä kuitenkin kaikitenkin soveltuu yhteen kaikkien toisten kaivoksessa tai sen ympärillä työskenteleväin työläisten kanssa ja kaikkien heidän yhteinen tarkoitus eli päämääränsä on saada kivihiili nostetuksi kaivoksesta johonkin sopivaan paikkaan. He eivät voi toteuttaa mainittua tarkoitustansa ilman hänen apuansa, eikä myöskään hän ilman heitä. He ovat välttämättömiä hänelle ja hän heille; he kaikin yhteisesti ovat inhimillisenä käyttövoimana kaivosteollisuudessa. I. W. W. järjestää nämä kaikki yhteen teollisuusunioon.

Kun siis jokainen näistä kivihiilenkaivajista ovat enemmän tai vähemmän persoonallisessa kosketuksessa eli kanssakäymisessä toistensa kanssa kivihiilen tuotantoprosessissa, niin ainoastaan sen kautta, että teollisuus kokonaisuudessa otetaan huomioon, missä tuotteet — kivihiili — ovat edustettuina, he hiilenkaivajina näiden tuotteittensa välityksellä tulevat kosketukseen liikenteen ja sen yhteydessä liikennetyöläistenkin kanssa. I. W. W. järjestönä on mukailtu siten, että kaikkien työläisten yhteiskunnallinen yhteenkuuluvaisuus, rinnakkaisuus — ko-ordinationi — ja yhteistoiminta selvästi ilmenee sen yleisjärjestössä — työväenluokan järjestössä. Vain sen kautta, kun työläiset järjestetään teollisuuksittain ja nämä liitetään yhteen kiinteään järjestöön, te voitte nähdä, kuinka I. W. W. muodostelee uuden yhteiskunnan rakennetta vanhan kuoren sisällä.

207. Mutta eivätkö hiilenkaivajat nyt ole näin järjestetty?

Eivät. "Kaikki ei ole kultaa mikä kiiltää," sanotaan ja jokainen järjestö, vaikkapa se siltä näyttäisikin, ei

kuitenkaan ole teollisuusunio. Vaikkapa unio onkin sellainen, että siihen kuuluvat kaikki työläiset teollisuudessa, ei se kuitenkaan missään tapauksessa vielä silloin omaa kaikkea sitä, mitä järjestöltä vaaditaan ollaksensa teollisuusunio. Teollisuusunionismi, sellaisena kuin sen on I. W. W. esimerkkinä osoittanut, merkitsee jotain täydellisesti erilaista järjestöä kuin mikä on Amerikan Liittoutuneet Kaivosmiehet (United Mine Workers of America). Mainittu U. M. W. of A. yhdistää jäsenistönsä pitääksensä sen erillään toisista työläisistä. Huhtikuun ensimäisenä päivänä (1922) kaivostyöläiset irroittivat känsäiset kouransa työaseistansa ja lakkoutuivat; jos I. W. W. järjestönä olisi ollut teollisuudessa määräävässä asemassa, niin silloin samalla tunnilla, jolloin hiilenkaivajat lopettivat työnsä, olisi myöskin kivihiilen kulettaminen pysäytetty. Tällöin ei kaivosten omistajain eikä "yleisön" olisi tarvinnut vaivata päitänsä arvioidessa, että kuinka kauan lakkoutuneiden kaivosmiesten tuottama ylijäämä ja lakkopetturien kaivama kivihiili mahtaa riittää tyydyttääkseen yleisen tarpeen. Ensimäisestä päivästä alkaen lakolla olisi tietysti ollut kokonaan toisellainen sävy, sekä luonne ja hyvin luultavasti ei olisi siinä tapauksessa edes alkanutkaan. Eihän todellakaan hiilen kaivaminen niillä alueilla, joilla lakkopettureitakin olisi, hyödyttäisi kerrassaan mitään, ellei yksikään junamiehistä sitä kulettaisi mihinkään kaivoksien päältä.

Jos I. W. W. olisi kivihiiliteollisuudessa, niin silloin tonnipalkka (kappaletyö) järjestelmä ei olisikaan enää käytännössä. Kaivostyöläiset olisivat poistaneet kaikki vastenmieliset sekä epämukavat seikat ja ristiriitaisuudet, mitkä johtuvat kaivantojen omistajain ja työläisten etujen ristiriitaisuuksista. Kaivostyöläiset tekisivät työtä päiväpalkalla. Tuota n. k. "Check off" (että yhtiö pidättää unionmaksut työläisten palkoista — Suom.) systeemiäkään ei olisi; työläinen saisi palkkansa ilman, että sitä olisi kaikellaisilla vedoilla ja lyhennyksillä, millä tahansa, poljettu pienemmäksi kuin mitä sen oikeastaan tulee olla. Ei myöskään olisi mitään pelkoa siitä, että neuvotteluissa he tulisivat "myydyiksi", tai

pakoitettaisiin sovittelemalla (arbitration) ratkaisemaan riitaisuudet; liittoutunut työväenluokka voi turvata oikeuksia kaivostyöläisille ja samalla se voi myöskin luottaa kaivosmiehiin, että nämä puolestaan tulevat suorittamaan tehtävänsä. Kaivostyöläiset muodostavat jotakuinkin luotettavimman Amerikan työväenluokan aineksen ja se olisi erinomaisen kummallinen seikka, jolleivät he ensimäiseksi ja pian näe ja käsitä asiat oikeassa valossa. U. M. W. of A., intelligenttisimpine ja suurempine hyökkäävine vähemmistöineen amerikalaisessa työväenliikkeessä, ei kuitenkaan ole teollisuusunio. Tämä onkin mitä surkuteltavin asia.

208. Onko I. W. W. johtanut yhtään lakkotaistelua?

Kyllä — montakin. Goldfiedissä, Nevadassa, v:nna 1906 I. W. W. voitti hotellipalvelijoille kahdeksantuntisen työpäivän. I. W. W:n toiminnan tuloksena tässä kaupungissa oli ensimäiseksi yleinen 8-tuntinen työpäivä Yhdysvalloissa; ja $4.50 oli alin päiväpalkka ammatittomille työläisille.

209. Kyettiinkö se säilyttämään käytännössä?

Kaivantojen omistajain, pikkuporvarillisen liikemiesaineksen sekä lakkopetturien yhdistetyillä voimilla ja A. F. of L. yleisorganiseeraajan Grant Hamiltonin johdolla tehdyn hyökkäyksen vaikutuksesta aikaisemmin saavutetut voitot menetettiin. Lännen Kaivosmies Liiton (Western Federation of Miners) yleisten virkailijain kavaluus oli yhtenä tekijänä I. W. W:n kontrollin tuhoamisessa tällä alueella ja näin tulivat työläisten olosuhteet jälleen alas poljetuksi.

210. Minkälaisia olivat toiset lakot?

I. W. W:n toimivia miehiä potkittiin pois työstä Skowheganessa, Me., ja tällöin kolmetuhatta miestä lakkoutui. Siitä huolimatta, vaikkakin A. F. of Laboriin kuuluva United Textile Workers unio, John Goldenin johdon alaisena, teki voitavansa lakon murtamiseksi hankkimalla lakkopettureita, se kuitenkin pian voitettiin.

V:nna 1906 kolme tuhatta sahatyöläistä Portlandissa, Ore., voitti 9-tuntisen työpäivän ja 75 sentin palkanylennyksen.

Bridgeportissa, Conn., oli I. W. W:n johdon alainen lakko; putkityöläiset nousivat taisteluun, mutta A. F. of Laboriin kuuluvain unioiden jäsenet olivat lakkopettureina ja siksi yritys epäonnistui.

McKees Rockissa, Pennsylvaniassa, Pressed Steel Car Companyn kahdeksan tuhatta miestä lakkoutui v:nna 1909 ja lähes kolme kuukautta kestäneen järkähtämättömän taistelun jälkeen voittivat kaikki heidän vaatimuksensa. Tämä oli yksi sellainen lakko, jossa kasakat masennettiin.

Haverhillissa, Mass., molemmat sekä kutomotyöläisten että kenkätyöläisten lakot voitettiin v:nna 1912.

Valtava Lawrencen lakko (29,000 työläistä) voitettiin A. F. of Laboriin kuuluvain unioiden paheksuttavista ja kavalista "scabbays" menettelytavoista huolimatta. New Bedfordissa ($13,000 työläistä), Little Fallsissa, N. Y. (noin 1,500 työläistä). United Textile Workers järjestöön kuuluvat työläiset sielläkin olivat lakkopettureina. Tämä lakko kuitenkin voitettiin (1913). Puutavaratyöläiset Louisianassa kävivät lakkotaistelun v:nna 1913; kummityöläisten lakko Akronissa (22,000) työläistä). Kestettyään seitsemän viikkoa tämä lakko hävittiin (1913). Patersonin silkkityöläisten lakko (50,000). A. F. of Laboriin kuuluvain unioiden jäsenet yrittivät olla lakkopettureina, mutta tässä tapauksessa kuitenkin epäonnistuivat; se johtui työläisten mielipiteistä ja lisäksi hyvin järjestetystä lakkovahtauksesta (picketing.) Tuloksena oli kompromissisovinto. Tuhat i. w. w:läistä metallityöläistä Toletossa, Ohiossa, voitti lakon, mikä kesti vain muutamia päiviä. I. W. W:hen kuuluvat pukutyöläiset Baltimoressa, Marylandin valtiossa, hävisivät neljätoista viikkoa kestäneen lakkonsa; tämä johtui siitä, että A. F. of Laboriin kuuluva United Garment Workers unio hankki lakkopettureita mainitun lakon alaisille työmaille.

V:nna 1916 puhkesi raudankaivajain lakko Minnesotan Mesaba-alueella. Korporatsionit tyypillisellä tavallansa menettelivät tässä lakossa; nämä tuottivat suuren määrän pyssyhurttia mainitulle alueelle ja avuliaat "sheriffit" tekivät heistä apulais-sheriffejä. Nämä ilkeä-

mieliset pyssyhurtat tappoivat USEITA lakkovahteja.

Samana vuotena oli "Shingle Weavers" lakko Everettissa, Wash.; nämä kääntyivät I. W. W:n puoleen ja pyysivät sitä avuksensa. Sahain omistajat ja virkakunta yrittivät ajaa kaikki i. w. w.-läiset pois kaupungista. I. w. w.-läiset vastasivat moiseen aikomukseen siten, että vuokrasivat Seattlessa laivan mennäksensä sillä Everettiin. Sen he tekivätkin. Silloin kun tämä laiva oli pääsemäisillään satamaan, sheriffi, joka oli juovuksissa, ja suuri pyssyhurttalauma voimakkailla pyssyillänsä avasivat tulen laivassa lähestyviä matkustajia vastaan. Seitsemän näistä matkustajista tapettiin ja monet haavoittuivat. Arvailkaapa vain mitä tästä seurasi — juopuneen sheriffin ja puutavaraparoonien pyssyhurttain tekemästä rikoksesta asetettiin syytteeseen seitsemänkymmentäneljä (74) I. W. W:n jäsentä. Heidät vapautettiin, mutta sheriffiä kuitenkaan ei koskaan rangaistu.

Kuparinkaivajain lakon yhteydessä vuonna 1917 karkoitettiin Bisbeestä, Arizonasta, tuhat kaksisataa I. W. W:n jäsentä. Kupariyhtiöiden sonnustamalle sheriffille varattiin valituista roistoista koottu 2,500:n armeija käytettäväksi. Liittovaltain kommissioni myöhemmin tutki näitä asioita, mutta huolimatta siitä, vaikkakin näiden menettelyt olivat kerrassaan raakoja, ketään ei kuitenkaan ole asetettu syytteeseen; yksi I. W. W:n jäsen menetti henkensä.

Puutavaratyöläisten yleislakko kesäkuussa oli sellainen, jossa käytettiin varsinaisia I. W. W:n menettelytapoja. Yleislakkoa jatkettiin useammanlaisissa erinäisissa muodoissa — ärsytyslakkoja (irritation strikes), työmaalakkoja, yksilöllisiä lakkoja, lakkouduttiin yhdellä "kämpällä" ja mentiin toisille työmaille ja aina kuitenkin työskenneltiin lakon voittamiseksi. Tämä oli jotain uutta ja ennenkuulumatonta työnantajille ja nämä eivät olleetkaan arvanneet valmistautua tällaisten menettelytapain varalta. Senpätähden heidän täytyikin antaantua taistelussa ja seurauksena voitettiin 8-tuntinen työpäivä, palkkoja korotettiin ja olosuhteet yleensä suuressa määrin korjaantuivat.

211. Mikä on ammattiunio (Craft Union)?

Ammattiunio on työläisten järjestö, johon kuuluvat erikoisella ammattialalla työskentelevät ammattilaiset. Ennen ammattilainen, otettuansa raaka-aineen käsiteltäväkseen, suoritti työprosessissa kaikki erinäiset tehtävät, kunnes työkappale oli valmis tuote. Siihen aikaan suoritettiin pitkäaikainen oppikausi ja se olikin tällöin välttämättömyys, jotta työläinen ammatissansa oppi suorittamaan kaikki ne tehtävät, mitkä työkappaleen valmistamisessa eri asteilla oli suoritettava. Kahdeksannentoista vuosisadan lopulla ja yhdeksännentoista vuosisadan alussa nämä työläiset muodostivat unioita, joihin me olemme jo aikaisemmin jossain määrin tutustuneet. Nämä ammattilaiset olivat aloillansa korkeasti oppineita taitureita, käyttivät käsityövälineitä ja siksipä heitä usein onkin kutsuttu käsityöläisiksi.

212. Onko nykyaikana sellaisia työläisiä?

Vain muutamia harvoja — jos ollenkaan. Enimmät nykypäiväisistä ammateista eivät ole mitään muuta kuin vanhanaikaisten ammattien pelkkiä osia — rippeitä. Mikäli tavarain tuottaminen on kysymyksessä, sikäli mekaaniset työvälineet säälimättä syrjäyttävät varsinaisen ammatin. Se tahtoo sanoa, että yksityinen työläinen ei tarvitse niin monipuolista ammattitaitoa konetuotannossa kuin mikä oli aivan välttämättömyys käsiteollisuuden vallitessa. Kone on muuttanut tuotantotekniikan teollisuudessa niin paljon, että se monipuolinen ammattitaitoisuus, joka yksityiselle työläiselle ei ole enää välttämättömyys, vaaditaan nyt teollisuuden palveluksessa olevalta työväestöltä yhteisesti. Jotta voitaisiin niittää koneen tuottamat edut kaikessa täydellisyydessään, etutila tavallisesti annetaan sellaisille työläisille erinäisissä työprosesseissa, jotka osoittavat olevansa älykkäitä tai kykeneviä koneenkäyttäjiä ja kehittyvät työnopeudessaan siinä määrässä, että työkalu, kone, voi jatkuvasti käydä mahdollisimman lähipitäen sen täydellä höyryllä — nopeudella. Varsinainen ammattitaito, minkä aikoinaan käsityöläinen harjaantumisen kautta oppi, tehden hänet kykeneväksi suorittamaan monipuolisia tehtäviä, on nykyaikana jakautunut siten,

että se taito, mikä vaaditaan jokaisessa osakäsittelyssä, on spesialiseerautuneilta työläisiltä vaadittu ominaisuus eli kyky. Missä entisajan ammattilaisen taito sisälsi sarjan erinäisiä tehtäviä, mitkä hän oli pitkäaikaisen harjaantumisen kautta saavuttanut eli oppinut, nykyaikaisen työläisen taito koneteollisuudessa on rajoittunut vain muutamaksi osakäsittelyksi, minkä hän oppii suhteellisesti vähäisen harjoittelun kautta. Tänä päivänä meillä on paljon ammattitaitoisia työläisiä, mutta vain muutamia harvoja käsityöläisiä.

213. Kuinka ammattitaito määritellään?

Tämä tietysti riippuu siitä, minkälaisesta ammattilaisesta kulloinkin puhutaan. Jos puhutaan vanhanajan käsityöläisestä, niin se seikka, millä ammattitaitoisuus ratkaistaan, voidaan määritellä näin: Ammattitaito — se kyky itse työnteossa, joka tekee työläisen kykeneväksi sivuuttamaan tavallisen eli keskinkertaisen tehtäväänsä varsinaisesti tottumattoman työläisen kaikissa niissä työprosesseissa, mitkä ovat välttämättömät raaka-aineen muovailemisessa eli muuttamisessa valmiiksi tuotteeksi; tarvittava tietoisuus tehtävästänsä ja jonkin määrätyn esineen tuottamiseen tarvittavassa tuotantoprosessissa käytännöllisen kokemuksen kautta hankittu tottumus eli kyky; että voi suorittaa monipuoliset tehtävänsä voimaperäisellä tavalla, johon me olemme aikaisemmin tutustuneet käsityöläisiä koskevissa selostuksissa, sillä hehän suorittivat monivuotiset oppikautensa.

Ammattitaito, sen nykyaikaisessa merkityksessä, tarkoittaa kykyä eli kuntoisuutta voida suorittaa yhden tai muutamia eri tehtäviä erinomaisen hyvin.

214. Eikö tämä edellytä, että ammateita nykyaikana ei ole olemassakaan?

Tarkasti puhuen ammateita ei enää ole. Kirjaltajista me puhumme aivan kuin he olisivat käsityöläisiä, mutta todellakin on pitkä harppaus aikaan ja niihin olosuhteisiin, jolloin tämä oli totta ja paikallaan. Aikoja sitten sivuutetun ajan kirjaltajan työn nyt suorittavat lukuisat spesialiseerautuneet työläiset. Missä hän suoritti kaikellaiset tehtävät kirjapainossa, siinä nyt tapaamme

useita spesialisteja, jokainen suorittaen vain määrättyä tehtävää ja näiden keskinäisen yhteistoiminnan kautta tulee hänen, tuon entisajan kirjaltajan, tehtävät suoritetuksi. Tämä pitää paikkansa räätäleihin, suutareihin, kirvesmiehiin, seppiin samoin kuin moniin muihinkin nähden. Yleisenä pyrkimyksenä on jakaa ja samalla yksinkertaistuttaa tehtävät työprosessissa niin, että kauan sitten sivuutetun kehityskauden ammattilaista nykyaikana ei tunneta ja tarpeeton sellainen onkin nykyaikaisessa tuotannossa. Kuten edellä on mainittu, tarkasti puhuen, ammateita ei enää ole ja siitä seuraa, aivan kuin päivä seuraa yötä, että ammattiunio on aikansa elänyt, ajan suuri virhe nykyaikaisessa tuotannossa. Kuten Teollisuusunion Manifestissa erinomaisen sattuvasti mainitaan näin: "**Näitä jaotteluita,** jotka eivät perustu ollenkaan työläisten taidon tai etujen erilaisuuteen, **työn teettäjät käyttävät ärsyttääkseen työntekijöitä toisiansa vastaan . . . ja näillä keinotekoisilla eroitteluilla heikontaakseen tyrannimaisen kapitalistisen sorron vastustusyrityksiä.**"

215. Kuinka I. W. W. muodostuu?

I. W. W. muodostuu teollisuusunioista, teollisuus-departmenteista, teollisuus-piirineuvostoista ja yleisistä teollisuus-piirineuvostoista. Jokaisen teollisuusunion paikallisosastot eli "branchit" ovat strateegisesti sopivilla paikoilla itse teollisuuteen nähden ja työmaalähetti-järjestelmän kautta jatkuvasti ylläpitää yhteyttä jäsenistön kanssa.

216. Mikä on teollisuus-departmentti?

Läheisesti liittoutuneet eli sukulaisuussuhteissa olevain teollisuuksien teollisuusuniot ovat liitetyt departmentti-järjestöihin. Esimerkiksi Meriliikennetyöläisten Teollisuusunio voi olla yhdistettynä Rautatieliikennetyöläisten Teollisuusunion, Kunnallisten Liikennelaitosten Työläisten Teollisuusunion, Moottoriliikennetyöläisten ja Ilmailijain Unioiden kanssa ja näin tehtyään muodostavat "Tiedonvälitys- ja Liikennedepartmentin".

Teollisuus-departmentit ovat yhdistetyt yleisjärjestöön, joka taas puolestaan on olennaisena osana samallaisessa kansainvälisessä järjestössä; ja kansainvälisen

järjestön kautta voidaan saada solidaarinen yhteistoiminta kaikkien maiden työläisten kesken.

217. Mikä on teollisuus-piirineuvosto?

Järjestö on kaikki kaikessa I. W. W. liitossa. Ei riitä ainoastaan se, että työläiset ovat luokkatietoisia. Heidän täytyy olla järjestettyjä. Teolliset piirineuvostot muodostuvat yhden teollisuuden kaikista työpaja- tai työmaaosastoista — brancheista — valituista edustajista jollain määrätyllä alueella. Sen tarkoituksena on täten edistää sekä ylläpitää käsityskantain ja toiminnan yhtenäisyyttä niissä piireissä, joissa tällaiset neuvostot toimivat.

218. Mikä on yleinen teollisuus-piirineuvosto?

Että voitaisiin ylläpitää yleinen solidaarisuus työläisten keskuudessa jossain määrätyssä piirissä, kaksi taikka sitä useammat teollisuusuniot valitsevat edustajat, jotka sitten muodostavat yleisen teollisen piirineuvoston. Sen tehtävänä on pitää jonkin määrätyn piirin eri teollisuusuniot kosketuksessa eli yhteistoiminnassa keskenään ja tällainen yleinen piirineuvosto puolestaan suorittaa kaikki ne tehtävät, jotka koskevat piirissä asuvain työläisten yleistä hyvinvointia.

219. Onko A. F. of L:ssa mitään sellaista, joka vastaisi I. W. W:n yleistä teollisuus-piirineuvostoa?

Ei aivan ihan täsmälleen. A. F. of Laborin n. k. työväen keskusuniot (Central Labor Unions) lähimmin vastaavat sitä. Kuitenkaan tällainen järjestö, joka muodostuu ammattiunioiden edustajista, ei mitenkään voi olla niin todellinen työväestön edustaja jollain määrätyllä paikkakunnalla kuin sellainen järjestö, mikä edustaa teollisuudessa varsinaisena työvoimana olevaa työväestöä. Lisäksi A. F. of L:n maantieteellinen puoli on poliittinen, I. W. W:n sitävastoin taloudellinen. Keskusjärjestö A. F. of L:ssa on enimmäkseen tekemisissä kaupunkipiirin poliittisten asiain kanssa; I. W. W:n keskusjärjestö päinvastoin käyttää siihen kuuluvain unioiden taloudellista voimaa parantaessaan työläisten yhteiskunnallista asemaa. A. F. of Laboriin kuuluvat keskusjärjestöt luottavat poliittisiin hallituksiin ja palvelevat niitä sekä pyrkivät anomuksilla ja

poliittisilla vaikutuksillansa hankkimaan halutuita muutoksia tai korjauksia. Näillä A. F. of Laborin keskusjärjestöillä ei ole taloudellista voimaa, elleivät nämä sitä hanki itsellensä. Niihin kuuluvain unioiden itsenäisyys — autonomia — estää keskusunioilta kaikellaisen voimain käytön. A. F. of Laborin keskusjärjestöt esiintyvät sovittelijoina niiden työnantajain ja eri ammattialain työläisten välillä, jotka joutuvat riitaisuuksiin keskenään. Tyytymättömäin unioiden aikoma boikotti esim. ei ole sitova ennenkuin keskusjärjestöt sen puolestaan hyväksyvät. Nämä yksinkertaisesti ovat paikallisia parlamentteja, joilla on valta kylläkin mitä hyvänsä suositella, mutta ei ole voimia pakottaakseen ne käytäntöön, tulemaan hyväksytyiksi. Työväen Valtioliitot (State Federations of Labor) maantieteellisine rajoineen niinikään ovat poliittisia jaostoita, jotka lainlaatijakunnissa pyrkivät vaikuttamaan lainlaadintaan, mutta näiltäkin puuttuu taloudellinen mahti. Kumpainenkin, niin työväen keskusuniot kuin valtioliitotkin, järjestävät järjestymättömiä työpaikkoja. Näiden järjestöjen suorittama järjestämistyö on aivan toisarvoinen asia.

220. Käsittävätkö työläiset kaupungeissa ja kauppaloissa yleisesti näiden A. F. of L:n alajärjestöjen toiminnan rajoittuneisuuden?

Eivät yleisesti. Varsin usein tapahtuu, että ammattiuniot vastoinkäymisissään arvelevat saavansa näiltä keskusjärjestöiltä teollista apua; kun tämä näiltä kuitenkin kielletään, niin ovat ne sen takia perin juurin hämmästyneitä — neuvottomia. Ellei unio työnantajain kanssa ristiriitoihin jouduttuaan voi ottaa näiden keskusjärjestöjen teollista kannatusta laskuihinsa — näin olemme vallan usein kuulleet tiedusteltavan — niin mitä varten nämä järjestöt sitten oikeastaan ovat olemassa. Teollisuuslevottomuuksien aikoina me myöskin olemme havainneet näiden työväen keskusunioitten rappeutuvan, johtuen tämä siitä, että niihin kuuluvain unioitten työläiset, jotka käsittivät, että keskusjärjestöt paikallisina järjestöinä saavat aikaan näihin kuuluvain unioiden teollisen yhtenäisyyden, huomasivatkin petty-

neensä kerrotunlaisissa toiveissaan. Työläiset voivat ajatella ainoastaan teollisuuksien synnyttämäin vaikutelmain mukaan ja politiikalla ei ole vaikutusta, vetovoimaa heihin. Samalla aikaa, kun nämä keskusjärjestöt eivät kykene palvelemaan työväestöä teollisella eli industrialisella tavalla; samalla aikaa, kun ne ovat esteinä edistyksen tiellä teollisen toiminnan kautta, ne kuitenkin ovat ammattiunionistisen järjestelmän arvokkaita piirteitä. Ne ovat oppikouluja siihen nähden, mitä työläisten tulee oppia väistämään ja useimmat todellisen unionismin esitaistelijat ovat näissä tutkinnon suorittaneet; monet heistä ovat närkästyneet, tulleet käsittämään A. F. of L:n kapitalistisen luonteen ja tämän seurauksena katkaisseet kaikki suhteensa sen kanssa.

221. Eikö I. W. W:ssä voisi käydä samoin?

Se voi tapahtua, jos kapitalistiset käsityskannat pääsevät vallitseviksi sen neuvostoissa. Mutta I. W. W:n ensimäinen tehtävä on opettaa työväestö tuntemaan kapitalistisen tuotantotavan taloustiede ja ne mitkä tunnetaan "luokkataistelu tieteinä." Nämä tieteet kuin ovat syväin rivien käsityksien perusteina, silloin työläisiä ei voidakaan narrailla ja harhaan johtaa. Seitsemänätoista toimintavuotenansa on I. W. W. levittänyt selvällä luokkataistelun kannalla kirjoitettua kirjallisuutta, sen pienistä kassoista huolimatta, enemmän kuin A. F. of L. on kyennyt tekemään useammassa kuin neljässäkymmenessä vuodessa.

222. Mikä on työmaalähetti?

I. W. W:ssä työmaalähetti on järjestäjä. Jokainen kykenevä jäsenmaksunsa täydellisesti suorittanut jäsen voi ryhtyä työmaalähetiksi. Tullaksensa työmaalähetiksi jäsen täyttää valtakirjan hankkimista varten laaditun hakemuskaavakkeen ja lähettää sen teollisuusunionsa kirjurille. Hän lähettää hakijalle valtakirjan ja järjestämisvälineitä. Nämä saatuansa hän on oikeutettu palkkatyöläisen kenen tahansa ottamaan eli sisäänkirjoittamaan jäseneksi I. W. W:hen. Työmaalähettijärjestelmä on militanttisen teollisuusunionismin tyypillinen tuote. Se on varsin voimaperäinen tapa järjestää työläisiä.

223. Kuinka työmaalähetti toimii?

I. W. W:ssä työmaalähetit suorittavat saman tehtävän kuin palkatut järjestäjät toisissa unioissa; he hankkivat uusia jäseniä. Saatuansa ensin valtakirjan sekä järjestämisvälineet he ryhtyvät toimintaan. Järjestämisvälineisiin kuuluu jäsenkortteja, veromerkkejä, vapaachtoisia ylimääräisiä merkkejä ja I. W. W:n kirjallisuutta.

Työmaalähetti selittää periaatteet ja ohjelman kaikille niille työläisille, joiden kanssa hän joutuu kosketukseen tehtävässään. Hän myy sekä jakaa kirjallisuutta. Hän agiteeraa työmaalla ja myöskin siellä kirjoittaa uusia jäseniä järjestöön. Hän puhuu työläisille työssä ollessaan, päivällisaikana ja työn jälkeen. Hän käy vierailemassa työläisten kodeissa. Hän ei koskaan jätä tilaisuutta käyttämättä agiteerataksensa I. W. W:n hyväksi.

Työmaalähetti ei ainoastaan ota uusia jäseniä, vaan lisäksi myy ja asettaa veromerkkejä vanhain jäsenten jäsenkirjoihin. Työmaalla hän suorittaa paikallisosaston eli branchin kirjurin tehtävät. Työmaalähetti tekee palkatonta työtä ahkeroidessaan järjestämistyön edistämiseksi. Lähettien tulee tehdä viikottainen raportti heidän edustamallensa teollisuusuniolle.

224. Mikä on matkusteleva lähetti?

Matkusteleva eli kiertelevä lähetti kuljettaa matkassansa suuren määrän järjestämisvälineitä. Nämä matkustelevat viljavainioilla ja teollisuuspiireissä, varustaen työmaaläheteille jäsenkortteja, kuukausiveromerkkejä ja kirjallisuutta. He myöskin ovat oikeutettuja ottamaan uusia jäseniä I. W. W:hen. He tavallisesti ovat teollisuusunion yleisen organiseerauskomitean jäseniä. He matkustellessaan tutkivat teollisia olosuhteita ja ilmoittavat saamansa tiedot ja havainnot yleiseen virastoon. He ovat teollisuusunion edustajia, jotka tarkkailevat tilannetta taistelutantereilla.

225. Mikä on paikallansa pysyvä (Stationary) lähetti?

Teollisuusuniot sijoittavat nämä paikallaan pysyvät eli "stationary" lähetit sopiviin paikkoihin (Strategic

points) tekemään järjestämistyötä. Meriliikennetyöläisten Teollisuusuniossa No. 520 näitä kutsutaan satamalähetteiksi (Port Delegates). Paikallaan pysyvän lähetin konttori tavallisesti on toimivain kiertäväin sekä työmaalähettien jonkinmoisena keskusasemana. Heidän konttorinsa tavallisesti sijaitsevat sellaisilla paikkakunnilla, joiden kautta työläiset kulkevat viljavainioille ja teollisuuskeskuksiin. Ne ovat kuljeksivain samoin kuin paikallisenkin työväestön järjestämisasemia. Paikoillaan pysyvä lähetti säännöllisesti valmistaa ja lähettää raportin teollisuusunionsa päämajaan. Raportti voi olla lavea sekä monipuolinen, jossa lähetti antaa arvokkaita teollisuusaloja koskevia tietoja yleiselle kirjurille ja toisillekin päämajassa oleville teollisuusunion virkailijoille.

226. Kuinka on sisäänkirjoitus- sekä jäsenverojen laita I. W. W:ssä?

Kun I. W. W. todella tahtoo järjestää työläiset, se tekee sen heille niin helpoksi kuin suinkin mahdollista näin tehdäksensä — siis järjestyäksensä. Näinollen se onkin taipuvainen sisäänkirjoitusmaksut sekä jäsenverot asettamaan niin alhaisiksi kuin suinkin on mahdollista. Sisäänkirjoitusmaksu on $2.00 ja jäsenverot 50 senttiä kuukaudessa. Vastakohtana näille ovat A. F. of Laboriin kuuluvat uniot, joista muutamat perivät monia satoja dollareita sisäänkirjoitusmaksuna. Aivan ilmeisesti sellaiset uniot, jotka perivät korkeat sisäänkirjoitusmaksut, tekevät näin pitääksensä työläiset poissa unioista ja sillä seikalla, että asetetaan korkeat sisäänkirjoitusmaksut, onkin tarkoitus pitää heidät poissa järjestöistä. Tämän takia ammattiunioita onkin kutsuttu työmaatrusteiksi.

227. Vaatiiko teollisuusuniot sisäänkirjoitusmaksut?

Ei. I. W. W:n jäsen suorittaa ainoastaan yhden sisäänkirjoitusmaksun. Työläinen kerran liittyessään I. W. W:hen tulee yhden teollisuusunion jäseneksi ja milloin tahansa hän vaihtaa työpaikkaansa, niin hän — näytettyänsä vain jäsenkorttinsa — aivan automaattisesti muuttuu sen teollisuusunion jäseneksi, millä alalla hän nyt uudessa työpaikassansa työskentelee. Kerran unionmies on aina unionmies I. W. W:ssä — ellei hän

nimittäin jotenkuten riko unionsääntöjä. Milloin tahansa ammattiunionistisessa järjestelmässä mies vaihtaa ammattiansa siirryttyään yhdeltä teollisuuden alalta jollekin toiselle, hänen täytyy maksaa toinen sisäänkirjoitusmaksu. Jos hän kieltäytyy noin vain tuhlaten kylvelemästä rahojansa, tai jos hänellä ei satu olemaan rahaa sitä maksaaksensa, niin tällöin ei edes pitkäaikainen ja kunnollinen unionistinen mainekaan vähintäkään auta tällaisessa tapauksessa. Hänen täytyy maksaa. Hänellä saa olla vaikka laatikollinen unionkortteja hallussaan ja nämäkään eivät häntä auta. Hänen kuitenkin kaikitenkin tulee ottaa uusi unionkortti. Se voidaan tulkita vaikkapa näin: Kun mies liittyy teollisuusunioon, hän silloin liittyy I. W. W:hen; silloin kun mies liittyy johonkuhun A. F. of Laboriin kuuluvaan unioon, ei hän liity itse A. F. of Laboriin. — A. F. of Laboria ei ole taloudellisesti olemassakaan. Olettakaamme, että hän liittyy putkittajain unioon. Mutta milloin vain hän vaihtaa ammattiansa, silloin hänen täytyy liittyä taasen toiseen unioon. Ammattiunion menettelytapa on sellainen, että mieheltä otetaan joko rahat tai pidetään hänet poissa järjestöstä. I. W. W:n pyrkimyksenä sitävastoin on saada heidät liittymään unioon; rahasta ei välitetä, jos vaan heillä on jonkin teollisuusunion täysinmaksettu jäsenkortti taskussa. I. W. W. luottaa työläisten taloudelliseen voimaan. Toiset uniot nojautuvat eli luottavat rahastoihinsa. I. W. W. tahtoo saada riveihinsä kaikki työläiset. Toiset uniot sitävastoin tahtovat saada niihin vain muutamat valitut.

228. Onko I. W. W. salainen järjestö?

I. W. W. ei ole salainen järjestö. Se ei koskaan pidä salaisia kokouksia. Sillä ei ole tunnussanoja, salaisia merkkejä tai joitakuita toisia hassutuksia. Kaikki kokoukset ovat aivan avoimia. I. W. W:n jäsenet käsittävät, että heidän järjestönsä avoimena on paljon vaikuttavampi kuin mitä se olisi salaisena. Ei voida toivoa sitä, että maanalaiset liikkeet olisivat vaikuttavia työväenluokan järjestöitä tässä maassa. Työväen salaisissa järjestöissä kaikellaiset urkkijat sikiytyvät mainiosti. Olisi sula mahdottomuus saada kyllin

laaja työväenjärjestö, joka — omaksuttuaan itsellensä salaiset säännöt, ohjelman ja tarkoitusperät — voisi koota riveihinsä kaikki työläiset. Koska I. W. W. ei salaisesti vehkeile valloittaakseen poliittisen valtion, vaan järjestäytyy kontrolleerataksensa teollisuuden, ei olekaan mikään välttämättömyys tai erikoinen hyve toimia salaisuudessa.

229. Mitkä työläiset voivat liittyä I. W. W:hen?

Kaikki palkkatyöläiset ovat kelvollisia I. W. W:n jäsenyyteen. Se pyrkii järjestämään kaikki työläiset teollisuudessa. Työläisen tointa, ammattia tai palkkaa ei oteta huomioon. Konttorityöläiset, teknikot, opettajat, insinöörit y. m. voivat liittyä I. W. W:hen, kuitenkin aina huomioonottaen, että nämä tekevät palkkatyötä.

Määritelmä "valkokaulus-ylimystö" (engl. kielessä "brain workers".—Suom.) on tavallisesti käytetty työväenluokan jaottelussa ja sitä olisi kartettava. I. W. W:n pyrkimyksenä on saada solidaarisuus aikaan työväestön keskuudessa ja kaikki sellaiset määritelmät, jotka herättävät eripuraisuutta, olisi poistettava.

230. Mitä on solidaarisuus.

Tätä määritelmää käytetään ilmaisemaan työväenluokan yhteisiä etuja, toveruutta, pyrkimyksiä ja toimintaa. Se merkitsee samallaisissa oloissa tai asemassa olevain etujen, vastuunalaisuuksien ja tarkoitusperäin eli päämääräin täydellistä yhdistämistä ja noiden tällaisessa asemassa taikka olosuhteissa olevain järjestämistä tarkoituksella turvata heidän yhteisiä etuja, kantaa heidän kollektiiviset vastuunalaisuutensa ja toteuttaa heidän keskinäiset tarkoitusperänsä — päämääränsä.

Teollisuusunionismi on ainoa sellainen keino, jonka kautta teollinen solidaarisuus voidaan käytännössä toteuttaa. "Loukkaus yhtä vastaan on loukkaus kaikkia kohtaan" on määritelmä, missä solidaarinen henki parhaiten ilmaistaan.

231. Mitä on syndikalismi?

Europassa syndikalismi merkitsee unionismia. Yhdysvalloissa sanaa on käytetty niin ristiriitaisesti ja väärinymmärretysti, että se todellakin merkitsee mel-

keinpä mitä hyvänsä. Valtioiden lainlaatijat, työnantajain ärsyttäminä ja sanomiston avustamina ovat siinä määrin vääristelleet ja väärin selittäneet syndikalismin, että kansan enemmistö käsittää ja pitää sen rikollisena ja hirmuisena salaliittoutumisena. Syndikalismi johtuu ranskalaisesta sanasta "syndicate" ja tarkoittaa paikallista ammattiuniota. Ranskassa ammattiunionistisessa liikkeessä on kaksi siipeä — radikaalit ja konservatiivit eli vanhoilliset. Eroittautuakseen konservatiiveista nämä radikaaliset ainekset kutsuvat itseänsä "vallankumouksellisiksi syndikalisteiksi". Silloin kun I. W. W. alkoi saada jalansijaa ja voittaa valtaa tässä maassa, niin tällöin kapitalistista järjestelmää puolustavat fraasiniekat hyökkäsivät mitä katkerimmin sitä vastaan. Herättääksensä kaikellaisia ennakkoluuloja järjestöä vastaan, nämä kutsuivat i. w. w.-läisyyttä Europasta tuoduksi, importeeratuksi syndikalismiksi. Tuo näin annettu nimitys on syöpynyt järjestöön siinä määrin, että vallan hyvää tarkoittava "historioitsija" I. W. W:stä kertoessaan kutsui sitä Amerikan syndikalistiseksi liikkeeksi. I. W. W. ja Europan syndikalistiset liikkeet laajaperäisesti monissakin suhteissa eroavat toisistansa. I. W. W. ei ole syndikalistisen liikkeen tuote. Itse asiassa I. W. W. on ensimäinen kansainvälinen työväenliike. Sen filosofia, järjestörakenne ja pyrkimykset ovat varsinaisena perusteena, pohjana, jolle maailman köyhälistön kansainvälinen yhtenäisyys voidaan rakentaa.

232. Mitä on "rikollinen syndikalismi"?

Jos tämän maan lainlaatijat pakotettaisiin kirjoittamaan lakinsa englanninkielellä, niin tällöin sellaista fraasia kuin "rikollinen syndikalismi" ei olisi olemassakaan. Syndikalismi on ranskalainen sana ja merkitsee unionismia. Olisi tietysti epäviisasta liittää lakikirjoihin sellaisia lakeja, jotka tunnettaisiin nimellä "rikollinen unionismi"; siksipä lainlaatijat ovatkin tykänneet käyttää fraasia "rikollinen syndikalismi".

Lukuisat valtiot ovat laatineet ja hyväksyneet lakeja "rikollista syndikalismia" vastaan. Se on epätodenmukaisesti ja vihamielisesti tulkittu sellaiseksi opiksi,

joka kannattaa väkivaltaa, terrorismia ja rikoksia aiheuttaakseen poliittisia sekä teollisia eli taloudellisia muutoksia. Amerikan mantereella ei ole sellaista uniota olemassakaan, joka kehoittaa väkivaltaisuuksiin, yllyttää terrorismiin tai kehoittaa tekemään rikoksia ja näinollen siis ei myöskään ole "rikollista syndikalismiakaan". Ilmeisesti, mutta salakavalasti laki on laadittu sekä hyväksytty tarkoituksella sen varjossa hyökätä unionismia vastaan. Lainlaatijoilla ei ole ollut rohkeutta kutsuakseen lakiansa "rikolliseksi unionismiksi".

233. Mikä luonnonlaki innoittaa unioiden järjestämiseen?

Keskinäisen avun (mutual aid) laki.

234. Mikä on keskinäisen avun laki?

Keskinäinen apu on luonnon perus- eli olemusperäinen laki, joka aiheuttaa sen, että eläimetkin parveilevat laumoissa, siten turvatakseen itseänsä ulkonaisia vaaroja vastaan.

235. Mikä on keskinäisen avun ylevin inhimillinen ilmaisu?

I. W. W:n periaatteet ja ohjelma ovat keskinäisen avun ylevimmät ilmaisumuodot, sillä näihin sisältyy ihmiskunnan suuren enemmistön keskinäisen turvaamisen ja myöskin edistymisen jalo ihanne.

Keskinäinen apu merkitsee sitä, että ihminen tarpeen vaatiessa tarjoaa viipymättä apuansa työläistovereillensa ja hän taas samalla tavalla voi tarvittaessa saada vastapalkkioksi pikaisen avun itsellensä. Tämä on se solidaarisuuden ja itsepuolustuksen vaisto, joka vaikutuksinensa saa köyhälistön järjestymään työväen unioihin. Keskinäinen apu tavallisesti tulee ilmaistuksi monellakin eri tavalla. Keskinäinen apu se saattaa työnantajatkin muodostamaan järjestöitä. Salaiset seuratkin ovat keskinäisen avun ilmaisumuotoja. Alemmat eläimetkin käyttävät keskinäistä apua hyväksensä. Mehiläiset sekä muurahaiset harrastavat keskinäistä apua laajassa mitassa. Peurat sekä sudet keskinäisen avun vaikutuksista elävät laumoissa. Ei se ole rakkaus toveriansa tai lähimmäistänsä kohtaan, joka vaikuttaa

sen, että ihminen auttaa jotain hätääntynyttä, vaan tekee hän sen keskinäisen avun synnyttämän vaiston kannustamana. Talvella eläimet tunkeilevat keskinäiseen läheisyyteen lämmittääkseen toisiansa. Ei lammas erikoisesti rakasta laumaa ja siksi kulje sen mukana, vaan se vaistomaisesti tuntee keskinäisen avun tarpeen ja siksi pysytteleikse laumassa. Koiran penikka ei tunkeile toisten penikkain läheisyyteen pitääksensä ne lämpöisinä, vaan päinvastoin lämmittääkseen itseänsä. Tämä on keskinäinen apu. Työläiset eivät myöskään järjesty siksi, että nämä rakastavat toisiansa, vaan ainoastaan sen vuoksi, että järjestönsä avulla he kykenevät hankkimaan itsellensä enemmän elintarpeita, elämän hyvyyksiä, kuin ilman järjestöä.

LOPUKSI.

Lukijat tietysti ovat panneet merkille, että unionismin aamunsarastuksesta saakka on Yhdysvalloissa kerta toisensa perästä yritetty poliittiset puolueet jotenkuten sitoa työväen taloudellisiin järjestöihin. Huolimatta siitä, että kaikki järjestyneen työväestön aikaisemmin saamat kokemukset osoittavat poliittisen toiminnan voimattomuuden, mikäli varsinaisen työväenluokan edut ovat kysymyksessä, on se käsitys, että politiikka tarjoaa tuloksia tuottavan toiminta-alan työväestölle, sangen vaikea kokonaisuudessaan pois kitkeä työläisten mielistä.

Yhdeksännentoista vuosisadan toiselta vuosikymmeneltä alkaen historialliset todistuskappaleet osoittavat, että työväen poliittinen toiminta on ollut sinä vaikuttavana keinona, jonka avulla hyvinkin lupaavat työväenliikkeet on johdettu salakareille — riutuen kuolemaan. Työväen poliittiset puolueet ovat imeneet kuiviin taloudellisten järjestöjen elinnesteen, niiden elinvoimaisuuden, ja ovat puolueet pitäneet työväenliikkeen sellaisena, että se on vain odotellut sopivaa aikaa juuri silloin, kun olisi pitänyt marssia eteenpäin. Politikoitsijat tänä päivänä voivat "prameillen osoittaa" aikai-

semmin suoritettuun poliittiseen toimintaan Amerikassa, mutta he kuitenkin jättävät huomioonottamatta, tai eivät ainakaan kiinnitä huomiota siihen tosiasiaan, että mikäli poliittinen liike on elpynyt, sikäli myöskin on samassa suhteessa taloudellinen toiminta rappeutunut, käynyt heikommaksi.

Aina silloin tällöin sellaiset liikkeet, joiden tarkoituksena on ollut päästä kohoamaan amerikalaisen työväestön kansallisiksi eli koko maata käsittäviksi järjestöiksi, ovat ajautuneet työväen politiikan salakareille. Me kylläkin tapaamme siellä ja täällä erinäisiä tapauksia, jolloin työväestöä edustavat järjestöt, aikaisemmin saatujen kokemuksien nojalla, protesteeraavat poliittiseen toimintaan ryhtymistä vastaan, ollen nämä sitä mieltä, että järjestöjä ei olisi sellaiseen yhdistettävä. Siitä huolimatta on aivan meidän päiviimme saakka säilynyt sellainen käsitys, että järjestynyt työväestö voi esiintyä poliittisenakin tekijänä, voimana; että uniot voivat vaikuttavasti toimia useammalla kuin yhdellä tavalla. Vaikkakin Amerikan työväestön menneisyys epäilemättä vakuuttavasti toteaa, että poliittisen toiminnan hyväksyminen sekä unioiden toimintaan yhdistäminen on synnyttänyt hajaannusta, ollen sillä lisäksi halvaannuttava vaikutus näiden taloudelliseen toimintaan, niin kaikesta tästä huolimatta löytyy vieläkin sellaisia henkilöitä, jotka — ehkäpä sen takia, kun eivät ymmärrä analyseerata menneisyyttä — edelleenkin ovat vakuutettuja, että poliittinen toiminta nimenomaisesti sekä oikeudenmukaisesti kuuluu unioiden varsinaiseen toimintaan.

Valtion sekaantuminen työnantajain ja työläisten välisten riitaisuuksien ratkaisijaksi, esiintyen se aina työnantajain puolella, pyrkii harhaanjohtamaan sellaiset, jotka eivät voi asioita syvällisemmin käsittää, ja johtaa heidät sellaiseen käsitykseen, että työväestö, äänivaltaansa käyttämällä, voi muuttaa valtion varsinaisen luokkaluonteen. Sellainen henkilö, joka tämän näin ymmärtää, käsittää väärin valtion, joka on välikappale eli se ase, jolla ja jonka kautta hallitseva luokka pyrkii ylläpitämään ja ikikestäväksi saattamaan

kapitalistiluokan ja työväenluokan väliset suhteet — orjuussuhteet.

Kapitalistinen valtio toimii hallitsevan luokan puolesta sekä hyväksi nykyisessä yhteiskunnassa, aivan kuten valtio toimi hallitsevan luokan eduksi kahleorjuuden sekä feodaalisen yhteiskunnan aikana; valtio suojelee sekä ylläpitää sellaisia yhteiskunnallisia suhteita, joiden alaisena yhden luokan työn hedelmät ovat toisen luokan omaisuutta. Yhteiskunnallisesti välttämättömäin eli olemusperäisten omaisuuksien — luonnon rikkauksien ja tuotantovälineiden — omistuksen takaa valtio ja tästä omistusoikeudesta johtunut yhteiskunnallinen suhde on näiden seikkain aiheuttama seuraus, jota valtio on tarkoitettu säilyttämään.

Yhdysvallat, selvemmin kuin mikään muu nykyaikainen maa, osoittaa, että valtio ei ole ainoastaan välikappale, jonka avulla vallitsevat luokkasuhteet säilytetään, vaan että se on erinomainen laitos, jonka avulla omistusoikeuksia, joiden vaikutuksesta se on kehittynytkin, voidaan omaisuuksien turvaamisen rinnalla ja yhteydessä vielä lisätäkin. Maiden y. m. luovutukset rautateille, metsäin, mineraalien ja öljyn rosvoukset mitä selvimmin osoittavat, että hallitus (valtio) on ollut aseena, jota käyttäen kapitalistit ovat kohonneet valtaan ja työväestö poljettu alas nykyiseen onnettomaan asemaansa Yhdysvalloissa.

Valtio on aina ollut valepukuna, johon pukeutuneina rosvoavat voimat ovat haarniskoituneet valloittaakseen itsellensä yhteiskunnallisesti välttämättömät välineet ja jolla ne ovat Yhdysvaltain sekä toistenkin maiden varsinaiset tuottajat pitäneet alamaisuudessaan. Tämän omistusoikeuden sekä luokkasuhteiden puolustamiseksi ja myöskin saadaksensa ne ikikestäviksi, valtio käyttää kaikki sen komennettavissa olevat voimat. Tämä onkin sen varsinainen tehtävä. Ainoastaan tässä mielessä käsitettynä valtio on yhteiskunnallinen väline (instrument) sellaisissa yhteiskunnallisissa oloissa, joissa orjuussuhteet sekä yhteiskunnalliset luokkaeroavaisuudet ovat olemassa. Kapitalistinen valtio, aivan samoin kuin sen perikuvat, orja- sekä feodalisetkin valtiot, on sellai-

nen yhteiskunnallinen väline, jonka avulla hallitseva luokka on kykenevä kontrolleeraamaan työväenluokan työvoiman ja tästä johtuvana seurauksena myöskin ne tuotteet, mitkä valmistuvat mainitun työvoiman kulutuksen kautta — ilmenevät vasta työvoiman kulutuksen seurauksena.

Lainlaatijakuntain laatimat lait, tuomiolaitosten päätökset, toimeenpanevan vallan käyttämät alistavat voimat ja kasvatusjärjestelmän eli koululaitosten kontrolli, kaikki nämä ilmaisevat luokkavihamielisyyttä ja kaikkien näiden pyrkimyksenä on "pitää työväenluokka alallaan". Lisäksi koko nykyaikainen yhteiskunnallinen rakenne on perustettu ja lepää työväenluokan hartioilla. Kapitalistisen yhteiskunnan, ollaksensa olemassa ja edistyäksensä, täytyy kyetä kontrolleeraamaan työväenluokan omaama työvoima. Se käyttää ja sen täytyykin käyttää kaikenlaisia keinoja ja minkälaisia aseita hyvänsä, jotka ovat apuna toteuttaessaan nämä tarkoitusperänsä. Poliittiset oletukset ainoastaan verhoavat teolliset pyrkimykset. Työväestölle tärkeä asia näinollen on tämä, että se tuntee sekä käsittää yhteiskuntamme teolliset piirteet ja myöskin ymmärtää valtion todellisen luonteen.

Kun työläiset tämän käsittävät, silloin he myöskin kohdistavat kaiken energiansa palkkasuhdetta vastaan ja ryhtyvät taistelemaan yhteiskunnan valtiaita vastaan siellä missä nämä ovat vähimmän kykeneviä vastustamaan — teollisuuksissa. Silloin kun työläiset ymmärtävät asemansa ja käsittävät yhteiskunnallisen voimansa, ovat he isäntiä teollisuuksissa. Tällaisen maailmankatsomuksen kehittyessä vaurastuu myöskin käsitys, että niillä välineillä eli aseilla, joilla työläiset ovat kykenevät kontrolleeraamaan työvoimansa, he voivat menestyksellisesti torjua itseään vastaan suunnatut hyökkäykset ja voivat muuttaa nykyisen asemansa.

Valtion kanssa ei työläisten tarvitse vaivata itseänsä sen enempää kuin käsittävät vain sen toiminnan sekä luokkaluonteen. Pitää valtiota erikoisena laitoksena ja yrittää siltä saada myönnytyksiä ja suosiota, on harhaluulojen suosimista ja kasvattamista. Siinä tapauksessa,

jos työläiset tahtovat rakentaa ja kehittää sellaisia avuja eli keinoja, joilla he yhteiskunnallisina tekijöinä voivat teollisuuksissa saada sekä edistää omia etujaan taistelussa työnantajia vastaan, heidän on luotava sellainen voima, mikä pakoittaa valtionkin muodostelemaan ohjelmansa ja on sen aikaansaatava niitä muutoksia, joita työläiset pakoittavat suhteissaan työnantajiin. Mikäli järjestynyt proletariaatti edistyy työvoimansa kontrolleeraamisessa, sikäli kapitalistiluokan arvovalta vähenee ja valtio alistavana valtana samassa suhteessa heikkenee. Työläisten ei tarvitse, eikä heidän pitäisi harrastuksiansa kohdistaa valtiota vastaan, vaan palkkasuhdetta vastaan, jonka vartija, holhooja ja puolustaja valtio on.

Oikeus ponnistella lyhemmän työpäivän, korkeamman palkan ja parempain olosuhteiden puolesta — siis luokkasuhteen muodosteleminen — on tunnustettu, vieläpä kapitalistisissakin piireissä, työläisten oikeudenmukaisena pyrkimyksenä ja harrastuksena. Sellaiset toimenpiteet ja uudelleenjärjestämishankkeet, jotka nykyään vähentävät tai kokonaisuudessaan poistavat työttömyyden, on myöskin myönnetty työväen arvokkaaksi harrastukseksi eli pyrinnöksi. Työväestön yhteiskunnallinen piirre on sellainen seikka, jolle työväenluokan todellisen luokkaliikkeen täytyy nojautua ja mainittu yhteiskunnallinen merkitys, jolle nojautuen järjestynyt työväestö taistelee, asettaa vaatimuksensa, on unionistiselle liikkeelle edistyäksensä johdonmukainen ja menestyksellinen perusta. Tällä tavalla ja tälle perusteelle on vallankumouksellisesti valmistauduttava. Mikäli työväenluokan järjestö laajenee, sikäli myöskin sen vaikutus tunnetaan yhteiskunnassa. Tämä vaikutus on välttämättömästi edullinen ja hyödyllinen. Varsinainen työväenliike on rakentava ja yhteiskunnallinen rakentaminen, tai uudelleen rakentaminen, on perustuva teollisuuteen ja myöskin yhteiskunnallisteollisiin suhteisiin.

Vielä lisäksi, mikäli luokkajärjestö kasvaa, sikäli vastaavassa määrässä luokkatietoisuuskin kehittyy. Ja mikäli luokkatietoinen tunne levenee, sikäli ne lähteet, joihin valtio alistavine voimineen nojautuu, ehtyvät.

Valtion sotilaiden pistimiä ja sen poliisien kapuloita ovat heilutelleet sellaiset henkilöt, jotka hiljattain ovat kuuluneet työväenluokkaan ja jotka, erottuaan tai erotetuksi tultuaan, palaavat jälleen siihen luokkaan, mistä aikoinaan lähtivät ja tällöin, toisten kanssa, joutuvat vastakkain näiden yhteiskunnallisten kysymysten kanssa.

Työväestön pyrkimyksenä täytyy olla raivata pois kaikki esteet solidaarisuuden tieltä. Keskenänsä kilpailevain vastakkaisten ryhmäin täytyy jättää tilansa yhteistoiminnalle. Eripuraisuus työväen riveissä on juuri sitä, mitä kapitalistit haluavat. Jakautuneena työväestö on heikko ja voimaton. Luotettava työväestön voiman lähde on siinä, että se kontrolleeraa tuotannon välineet — nuo yhteiskunnalliset välttämättömyydet. Tämä voima riippuu siitä, että työläinen on tuottaja. Millään muulla tavalla ei tätä voimaa kyetä voimaperäisesti järjestämään. Poliittisesti sitä ei voida järjestää. Työläisten taloudellinen järjestyminen voi tuottaa taloudellisia muutoksia ja asiain luonteen mukaisesti näyttää siltä, että valtio tulee sovelluttamaan itsensä muovailtuun suhdejärjestelyyn. Kapitalistisen luokan vielä hallitsevana vallassa ollessakin todelliset muutokset palkkasuhteissa samalla pakoittavat poliittisiinkin uudistuksiin. Näiden muutoksien poliittiset saavutukset tulevat osoittamaan siirtymisen poliittisesta hallituksesta, joka on voimassa luokan kautta ja sen hyväksi, taloudelliseen hallintoon eli asiain hoitoon (administration), joka taas puolestaan ylläpidetään yhteiskunnallista elämää eläväin työläisten kautta työläisten itsensä hyväksi.

Järjestymällä teollisuuksittain työläiset muodostavat uutta yhteiskuntaa vanhan kuoren sisällä ja täten valmistautuvat sellaisten muutoksien varalle, jotka kokonaan mullistavat ja toisellaiseksi muuttavat yhteiskunnalliset käsitykset, muodot ja menettelytavat. Työläiset työläisinä — tuottajina — ainoastaan voivat ohjata yhteiskunnan historiallista kulkua — kehitystä.

Politiikka on tenhoavaa. Muutamille se voikin tarjota lupaavan tulevaisuuden, mutta ainoastaan sen käsityksen kustannuksella, jonka työväestön oikeastaan pi-

täisi oppia, tulla tuntemaan. Nykyajan suuri tehtävä on taloudellinen järjestäytyminen luokkarajain mukaisesti, siinä johtavana ja opastavana ajatuksena tulee olla käsitys, että työväestö on tärkeä yhteiskunnallinen tekijä. Tällaisen liikkeen kasvaessa työväestö kehittyy ja kohoaa paremmalle eli korkeammalle yhteiskunnalliselle asteelle, missä yhteiskunnallisten asiain tuntemuksella ja käsityksellä, jota luokkaviha ei ole himmentänyt, käsitellään avoimesti ja rehellisesti kaikki esiintyvät uudet kysymykset; ja nämä tällaiset kysymykset ratkaistaan kaikkien yhteisen edun perusteella. Valmistautukaamme seuraavaa askelta eli edesottoa varten — rakentakaamme Industrial Workers of the World.

Te olette lukeneet tämän katekismuksen. Samalla te olette oppineet, kuinka ammattiunionistinen järjestelmä kohosi Työn Ritarien (Knights of Labor) järjestön raunioille, kuinka se takasi loistavan elämän ammattiunioiden virkailijoille, pankkien, kaivantojen, maalaiskartanoiden ja konttorirakennusten virkailijoista puhettakaan. Te itse puolestanne saatte vain jatkuvasti muistella niitä epäonnistumisia niissä yrityksissä, joihin on ryhdytty teidän halujenne ja vaatimuksienne toteuttamiseksi. Tietysti te itsekin olette huomanneet, kuinka taloudelliset lait, tuotannollisen toiminnan nousut ja laskeutumiset, määräävät teidän palkkanne ja työsuhteet teille. Te olette havainneet ja voitte myöskin itse nähdä, kuinka markkinat, liikepulat, "hyvät liikeajat" ja "huonot ajat", heittelevät teitä sinne tänne aivan kuin lehtiä tuulessa — työstä ja tilapäisestä elämänvarmuudesta työttömyyteen ja nälkään nääntymään; ammattiunionne, tai vakuutusyhdistyksenne, miksikä noita sopivalla tavalla kutsuisimmekaan, eivät ole olleet kykenevät ratkaisemaan näitä kysymyksiä.

Kesällä v. 1923, jolloin tämä kirjanen ilmestyi I. W. W:n painosta, sarja ammattiunioiden käymiä suuria lakkoja epäonnistui. Kuukausia kestäneen taistelun jälkeen rautatieläisten lakko murtui. Muutamilla rautateillä, joilla lakko vieläkin (teoreettisesti) on käynnissä, liikenne on vilkkaampaa ja voimaperäisempää lakkopetturien voimalla, jotka useimmissa tapauksissa on jär-

jestetty yhtiöiden perustamiin n. k. "komppaniain unioihin." Veturinkuljettajain Veljeskunnan Suuri Päällikkö (Grand Chief) kohosi huomatuksi pankkiiriksi sekä kaivannon omistajaksi ja näinollen hänestä tuli työväestön nylkijä. Kapitalistisessa sanomalehdistössä hänestä on laajasti kerrottu ja osoitettu, kuinka hän ei ole yhdenkään rautatieläisten lakon aikana mitään sopimattomuuksia tehnyt. "Se on ladattu dynamiitillä", hän sanoi, "yleisölle, työnantajille ja meille." (Ilmeisesti merkitsee Rautatieläisten Veljeskunnan virkavaltaa eli virkailijoita, jotka voivat menettää joitain sen kaivannoista ja pankeista, jos vain yleislakko puhkeaa).

Tätä kirjoittaessa hiilenkaivajat alkavat päästä selville siitä tosiasiasta, että Clevelandin sopimuksessa he tulivat myydyiksi. Osa Rosslyn Cle-Elum alueesta, Washingtonissa, on käynnissä yhtiön perustaman union alaisena työmaana; mainitun union esipuheessa vakuutetaan, että pääoman ja työn edut ovat yhteiset, että union tulee olla neuvoston kontrolleerattavana, jonka enemmistö on kokoonpantu työnantajain edustajista ja yksikään sen jäsenistä ei saa kuulua United Mine Workers-järjestöön; kaivannoissa älköön myöskään pidettäkö työssä sellaisia työläisiä, jotka kuuluvat A. F. of Laboriin.

Kentuckyn valtiossa on allekirjoitettu sellainen työsopimus, jonka alaisena yksi kaivosmiesryhmä yhdessä piirissä sitoutuu jäämään työhön silloin kuin toiset unioon kuuluvat kaivostyöläiset lakkoutuvat — jos nämä nimittäin vielä kerran ovat kykenevät nousemaan taisteluun eli lakkoon siten korjatakseen niitä sietämättömiä olosuhteita, joissa he nykyään elävät.

Meriliikenne-teollisuudessa me havaitsimme, kuinka vanha "johtaja" Andrew Furuseth kehoitti merimiehiänsä toimimaan lastaustöissä ja lämmittäjiänsä lämmittämään höyrykattiloitansa, jotta höyry laivain nostokoneissa riittäisi; kaiken tämän hän tekee tarkoituksella saada satamatyöläisten lakko murretuksi, näihin sisältyen A. F. of Laboriinkin kuuluvat satamatyöläiset Portlandissa ja San Pedrossa.

Etelä-Californian öljykentillä sääntöjen mukaisesti

valitut A. F. of Laboriin kuuluvan öljytyöläisten union virkailijat kylmäverisesti kehoittavat, että jäsenet, jotka kuuluvat muihin paitsi heidän unioon — miehet, jotka kannattavat Industrial Workers of the Worldia — on vangittava ja tuomittava yhdestä neljääntoista vuoteen. Me tapaamme heidät kehoittamassa seuralaisiansa toimimaan kätyreinä ja petomaisille virkailijoille, jotka edustavat kapitalismia, osoittamaan kaikki I. W. W:n jäsenet; tarkoitus ollen heillä se, että elleivät nämä maksa veroja A. F. of Laborin "työmaatrustille", on heidät haudattava San Quentinin vankiluoliin.

Kesällä v:nna 1923 Amerikan kapitalistiluokka kohtelee sinua niin hyvin kuin mitä se koskaan voi kohdella ja kohtelee orjiansa. Työnvälitystoimistojen mustat taulut se täyttää kaikellaisilla ilmoituksilla tarjolla olevista työmaista, jotka kauan aikaa joutilaina olleista työläisistä näyttävät olevan mukiin meneviä, palkkakin tuntuu sellaiselta, että sillä "toimeen tulee." Jos tällaiset ilmoitukset asetetaan työläisten eteen hyvänä aikana, jolloin liike-elämä on vilkkaassa käynnissä, ei teidän pitäisi itseltänne salata sitä tosiasiaa, että tämähän on vain tilapäinen tapaus, että aivan kuin ennenkin vilkkaan ajan perästä on tuleva liikepula ja näinollen lamaannuskausi ja työttömyys uhkaa teitä tulevaisuudessa — läheisessä tulevaisuudessa. Monet teistä voivat silmäillä näitä rivejä vasta sitten kuin tuo lamaannuskausi, työttömyys, on jo teidän vaivananne. Monet teistä ehkä lukevat näitä sivuja vasta sen jälkeen, kun olette harhailleet epätoivoisina kaikellaisille vaaroille alttiina monilla rautateillä, käyneet monissa kylissä ja kaupungeissa, etsineet työtä, jota ei ole saatavissa.

Silloin, kun tapaatte itsenne tuollaisten olojen pyörteissä, tai nyt, jolloin te voitte nähdä sen enteitä, välttämättömiin valmistautumistoimenpiteisiin sen varalta on ryhdytty, työnantajain taholta — tänä kiireisenä aikana, joka hetkellisesti antaa teille tilaisuuden raadantaan ja mahdollisuuden luoda rikkauksia heille — on saapunut se aika, jolloin teidänkin puoleltanne olisi todenperäisesti harkittava vallitsevaa tilannetta ja tulisi ratkaista, mitä voidaan puoleltanne tehdä (kukaan toi-

nen sitä ei tule teille tekemään) vapauttaaksenne itsenne moisista katkerista kärsimyksistä sekä vaaroista.

Työläistoveri — saatko sinä, tai voitko sinä ammattiunioilta odottaa, minkäänlaista apua itsellesi? Eivätkö heidän petoksensa ja heidän petkutuksensa ilmaise, että tuhannen kertaa ei? Jos sinä satut saamaan tämän kirjasen käsiisi ennen tuota suurta liikepulaa, jonka me — i. w. w.-läiset — sanomme varmaan tulevan, silloin käytä yhden puolen päivän palkkasi ottaaksesi järjestömme jäsenkortti taskuusi ja ellei tämä joudu käsiisi ennenkuin kaaos on meidät yllättänyt, niin silloin sinulla on paljon joutilasta aikaa tutkiaksesi Industrial Workers of the Worldin järjestymissuunnitelmia ja menettelytapoja.

Näissä I. W. W:n suunnitelmissa ja menettelytavoissa on jotain erilaista, jotain toivottavaa. Meidän ei tarvitse sanoa teille, että hallitus ei ole tehnyt mitään muuta kuin ohjannut kapitalismin voimat teitä vastaan. Me olemme todenneet sen lentolehtisissä, että ammattiunionistinen järjestelmä on saattanut teidät sellaiseen asemaan, että kapitalismi ei voi tehdä mitään muuta kuin voittaa teidät.

Seuraava manifesti, joka kirjoitettiin 19 vuotta sitten ja julkaistiin se tarkoituksella kutsua siten kokous koolle I. W. W:n perustamista varten, on vieläkin samalla tavalla paikkansa pitävä ja vaikuttava kuin mitä se oli mainittunakin aikana.

TEOLLISUUSUNION MANIFESTI.

"Yhteiskunnalliset suhteet ja ryhmittymät ovat vain konetuotannon ja teollisuusolojen heijastusta, nykyajan teollisuuden suur-ilmiöinä ovat inhimillisen taitavuuden koneilla syrjäyttäminen sekä rikkauksien tuottamiseen ja jakamiseen tarvittavain tuotantovälineitten omistuksen keskittämisestä johtuva kapitalistisen vallan kasvu.

"Näiden tosiasiain vuoksi ovat sekä ammattieroavaisuudet työläisten keskuudessa että kilpailu kapitalistien

keskuudessa yhtärintaa häviämässä. Luokkarajat käyvät yhä selvemmiksi ja luokkavastakohdat terävämmiksi, ammattieroavaisuudet ovat sulautuneet eli vaihtuneet kaikkien työläisten yhteiseksi orjuudeksi käyttämäinsä koneiden ääressä. Uudet koneet lakkaamatta tulevat vähemmän tuottavain tilalle, pyyhkäisten samalla kokonaisia ammateita olemattomiin ja työntäen uusia työläisjoukkoja alati kasvavaan ammatittomain toivottomaan työttömäin armeijaan. Mikäli mekaninen edistys syrjäyttää ihmisen sekä inhimillisen taidon, sikäli kapitalistien tarvitsee käyttää työläisiä ainoastaan lyhyinä ajanjaksoina, jolloin mitä voimaperäisimmin käytetään jäntereitä sekä hermostoa. Sillä hetkellä, jolloin työläinen ei enää tuota korkeinta määrää liikevoittoa, hänet heitetään maantielle nääntymään tarpeettomiksi tulleista koneista muodostuvan romukasan viereen. Tässä tilaisuuksien monopoliseeratussa maailmassa on KUOLEMAN LINJA vedetty, ikäraja määrätty, joiden ylitsekäyminen merkitsee sitä, että olet tuomittu teolliseen kuolemaan.

"Työläinen, tultuaan kokonaan eroitetuksi maasta sekä tuotantovälineistä, menettäen samalla myöskin tarpeettomaksi käyneen ammattitaitonsakin, vajoaa palkkaorjista muodostuvaan yhtenäiseen joukkoon. Samalla kertaa, kun muuttuvain tuotantotapain vaikutuksesta hävisivät ammattieroavaisuudet, hän huomaa menettäneensä puolustautumiskykynsäkin. Työpäivänsä jatkuessa hänen palkkansakin lakkaamatta poljetaan pienemmäksi ja monopoliseeratut tavarain hinnat samalla kohoavat. Voittoilijain vaatimuksien takia harhailtuaan siellä ja täällä siksi kunnes työläinen huomaa, että hänellä kotia ei enää ole olemassakaan. Tässä näin avuttomassa asemassa hän on pakoitettu hyväksymään kuinka viheliäiset olosuhteet hänen herransa kulloinkin suvaitsee määrätä. Hän on alistettu tarkemman fyysillisen ja henkisen tarkastuksen alaiseksi kuin alistettiin henkiorja silloin kuin hän huutokaupassa myytiin enimmän tarjoavalle. Työläisiä ei enää luokitella erilaisen ammattitaitonsa mukaan, vaan työnteettäjä jaoittelee heidät käyttämäinsä koneiden mukaan. Näitä jaotteluita, jotka

eivät perustu ollenkaan työläisten taidon tai etujen erilaisuuteen, työnteettäjät käyttävät ärsyttääkseen työntekijöitä toisiansa vastaan, kiihoittaakseen heitä suurempaan ponnistukseen työssä ja näillä keinotekoisilla eroitteluilla heikontaakseen tyrannimaisen kapitalistisen sorron vastustusyrityksiä.

"Samalla aikaa, kun kapitalistit edelleenkin ylläpitävät hävinneitä ammattieroavaisuuksia työläisten keskuudessa, he itse huolellisesti sovittautuvat uusiin olosuhteisiin. He ovat poistaneet kaikki eroavaisuudet omasta keskuudestansa ja esiintyvät yhtenäisenä rintamana sodassansa työläisiä vastaan. Työnantajain yhdistyksen avulla käyttäen hyväkseen petomaisia keinoja, tuomiolaitoksien antamia estetuomioita ja militaristisia voimia — he pyrkivät tuhoamaan kaikki työläisten puolustautumisyritykset. Tai silloin, kun toisellainen menettelytapa osoittautuu hyödyllisemmäksi, he piiloittavat tikarinsa Civic Federationin taakse ja pettävät sekä houkuttelevat työläisiä, jotta voisivat heitä riistää ja hallita. Molempain menettelytapain menestyminen riippuu työväenluokan sokeudesta eli tietämättömyydestä ja keskinäisestä eripuraisuudesta. Työnantajain sotarintama ja taistelutavat vastaavat mekaanillisen ja teollisuustuotannon kaikkiyhteisyyttä, jotavastoin työläiset yhä vain rakentelevat taistelujärjestönsä ammonaikaisten ammattieroavaisuuksien perusteella.

"Aikaisempien taistelujen antamat läksyt vakuuttavasti osoittavat asiain näin olevan.

"Lowellin, Philadelphian ja Fall Riverin kutomotyöläiset; Chicagon teurastajat, rappeutuvain ammattieroavaisuuksien heikontamina; konetyöläiset Santa Feen rautatiellä, joita eivät tukeneet samalle työnantajalle työskentelevät työläistoverinsa; Coloradon kaivostyöläisten kauan kestänyt taistelu, kahleena toisella taisteluarenalla tarvittavan yhtenäisyyden sekä solidarisuuden puute, kaikki nämä ollen todistuksina siitä, kuinka avuttomaan ja kykenemättömään asemaan työväestö on nykyisellä tavalla järjestyneenä joutunut.

"Tämä aikansa elänyt ja turmeltunut järjestelmä ei ilmaise lupaavia parantumisen oireita. Synkkäin pil-

vien reunoilla ei loista hopeainen hohde, vaan epätoivon uhkaavat pilvet peittävät työväen maailman.

"Palkkaorjuuden vallitessa tällainen järjestelmä tarjoaa ainoastaan jatkuvan taistelun vähäpätöisten huojennusten puolesta. Se on sokea nähdäkseen sen, että olisi mahdollisuus perustaa teollinen kansanvalta, jossa ei olisi palkkaorjuutta, vaan missä työläiset voisivat omistaa käyttämänsä työvälineet sekä valmistamansa tuotteet, joiden käyttämisestä ainoastaan he voisivat nauttia.

"Se murskaa työläisten rivit sirpaleiksi ja heittää heidät avuttomina ja voimattomina teolliselle taistelutantereelle.

"Ammatin ammatista eroittaminen aiheuttaa sen, että teollinen ja finansialinen solidarisuus on sula mahdottomuus.

"Union jäsen lakkopetturina union jäsentä vastaan; työläisessä on syntynyt katkera viha toista työläistä vastaan ja työläiset on heitetty avuttomina ja rappeutuneina kapitalistien armoille.

"Ammattikateus johtaa siihen, että yritetään luoda ammattimonopoleja.

"Korkeat sisäänkirjoitusmaksut pakoittavat miehet vastoin tahtoansa ryhtymään lakkopettureiksi. Miehet, joiden miehuus tai kohtalo on pakoittanut siirtymään yhdestä ammatista toiseen, ovat teostaan tulleet sakotetuiksi silloin, kun pyrkivät muuttamaan jäsenyytensä uuden ammattialansa unioon.

"Ammattieroavaisuudet elähyttävät poliittistakin tietämättömyyttä työläisten keskuudessa, jakaen heidän luokkansa ääniuurnalla samoinkuin kaivannoissa, työpajoissa ja tehtaissakin.

"Ammattiunioita voidaan käyttää ja onkin käytetty työnantajain apuna monopolien perustamisessa ja hintain kohottamisessa. Täten on yhtä työläisryhmää käytetty välikappaleena toisen työläisryhmän kohtalon ahtaammaksi saattamisessa.

"Ammattieroavaisuudet estävät työläiset tulemasta luokkatietoisiksi, kasvattamalla ihannetta, että työnantaja-riistäjän ja työntekijä-orjan edut ovat yhtäläiset.

Sen nojalla saattavat työläisten harhaanjohtajat seurustella kapitalistien kanssa Civic Federationeissa, joissa on tehty suunnitelmia kapitalismin ikuistuttamiseksi, ja työläisten ikiajoiksi orjuuttamiseksi palkkajärjestelmän avulla.

"Työväenluokan edelliset yritykset asemansa parantamiseksi ovat epäonnistuneet siksi, kun nämä yritykset eivät olleet kylliksi laajoja ja toiminta lisäksi on hajanaista.

"Työväenluokkaa rasittavat yleismaailmalliset epäkohdat voidaan perinjuurin poistaa ainoastaan yleismaailmallisen työväenliikkeen avulla. Sellainen työväenluokan liike on mahdottomuus niin kauan kun erityisiä ammatti- ja palkkasopimuksia laaditaan työnantajain eduksi toisia samassa teollisuudessa työskenteleviä ammattilaisia vastaan ja niinkauan kuin voimat tuhlataan hyödyttömiin valtapiiri- (jurisdiction) taisteluihin, joilla palvellaan ainoastaan ammattiunioiden virkailijain henkilökohtaista suurenteluhalua....."

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

on näitä olosuhteita vastaava järjestö. Se on työväenluokan nykyaikainen, tieteellinen liike, ollen sen tarkoituksena TEOLLISUUSUNIONISMIN avulla köyhälistön vapauttaminen. Kaikki työläiset jokaisella teollisuuden alalla järjestetään TEOLLISUUSUNIOON, joka on osastoihin jaoteltu siten kuin teollisuudessa vallitsevat tarpeet kulloinkin vaativat; nämä toistensa kanssa läheisessä yhteydessä olevain, tai yhtäläisten eli sukulaisuussuhteissa olevain, teollisuusalain TEOLLISUUSUNIOT puolestaan järjestetään TEOLLISUUSDEPARTMENTEIHIN; kaikki nämä kuuluvat YLEISJÄRJESTÖÖN — INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLDIIN — KAIKKIEN MAIDEN KOKO TYÖVÄENLUOKAN YKSI SUURI UNIO; tällainen järjestäytyminen saattaa mahdolliseksi työväenluokan maailmanlaajuisen solidarisuuden.

Se on perustettu luokkataistelun pohjalle ja järjestön yleisiä asioita hoidetaan sopusoinnussa sen tunnustuksen kanssa, että leppymätöin luokkataistelu on jatkuvasti käynnissä työväenluokan ja kapitalistiluokan välillä. Se on perustettu työväenluokan teollisuusjärjestöksi, eikä se ole yhteydessä, eikä myöskään kannata minkäänlaista poliittista tai ei-poliittista lahkokuntaa.

Jäsenistöllä on kaikki valta järjestön asioissa.

Teollisuusosasto (Industrial branch), teollisuusunio ja yleinen hallinto, union leimat, napit, merkit, muuttokortit, sisäänkirjoitusmaksut ja jäsenkohtaiset verot ovat yhtäläiset järjestön kaikissa eri osissa.

Kaikkien jäsenten tulee kuulua niiden teollisuusunioiden jäsenyyteen, joilla aloilla he kulloinkin työskentelevät, mutta kaikkien unioiden kesken ovat suhteet järjestetty siten, että ilman lisämaksuja voivat jäsenet siirtyä yhdestä teollisuusuniosta toiseen.

Ne työläiset, jotka tuovat mukanansa ja esittävät korttinsa missä tahansa ulkomailla toimivista teollisuusunioista, otetaan aivan vapaasti järjestön jäsenyyteen.

Yleinen hallinto (administration) kustantaa ja julkaisee koko järjestöä ja sen periaatteita selittäviä ja valaisevia julkaisuja, jotka säännöllisesti aika-ajoittain lähetetään kaikille jäsenille jokaisessa teollisuudessa.

Sadat tuhannet työläiset kaikissa sivistysmaissa yhä enemmän ja enemmän alkavat ymmärtää ja käsittää teollisuusunionismin periaatteita. He järjestäytyvät tämänpäiväisiä taisteluita varten, parantaakseen olosuhteitansa — ja tulevaisuudessa tapahtuvan viimeisen taistelun varalta, jolloin siksi, että tuottamatoin loiseläjäin luokka syöstään pois vallasta, loppuu nykyaikana käynnissä oleva taistelu teollisuuslaitosten omistuksesta.

Jos sinä olet yksi niistä miljoonista, joiden apua tarvitaan tämän suuremmoisen tehtävän toteuttamisessa, liitty teollisuusunioon, joka muodostuu niistä työläisistä, joiden kanssa sinä työskentelet jossain tehtaassa tai työpajassa. Ellei järjestöä vielä ole olemassakaan, ole ensimäinen, joka vitkastelematta ryhdyt sellaisen perustamishommiin. Värväile toisia mukaasi ja järjestä

heidät. Opi selittelemään teollisuusoloja koskevia kysymyksiä, osoita toisille, kuinka kaikilla maailman äärillä olevat työläiset ovat luomainsa järjestöjen avulla ja kautta kykenevät pitämään teollisuudet käynnissä.

Lähempiä tietoja varten kirjoita seuraavalla osotteella:

GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER,

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

I. W. W:N EDUSTAJAN, GEO. WILLIAMSIN RAPORTTI

Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen Ensimäisestä Kongressista Moskovassa v. 1921



WORKERS SOCIALIST PUB. CO.

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HUOMAUTUS!

Sydikalistien julistuksesta, siv. 40, on allekirjoitusten perään kuuluva kappale jäänyt pois, kuuluen se seuraavasti:

"Olemme antaneet Italian Syndikalistien Union tehtäväksi yhteyden aikaansaamiseksi näiden ainesten välillä, ryhtyä tarpeellisiin toimenpiteisiin konferenssin järjestämiseksi ja tälle julistukselle perustuvan, tarmokkaan propagandan levittämiseksi eri maissa.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

I. W. W:N EDUSTAJAN RAPORTTI MOSKOVAN KONGRESSISTA

Alustavassa raportissani, jonka lähetin Saksasta, minä sanoin että en voinut kajota Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen kongressin varsinaiseen menoon, koska ei minulla ollut silloin tarpeellisia asiapapereita käytettävänäni. Minä varmuudella odotin että kotiin saapuessani olisi se aineisto, jonka olin Moskovassa koonnut, odottamassa minua. Mutta sitä ei ole ilmestynyt, eikä ole mitään keinoa saada tietää milloin se tulee löytymään. Tämä aineisto oli erittäin tärkeä, sillä siihen sisältyi kaikki kokoilemani, kongressin menoa koskevat englanninkielellä julkaistut asiakirjat, jotka olivat ennen Moskovasta lähtöäni tulleet painetuksi, sekä sen lisäksi paljon venäjän ja saksankielisiä asiakirjoja, joita ei vielä oltu käännetty. Oli mahdotonta kuljettaa näitä pois Venäjältä, ensiksikin siksi, että se ei ollut sallittua ja toiseksi niiden paljouden vuoksi, ollen niitä matkalaukku täynnä.

Tämä aineisto käsitti tiedot kongressin päivittäisestä menosta englanninkielellä, päivittäin tekemiäni muistiinpanoja, kirjasia ja muita tärkeitä asiapapereita. Mutta tultuani tietämään että mitään ei ollut saapunut, aloin kokoilemaan mitä voin Chicagossa, mutta tähän mennessä olen onnistunut saamaan kokoon hyvin vähän ja merkit viittaavat siihen suuntaan, että kaiken sen uudelleen kokoileminen, mitä olin kokoillut Venäjällä, tulee ottamaan jonkun aikaa. Raporttia halutaan nyt, eikä sen laatimista voida lykätä odottamaan aineistoni saapumista Venäjältä, eikä myöskään ole aikaa kokoilemiseen täällä Amerikassa.

Minulla on nyt käsillä "P. A. K:n ensimäisen kongressin hyväksymät "ponnet ja päätökset", ja joitakin kon-

gressin menosta päivittäin julkaistuja tietoja englanninkielisenä (niukka kokoelma, mutta riittävä raporttia varten) ja myöskin muutamia muistiinpanoja, jotka kuljetin mukanani. Minä teen raporttini näiden mukaan, perustaen sen melkein kokonaan näille "ponsille ja päätöksille", semmoisina kuin ne hyväksyttiin P. A. K:n ensimäisessä kongressissa. Mielestäni ovat nämä riittäviä, sillä nämä ponnet ja päätökset ovat yhteenveto kongressin koko toiminnasta ja juuri näille täytyy I. W. W:n jäsenten perustaa johtopäätöksensä. Koetan selittää jokaista pontta ja päätöstä niin paljon kuin mahdollista. Minun täytyy ehkä myöskin aika-ajoin kajota kommunistisen kansainvälisen hyväksymiin ponsiin ja päätöksiin, voidakseni tuoda esille Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen hyväksymien toimenpiteiden merkityksen.

Suuret toiveet.

Lähtiessäni Venäjälle, tultuani ensin I. W. W:n yleisessä konventsionissa valituksi edustajaksi, ei minun mielessäni ollut mitään epäilystä siitä, ettäkö ei tämä Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen ensimäinen kongressi tulisi olemaan vakava yritys maailman vallankumouksellisten työväenjärjestöjen kansainvälisen muodostamiseksi, joka lisäksi tulisi olemaan riippumaton kaikista poliittisista ryhmistä. Minä olin todella innostunut siitä ajatuksesta, että viimeinkin työläiset tulisivat koolle Moskovassa ja muodostaisivat järjestön, joka olisi voittamaton. Olen myöskin varma, että jokainen jäsen oli yhtä kiintynyt kuin minä itsekin siihen todennäköisyyteen, että I. W. W. tulisi olemaan osana koko maailmaa käsittävässä järjestössä. Konventsiooni todella oli suosiollinen sille, jonka se luuli tulevan olemaan Punaisen Työväenunioiden Kansainvälisen, ja edustajat kuluttivat paljon aikaa ylimääräisissä istunnoissa, tehdäkseen selväksi I. W. W:n kannan kysymyksessä olevaan asiaan nähden.

Kaikki sinä aikana Amerikaan saadut tiedot osoittivat riippumatonta kansainvälistä kohti. Hardy, joka oli juuri palannut Venäjältä, kiinnitti konventsioonille antamassaan raportissa erikoista huomiota Kolmannen Kansainvälisen

virkailijain ja ammatti- ja teollisuusunioiden väliaikaisessa neuvostossa olevien henkilöiden ottamaan kantaan. Hän selosti Tomskyn, joka siihen aikaan oli ammatti- ja teollisuusunioiden väliaikaisen neuvoston päänä, suosivan itsenäistä kansainvälistä. Hardyn raportin mukaan näytti jokainen virkailija Venäjällä silloin asettuneen jossain määrin itsenäisen kansainvälisen kannalle.

Päättäen siitä myrskystä mikä nousi I. W. W:ssä äänestämisestä Kolmannen Kansainvälisen hyväksymisestä ja sitä seuranneesta äänestyksen peruuttamisesta toimeenpanevan komitean toimesta, oli ilmeistä että jäsenistö ei halunnut mitään yhteyttä poliittisten ryhmien kanssa. Yleisesti näyttivät merkit osoittavan että Pohjois- ja Etelä-Amerikan ja Europan vallankumouksellisten työväenjärjestöjen ottama vääjäämätön kanta vastaan kaikkea ryhmittymistä poliittisten ryhmien kanssa, tulisi pian kristalloimaan itsensä itsenäiseen kansainväliseen.

Berliinin konferenssi.

Berliinin kansainvälinen syndikalistien konferenssi, johon I. W. W. otti osaa, oli pidetty joulukuussa 1920, ollen siinä edustettuna 977,000 työläistä eri maista. Konferenssin osanottajat lopullisesti hyväksyivät kuusi pykälää, jotka näyttivät olleen heille tyydyttäviä ja itseasiassa saavuttivat suurten työväenjärjestöjen hyväksymisen, sellaistenkin, jotka eivät olleet edustettuina. Ja minun mielestäni olivat nämä pykälät verrattain hyvä perusta, jolle muodostaa teollinen kansainvälinen.

Henkilökohtaisesti oli minulla, ennen Moskovaan menoani seuraava yleiskäsitys tilanteesta:

Että Kommunistinen Kansainvälinen, yritettyään epäonnistuneesti saada vallankumouksellisia syndikalisteja ja industrialisteja järjestöönsä ja ehkä tultuaan käsittämään että ne eivät koskaan tulisi liittymään yksikköinä, oli tullut siihen johtopäätökseen, että itsenäinen kansainvälinen oli ainoa ratkaisu kysymykselle ja että itsenäisenä kansainvälisenä tulisivat ne olemaan paljon suuremmassa määrin hyödyllisiä Venäjän vallankumoukselle, kuin silloisissa eristetyissä asemissaan. Ja mikä on vieläkin johdonmukaisempaa, ottaen huomioon tilanteen, on se, että

jos nämä vallankumoukselliset työväenjärjestöt pitivät kiinni kannastaan ja luottivat siihen, niin olisi vähän hyötyä niiden pakoittamisesta yhtymään poliittisen ryhmän kanssa. Kansainvälinen solidarisuus oli kuitenkin viimekädessä enimmän haluttua ja tilanteessa määräävä seikka.

Ollen tällaisessa käsityksessä, ja kuten olen jo ennemmin sanonut, en omaten epäilystä kenenkään asianomaisten vilpittömästä halusta itsenäisen kansainvälisen muodostamiseen, minä lähdin Moskovaan, mukanani ainoastaan järjestöltä saamani määräykset. Jos minä, tai konventsioonin edustajat, olisi tienneet mitä suuntaa P. A. K:n ensimäinen kongressi tulee seuraamaan, niin on varmaa että enemmän huomiota olisi kiinnitetty tietojen kokoilemiseen kysymyksistä, jotka koskevat Amerikan työväenliikettä.

Mutta samalla kun konventsiooni (I. W. W:n) ei kiinnittänyt ajatuksiaan P. A. K:n ensimäiseen kongressiin muussa mielessä, kuin olettamalla että se tulisi kokoontumaan ainoastaan muodostaakseen suunnitellun taloudellisen kansainvälisen, oli asia toisin kommunistisien ainesten suhteen, jotka kaikista merkeistä päättäen olivat kuumeisesti valmistelleet kuukausimääriä, laskeutuakseen tähän P. A. K:n ensimäiseen kongressiin joukolla.

Melkein jokaisesta maasta, erikoisesti Argentinasta, Australiasta, Uudesta Seelannista, Meksikosta ja vähemmässä määrin Europan maista, saapuivat vallankumouksellisten työväenjärjestöjen edustajat mukanaan ainoastaan yksinkertaiset määräykset, samanlaiset kuin minullakin, ja samoin kuin minäkin, eivät odottaneet mitään muita kysymyksiä tulevan esille, kuin kysymys edustamiensa järjestöjen liittämisestä yhteen maailman toisten samanlaisten järjestöjen kanssa.

Kommunistit hyvin varustautuneina.

Mutta lukumäärältään hämmästyttävän suurina ja kuormitettuina asiakirjoilla, jotka käsittivät työväenliikkeen kommunistisen teorian kaikki eri puolet, saapuivat kommunistiset edustajat kaikista maista Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen ensimäiseen kongressiin, saattaen syndikalistisien ja industrialistisien järjestöjen edustajat

merkityksettömäksi vähemmistöksi. Avaten suuret asiakirjansa, ryhtyivät he todistamaan että kaikki kumoukselliset työväenjärjestöt mistä maasta tahansa, jotka vähimmässäkään määrässä olivat epäilevällä kannalla Kolmanteen Kansainväliseen yhtymiseen nähden, eivät todellisuudessa olleet muuta kuin "porvariston kanssa liitossa olevia vastavallankumouksellisia", sekä monia muita vähemmän miellyttäviä nimityksiä annettiin. He latelivat teesejä, joissa selitettiin että vallankumouksellisten työväenjärjestöjen hajoittaminen taantumuksellisten järjestöjen keskuuteen eri maissa oli ainoa ratkaisu. Sellaisen järjestön kuin I. W. W:n tai Saksan syndikalistisen union olemassaolo erillisenä vanhoillisista ammattiunioista oli anteeksiantamaton rikos. Lyhyesti sanottuna, koko kongressin meno muistutti enimmän suurta oikeusistuntoa, jossa kommunistisen kansainvälisen ylimäiset papit istuivat tuomareina "rikollisten" syndikalistien ylitse, jotka oli kutsuttu ottamaan osaa omiin hautajaisiinsa. Ja mitä voivat vähälukuiset syndikalistit muuta tehdä, kun istua sanattomina ja hämmästyneinä tästä odottamattomasta kommunistisen intellektualiteetin suur-mogulien sanaruoskinnasta.

Melkein ainoa seikka, jonka kongressi osoitti, oli, että "kommunistisen ja industrialistisen käsityksen välillä ei ole mitään yhteistä" ja että "näiden kahden välillä taistelun täytyy jatkua siihen asti, että jompikumpi näistä teorioista on laskettu lepoon."

Minä saavuin Moskovaan heinäkuun ensimäisenä päivänä Pietarista, johon olin saapunut kesäkuun 25 päivänä. Viivyin siellä muutamia päiviä odottaen matkatavaroitani. En olisi pysähtynyt siellä, jollei minulle olisi ilmoitettu että kongressi ei tule alkamaan ennenkuin heinäkuun 17 päivänä. Mutta saavuttuani Moskovaan minulle sanottiin kongressin alkavan heinäkuun 3 päivänä, joten minulla oli ainoastaan kaksi päivää valmistautua siihen ja kaikki tämä aika kului asunnon hankkimisessa ja asianomaisten virkailijain etsimisessä, joille olisin voinut esittää valtuuteni. Pääsin pian kosketuksiin kolmen työläistoverin kanssa, jotka toimivat edustajina (olen selostanut heistä

alustavassa raportissani) ja he tutustuttivat minut tilanteeseen, sikäli kun amerikalainen edustajisto oli kysymyksessä.

Olen alustavassa raportissani, sellaisena kuin se julkaistiin järjestön lehdissä, lyhyesti selostanut sitä millä tavalla eri maista saapuneet edustajistot toimivat ja ehkä ei ole pois järjestyksestä mainita siitä uudelleen tässä muutamilla, selvyyden vuoksi tehdyillä vähäisillä korjauksilla.

Kongressin järjestämistavan mukaan jokainen edustajisto ryhmitettiin maansa mukaan. Siten esim. kaikki amerikalaiset edustajat (Canada mukaan luettuna) olivat amerikalaisessa edustajistossa; kaikki englantilaiset edustajat englantilaisessa edustajistossa jne. Nämä edustajistot, nimittäin amerikalainen, englantilainen, ranskalainen, saksalainen, venäläinen ja muut olivat saaneet määräyksen pitää edustajistonsa kokouksia ja valita jäsenet eri komiteoihin, kuten valtakirja-, järjestämis-, menettelytapa-, perustuslaki-, ynnä muihin komiteoihin.

Myöskin kuului jokaisen edustajiston tehtäviin jakaa sille myönnetyt äänet jäsentensä kesken. Tällaisesta menettelytavasta on helppo ymmärtää että äänien jakaminen riippui kokonaan siitä, ketkä olivat enemmistönä jossakin vississä edustajistossa. Olen aikaisemmin sanonut jotain vastalauseestani toisia amerikalaisen edustajiston jäseniä vastaan ja antaakseni I. W. W:n jäsenille selvemmän kästyksen riidasta, esitän tässä kopion toisten amerikalaisten edustajain lausunnosta valtakirjakomitealle, koskeva äänten jakoa.

Amerikalaisten edustajain äänten jako.

"1 ääni, Emmons: Edustaen paikallisunioita No. 337, Chicago; No. 225, Dayton, Ohio ja No. 47, Denver, Colo., International Association of Machinists-järjestöstä, yhteensä 18,000 jäsentä.

"3 ääntä, Crosby: Edustaen Amalgamated Metal Workers, Amalgamated Food Workers, Boot and Shoe Workers järjestöä; Bostonin vaatetusammattien vähemmistökomiteaa ja Bostonin Amalgamated Clothing Workers

järjestön vähemmistöä; yhteensä noin 25,000—40,000 jäsentä. Nämä ovat kaikki itsenäisiä teollisuusunioita.

"3 ääntä, Wells: Edustaen American Federation of Laboriin kuuluvaa Seattle Central Labor Councilia; yhteensä 50,000 jäsentä. Tämä järjestö on huomattu vallankumouksellinen keskus ammattiunionistisessa liikkeessä ja johti suurinta paikallista yleislakkoa Yhdysvaltain historiassa.

"3 ääntä, Williams: Edustaen Industrial Workers of the World'ia. Tämä vallankumouksellinen järjestö on hyvin tunnettu eikä tarvitse mitään lausuntoa. Saatavissa olevien tietojen mukaan on I. W. W:n jäsenmäärä jonkun verran alle 20,000. Sen kansalliseen pääkortteeriin maksetun jäsenkohtaisen veron yhteissumma vuoden ajalla, alkaen huhtikuun 1 päivästä, 1920, huhtikuun 1 päivään, 1921, kirjuri-rahastonhoitajan vuotuisen raportin mukaan, oli $47,020.21. Jakaen tämän summan $3 (summa joka maksetaan jäsenkohtaista veroa jäseneltä vuodessa), saamme me numeron 15,674 koko I. W. W:n keskinkertaiseksi jäsenmääräksi kuluneella vuodella. Tämä summa ei ehkä ole tarkka; siinä saattaa olla tuhannen tai kahden ero kummalle puolelle hyvänsä ja siitä syystä ei edustajisto ole tässä tapauksessa pitänyt tarkasti kiinni suhteellisen edustuksen periaatteessa, jonka mukaan I. W. W:lle olisi annettava yksi eli korkeintaan kaksi ääntä, vaan on antanut I. W. W:lle kolme ääntä, jota se pitää täydellisenä edustuksena.

"3 ääntä, Batt: Edustaen American Federation of Laboriin kuuluvaa Detroit Federation of Laboria, yhteensä 60,000 jäsentä. Detroit Federation of Labor on yksi taisteluhenkisimmistä ja vallankumouksellisimmista järjestöistä Amerikassa.

"3 ääntä, Dixon: Edustaen Kansasin kaivosmiehiä, United Labor Councilia New Yorkista ja Trade Union Educational Leaguea Kansas Citystä, yhteensä noin 75,000—80,000 jäsentä. Helpottaakseen äänten jakoa edustajistossa, edustaja Dixon luopuu oikeudestaan lisä-ääniin.

"(Allekirjoitettu) JOS DIXON,

"Amerikalaisen Ammattiunioiden edustajiston sihteeri.

"Moskova, heinäkuun 5 päivänä, 1921."

Kaikki amerikalaiset edustajat olivat olleet Moskovassa vähintään kuukautta ennen tuloani ja jäsenten nimittäminen tästä edustajistosta eri komiteoihin oli tullut suoritetuksi.

Ne kolme työläistoveria, joista olen maininnut alustavassa raportissani ja jotka olivat aikaisemmin saapuneet Moskovaan, selittivät minulle tultuani, että heidät oli suorastaan jätetty huomioonottamatta ja olivat joutuneet suurilukuisemman edustajaryhmän alistamiksi amerikalaisen edustajiston keskusteluissa, sekä kyllästyneinä lakanneet ottamasta osaa kokouksiin. Minulla oli joitakin muistiinpanoja tästä asiasta, mutta ne ovat niiden tavaroiden mukana, jotka eivät ole vielä saapuneet. Otin kuitenkin osaa tämän amerikalaisen edustajiston kokoukseen päivää jälkeen saapumiseni Moskovaan ja edustajien menettelystä kävi selville että he olivat järjestyneet pannakseen täytäntöön kommunistisen ohjelman määräykset ja sen lisäksi, kahta lukuunottamatta (Wells ja Crosby) osoittivat katkeraa vastenmielisyyttä I. W. W:tä kohtaan.

Vihamielisyys I. W. W:tä kohtaan.

On outoa sanoa ja vaikeampaa monelle tässä maassa uskoa, että viranomaisten keskuudessa Moskovassa on olemassa vihamielinen kanta I. W. W:tä vastaan. Osa siitä johtuu — oletetusti — Sandgrenin artikkeleista O. B. U. Monthlyssa. Muttta minun käsitykseni on että suurin osa siitä johtuu niistä perusteellisista eroavaisuuksista, jotka ovat olemassa kommunistisen ja industrialistisen järjestöteorian välillä. Sandgrenin nimi on yhdistetty asiaan ainoastaan syvällisempien syiden peittämiseksi. Todistuksena tästä on Moskovassa vallitseva vihamielisyys kaikkia niitä vallankumouksellisia järjestöjä kohtaan, jotka ovat hyljänneet yhtymisen Kolmannen Kansainvälisen kanssa. Jokaista niitä parjataan. Minä toistan että on outoa sanoa täten, kun muistetaan kaikki ne monet kertomukset siitä ystävällisyydestä, jolla I. W. W:tä on kohdeltu Moskovassa. Mitkä hyvänsä lienevätkään niiden yksilölliset mielipiteet, jotka ovat ylimpinä kommunistisissa piireissä, niin varmaa on että alemman virkailijakunnan keskuudessa Moskovassa kuullaan hyvin vähän

kiitosta ja paljon parjausta kaikesta, mikä on i. w. w.-läistä. Voitanee myöntää että aikaisemmin on myötätuntoisempi mielialą ollut olemassa, mutta sen katoaminen voidaan selittää johtuvaksi siitä tosiseikasta, että senaikaiset virkailijat eivät enää ole Moskovassa; toiset ovat heidän paikoillaan, mikä tosiseikka on merkityksellinen jokaiselle, joka tuntee Venäjän Kommunistipuolueen.

Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen kongressia johdettiin työjärjestyssuunnitelman (agendan) mukaisesti, sellaisilla lisäyksillä, mitkä nähtiin soveliaiksi ja tarpeellisiksi tien tekemiseksi masiinalle niin tasaiseksi kun mahdollista.

Kommunisti puheenjohtajana.

Kongressin puheenjohtajana ei voi olla kukaan muu kun Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen yleinen sihteeri, ja Losovsky, joka nykyään on tässä asemassa, tulee olemaan puheenjohtajana seuraavassa ja kaikissa muissa kongresseissa niin kauan kun hän tyydyttää Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen ylimäisiä pappeja. Eikä myöskään kukaan tule toimimaan yhdessä Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen kanssa ilman kommunistien hyväksymistä. Punaisen Kansainvälisen yleisen sihteerin valitsee toimeenpaneva toimisto, johon kuuluu seitsemän jäsentä.

Toimeenpanevan toimiston jäsenet ovat: Losovsky ja Nogen Venäjältä; Tom Mann Englannista; Anton Meyer Saksasta; Arlandis Espanjasta; Andreytchine Amerikasta. Seitsemännen jäsenen istuin on tyhjänä, seurauksena erimielisyyksistä italialaisten ja ranskalaisten välillä. Tämän toimeenpanevan toimiston jäsenet ovat kaikki kommunisteja, lukuunottamatta mahdollisesti Tom Mann'ia, joka, samoin kuin Andreytchinekin, ei edusta ketään. Tämä toimeenpaneva toimisto on ylin elin Punaisessa Kansainvälisessä ja sen jäsenet valitsee keskusneuvosto, jonka taas vuorostaan muodostavat kansalliset edustajistot, jotka ottavat osaa kongressiin, valiten keskuudestaan osuutensa keskusneuvostoon. Kun nyt kansallisissa edustajistoissa on sen järjestelmän mukaan, että otetaan vastaan kommunistisia vähemmistöjä, varma kommunistinen enemmistö,

niin on selvästi nähtävissä, että koskaan ei tule olemaan ketään muita kun kommunisteja Punasen Kansainvälisen kontrollissa. Mitä tulee sääntöihin, joilla kongressia hallittiin, niin olivat ne varsin yksinkertaisia — niitä ei ollut ollenkaan, sikäli kun kykenin saamaan selville. Minä tiedustelin niiden suhteen, vaan jokainen vakuutti olevansa tietämätön, mutta valppaiden huomioiden kautta tulin tietämään että Losovsky oli kaikkien sääntöjen alkulähde ja mitä hyvänsä hän sanoi, siihen voitiin luottaa vakiintuneena sääntönä, paitsi joissakin tilanteissa, jotka hänen käsityksensä mukaan vaativat kumoamaan aikaisemman päätöksen.

Höyryjyrä

Se tapa, jolla esityksiä tehtiin ja niiden suhteen päätettiin, ansaitsee mainitsemista. Kun joku nousi ylös ja teki esityksen, joka ei soveltunut puheenjohtajan mielipiteisiin, niin asetti hän heti oman esityksensä sen rinnalle, lopetti keskustelun ja kehoitti tekemään päätöksen, esim.: "Onko kukaan puheenjohtajan esitystä vastaan? Ei ole vastustusta huomattavissa." Ensimäinen esitys on siten tullut automaattisesti kumotuksi.

Puheenjohtaja voi lopettaa keskustelun milloin tahansa, tarvitsematta vaivata itseään muuhun kun viittaamaan kädellään. Vain kerran koko kongressin ajalla annettiin puheenvuoro edustajalle vastoin puheenjohtajan päätöstä ja silloinkin suostui hän asettamaan kysymyksen kokouksen ratkaistavaksi vasta, kun edustajat antoivat huomata olevansa halukkaat antaman edustajalle puheoikeuden ilman hänen lupaansa.

Pääasiallisin vaikeus, mikä oli aina valmiina tulemaan esille yhteisymmärryksen esteeksi kaikissa kysymyksissä kongressissa, oli siinä seikassa, että hyvin harvat edustajista ymmärsivät muuta kun omaa kieltään.

Englannin-, ranskan-, saksan- ja venäjänkielet olivat virallisina käytetyt kielet. Ne olivat neljä pääasiallisinta ryhmää kongressissa. Kaikki päivittäin julkaistut bulletiinit ja muut teesejä ja päätösesityksiä koskevat asiapaperit painettiin näillä kielillä. Mutta huonojen painovälineiden vuoksi oli kongressin menoa koskevien englanninkielisten

asiapapereiden painaminen paljon jälellä toisista. Kun minä lähdin Moskovasta, kuukausi jälkeen Punaisen Kansainvälisen kongressin päättymisen, oli vasta hyvin vähän niistä painettu englanninkielelle. Toisilla kielillä sujuivat painotyöt kuitenkin paremmin ja Venäjän, Ranskan ja Saksan edustajat olivat tilaisuudessa haukkimaan jotakuinkin täydellisen selostuksen kongressista. Huomioonottamisen arvoista myöskin on tässä yhteydessä se, että Kolmannen Kansainvälisen kongressi oli myöskin istunnossa ja näiden kahden kongressin istuntojen vuoksi joutuivat kirjapainolaitokset töistä tulvilleen.

Englanninkielellä painettujen asiakirjain puute oli esteenä useammalla kun yhdellä tavalla. Se aiheutti puutteen painetuista teeseistä, raporteista ja päätösesityksistä, jotka olisivat olleet tarpeellisia, että olisi voitu pysyä kosketuksissa toisten maiden edustajain näkökantojen kanssa. Sen sijaan että odotettiin puhuttujen raporttien kuulemista, joista huonon kielenkäännön vuoksi kyettiin saamaan selville vain rippeitä siitä mitä sanottiin, olisi niistä pitänyt olla kirjallinen kopio, että olisi voitu tutustua esille tuotuihin näkökohtiin.

Asian näin ollen tuli tarpeelliseksi luottaa kielenkääntäjiin kaikkien tietojen suhteen siitä, mitä toisilla kielillä puhujat olivat sanoneet. Tämä kielenkääntötoiminta oli yksi tärkeimpiä kongressissa. Kääntäjistä riippui ajatusten ja käsitteiden välittäminen yhtä kieltä puhuvalta ryhmältä toiselle ja heidän käsissään oli valta välittää oikein tai väärin se mitä sanottiin. Olisi luonnollisesti järjetöntä olettaa että kielenkääntäjä, kuinka hyvä ja tasapuolinen tahansa, voisi kääntää sana sanalta kaiken mitä sanottiin. Kuitenkin on helppoa käsittää, että jos kielenkääntäjä vastustaa jonkun puhujan ajatusta, niin ei ole mikään temppu kääntää asia kokonaan väärin ja siten ne, jotka kuuntelevat hänen käännöstään, saavat väärennetyn käsityksen siitä mitä sanottiin.

S. L. P:n kielenkääntäjä

Yksi huomatuimpia kielenkääntäjiä kongressissa oli Boris Reinstein, joka oli merkityksellinen jäsen Socialist Labor Partyssa ennen Venäjälle menoaan. Reinstein on

vastaan kaikkea i. w. w.-läistä. Hän on nyt huomattu jäsen Venäjän Kommunistipuolueessa. Ja sen lisäksi että hänellä on erikoinen vastenmielisyys i. w. w.-läisiä kohtaan, on hänellä vastenmielisyys kaikkia muitakin järjestöjä kohtaan, jotka eivät tunnusta kommunistista teoriaa.

Toinen kielenkäätäjä oli eräs nainen, jolla oli mainetta neljäntoista kielen puhujana. Hän toimi myöskin samassa tehtävässä kommunistisen kansainvälisen kongressissa. Hänen kieliluetteloonsa sisältyi myöskin englanninkieli. Todellisuudessa ei hän puhunut senvertaa englanninkieltä, että olisi kyennyt kilpailemaan lastentarhan oppilaan kanssa.

Reinstein ja toiset kielenkääntäjät olivat pakoitetut toimimaan molemmissa kongresseissa oletetun kykyjen puutteen vuoksi. Se ei kuitenkaan ollut totta, koska Moskovassa oli useita, jotka olisivat kyenneet suorittamaan tämän työn. Heitä ei kuitenkaan käytetty, sillä heidän käsityksensä eivät olleet yhtäpitäviä .allassaolijain kanssa. Kaksi kielenkääntäjää oli, jotka olivat nähtävästi tasapuolisia; yksi joka oli amerikalaisen edustajiston yhteydessä ja toinen ranskalaisen. Mutta Reinstein ja edellä mainittu nainen olivat ehdottomasti puolueellisia ja saboteerasivat kaikkea, mikä ei ollut yhdenmukaista hyväksytyn uskon kanssa.

Ja sen lisäksi käänsivät kielenkääntäjät ainoastaan tärkeät puheet ja esitykset. Useat riitaisuudet puheenjohtajan ja toisten puhuvien edustajain välillä kongressia koskevista seikoista jätettiin kääntämättä. Tehdäksemme kuitenkin oikeutta tilanteelle on tasapuolisuuden vuoksi sanottava, että oli suorastaan mahdotonta kääntää kaikkea, mutta tämä tosiseikka myöskin teki mahdottamaksi tietää kaikkea siitä mitä tapahtui. Minä todella olin "merellä" kaikkeen nähden mitä tapahtui kaikilla muilla paitsi englanninkielellä. Ja muita kieliä puhuvien edustajain asema, jotka ainoastaan ymmärsivät omaa kieltään, oli sama kuin minunkin. Täten melkein kaikki edustajat olivat esteiden ympäröiminä rajoitetun kielitaitonsa vuoksi.

Katsellen kuitenkin koko asiaa filisofiselta kannalta, ei sillä ollut suurtakaan väliä, vaikkapa senlisäksi että ym-

märsit ainoastaan yhtä kieltä, olisit vielä ollut kuuro ja mykkä, sillä lopullisesti kuitenkin voi yksi ainoa tulos olla mahdollinen sellaisessa kongressissa, joka oli sullottu täyteen kommunisteja. Kaikella puhumisella ja harmistuneisuuden osoituksella, mikä olisi ollut helposti aikaansaatavissa sellaisessa ilmapiirissä, ei olisi ollut mitään vaikutusta. Kongressi oli yli ja kaikki päätökset tehty jo ennen sen alkamista.

Monelle Amerikassa on vielä tietämätöntä kuinka Punainen Kansainvälinen sai alkunsa. Hyvin harvat henkilöt ulkopuolella Kommunistipuolueen tietävät että Kolmannen Kansainvälisen toimeenpaneva komitea perusti Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen kauan ennenkuin olimme siitä kuulleetkaan Amerikassa. Kominternin toimeenpanevan komitean raportissa Kolmannen Kansainvälisen kolmannelle kongressille sanoo Zinoviev:

> "Toimeenpanevan komiteamme alotteesta perusti toinen kongressi Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen. Silloin tämä oli jotakin täydellisesti uutta; toveri Losovsky on kerännyt tätä asiaa koskevia tietoja, osoittaen että Punaiseen Ammattiunioiden Kansainväliseemme kuuluu nyt jo yli 15,000,000 järjestynyttä työläistä. Ensimäinen tehtävämme oli julkaista manifesti Amsterdamin Kansainvälistä vastaan ja tässä kongressissa tulemme ottamaan toisen pitkän askeleen eteenpäin. Uskon että tämän ammattiunioiden kongressin merkitys on meille kaikille selvä. Taistelumme Amsterdamin Kansainvälistä, tätä porvariston viimeistä tukea vastaan, on taisteltava ratkaisuun saakka. Näinollen on tämä tärkein kysymys ja siksi täytyy kongressin kiinnittää suurimman huomionsa sille. Kongressin jälkeen täytyy kaikkien meihin kuuluvien puolueiden käsitellä tätä asiaa päivän tärkeimpänä kysymyksenä."

Zinoviev ei siis syyttä käytä nimitystä MEIDÄN AMMATTIUNIOIDEN KANSAINVÄLINEN, kuten tulen myöhemmin osoittamaan.

Aivan alusta saakka oli P. A. K. kommunistien kontrolleeraama ja sen ainoana tehtävänä pitkän aikaa oli toi-

mia Kominternin virastona, joka on jonkunlainen ammattiunioiden osasto. Ollen kommunistien luoma, niin on aivan luonnollista että sen ensimäiset virkailijat tulivat olemaan kommunisteja ja puolueen jäseninä nämä virkailijat eivät voineet tehdä muuta kuin johtaa tämän uuden liikkeen suuntaa Kommunistipuolueen periaatteiden mukaisesti.

Tarkoituksellisesti valikoidut työvirastot.

Näiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen valittujen johtajien laatua ja henkevyytensä alkulähdettä ei voida saada selville paremmin kuin vertaamalla heidän kantaansa Moskovan politiikkojen kannan kanssa. Kaikissa niissä teeseissä jotka tulivat P. A. K:n johtajien taholta, voi nähdä niiden intellektuaaleina esiintyvien sormenjälkiä, jotka muodostavat Kolmannen Kansainvälisen keskuksen. He ovat kaikki yhdestä ainoasta poliittisesta perheestä. Losovsky on Venäjän Kommunistipuolueen keskuskomitean jäsen ja hänen ulkomaalaiset työkumppaninsa (silloin kun Ammatti- ja Teollisuusunioiden väliaikainen neuvosto perustettiin ja vieläpä nytkin) ovat kukin korkeita virkailijoita maansa kommunistipuolueessa. P. A. K:n alkuperän ollessa tällainen, on helposti nähtävissä että kaikki lisäykset P. A. K:n tulisivat automaattisesti joutumaan kommunistisen kansainvälisen kontrollin alaiseksi. Heti sen jälkeen kun P. A. K. oli muodostettu, perustettiin jokaisessa suuremmassa maassa punaisia työvirastoja, joissa kommunistit olivat virkailijoina, kommunistisen kansainvälisen rahastamina. Näiden laitosten velvollisuutena oli (erikoisesti ennen P. A. K:n ensimäistä kongressia) kerätä kokoon kommunistisia edustajaryhmiä, minkälaisia tahansa (olen jo ennemmin selostanut sitä tapaa millä vähemmistöjä muodostettiin) ja työväenliikettä koskevia tietoja ja sen suhtautumisesta Venäjään. Mutta sen pääasiallisimpana tehtävänä oli lähettää riittävä määrä kommunistisia edustajia P. A. K:n joka takaisi varman enemmistön, päätti sitte minkälainen järjestö tahansa ottaa siihen osaa. Ja luonnollisesti se minkä New Yorkin punainen työvirasto onnistui tekemään Amerikan edustajistolle, tuli kaksinkertaistutetuksi kaikissa

muissa maissa. New Yorkin punainen työvirasto maksoi kaikkien niiden edustajien kustannukset, jotka se lähetti ja vielä lisäksi maksoi poissaoloajalta $25 viikossa perheen ylöspidosta, jolla se oli. Tässä nyt ei ole mitään niin pahaa, mutta se vaan osoittaa että jokaisen mieleen, joka näillä ehdoilla lähetettiin, oli painostettu kommunistinen katsantokanta työväen unioihin nähden. Ottamalla huomioon sen mitä olen tähän mennessä sanonut, ei se siis ollut mikään yllättävä lausunto kun sanoin, että "P. A. K:n kongressi oli jo päättynyt ja kaikki päätökset tehty ennenkuin se alkoikaan."

Lukijan täytyy jättää huomioonottamatta se huono tapa jolla tätä raporttia täytyy julkaista, kun täytyy toistaa joitakin kohtia, johtuen tämä siitä että täytyy luottaa muistiin ja ainoastaan muutamiin asiapapereihin, joten olen kykenemätön ottamaan joka puolen perinpohjaisen käsittelyn alaiseksi. Näinollen voidakseni edelleen osoittaa kommunistien kontrollia P. A. K:n kongressissa, otan valtakirjakomitean uudelleen käsiteltäväkseni, koska tämä oli viimeinen edustajain valmistustoimituksessa jossa niitä temmattiin tuulesta.

Valtakirjakomitea.

Kenenkä luoma P. A. K:ssä toiminut valtakirjakomitea oli ja mistä se oli luotu, on minulle tietämätöntä. Sen minä kuitenkin tiedän että ne olivat kaikki kommunisteja. Sen minä tiedän myös ettei mitään komiteaa valittu kongressissa, vaikka sellaisen komitean valitsemista vaadittiin. Ei myöskään annettu minkäänlaista luetteloa läsnäolevista etustajista ja siitä mitä järjestöjä he edustavat vaikka sitäkin vaadittiin. Edustajien valtakirjoja suojeltiin tarkasti etteivät ne vaan joutuisi tarkastuksen alaisiksi ja ainoastaan tiukkojen vaatimusten jälkeen myönnettiin minulle tilaisuus hätäisesti vilkaista Amerikan edustajiston valtakirjoja, joita vastaan minä protesteerasin. Niiden valtakirjakomitean jäsenien nimet jotka voin muistaa ilman muistiinpanojani, ovat seuraavat: Boris Reinstein, Venäjä; Bela Santo, Unkari ja Watkins, Englanti. Vaikka valtakirjakomitea ei julkaissut mitään täydellistä raporttia, niin esiintyi Reinstein

kongressissa mainitun komitean sihteerinä, ollen hänellä mainitun ryhmän päätökset niihin riitaisuuksiin nähden joita syntyi eri edustajistojen välillä äänten jakamisen johdosta ja koska näistä päätöksistä kannattaa mainita, vaikka ei muun vuoksi niin siksi että tulee selville niiden laatu, niin otan ja esitän tässä joitakin niistä. Seuraava koskee Cascaden'in, joka oli Itä-Canadan Puutavaratyöläisten lähettämä ja Knight'in, joka edusti Canadan O. B. U:ta, välistä riitaisuutta:

(Reinstein) "Asia on seuraava: Cascaden saapui Moskovaan ja esitti valtuutensa. Tuntemattomista syistä kieltäytyi hän antamasta meille minkäänlaista selostusta järjestönsä kannasta Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen Neuvoston perusperiaatteisiin nähden. Hän kieltäytyi erikoisesti antamasta minkäänlaista selostusta järjestönsä kannasta proletariaatin diktatuurikysymykseen nähden. Kun valtakirjakomitea, ennenkuin se päätti hänen äänestysoikeudestaan, uudelleen haastatteli häntä tästä kysymyksestä, niin kävi selville, että HÄN OLI "ONE BIG UNIO" JÄRJESTÖN ANARKISTISEN AINEKSEN EDUSTAJA JA ETTÄ HÄNEN MIELIPITEENSÄ PROLETARIAATIN DIKTATUURISTA OLI SAMA KUIN USEIDEN MUIDENKIN ANARKISTIEN, nim. ETTÄ SE ON UUDENMUOTOISTA VALTIOSORTOA.

"Tämän vuoksi päätti valtakirjakomitea antaa toveri Cascadenille ainoastaan neuvottelevan edustajan valtuudet.

"Tämän johdosta jotkut Ranskan ja Espanjan edustajistoon kuuluvista tovereista vaativat että toveri Cascadenille annetaan täydet valtuudet. Omasta puolestaan hän esitti lausunnon, jossa hän tunnusti proletariaatin diktatuurin väliaikaiseksi toimenpiteeksi, mutta ainoastaan sellaisen diktatuurin, joka on taloudellisten järjestöjen toimeenpanema, eikä poliittisten järjestöjen."

Valtakirjakomitea päätti lopulta antaa Cascadenille täydet edustajavaltuudet.

Mieltäkiinnittävä puoli Cascadenin asiassa on se että häneltä ensin kiellettiin äänestysoikeus siksi että häntä epäiltiin anarkistisuudesta.

Nyt valtakirjakomitea raportteeraa Amerikan edustajiston riitaisuudesta:

Ratkaisu I. W. W:n suhteen.

(Reinstein) "Tässä on otettava huomioon että on mahdotonta esittää tarkkoja numeroita I. W. W:n jäsenistön lukumäärästä vaikka tämä järjestö on ollut olemassa 16 vuotta. Williamsin oman lausunnon mukaan hänen järjestönsä jäsenmäärä on 70,000 ja 100,000 välillä; mutta kommunistisen kongressin esittämien numerojen ja mainitun järjestön keskusrahaston tiliraportin mukaan, on sen jäsenmäärä 15 tai 16,000.

"Valtakirjakomitea käsitteli asiaa ja tuli siihen johtopäätökseen, että niiden toverien tekemä ehdotus joita vastaan Williams protesteerasi olisi hyväksyttävä että, lukuunottamatta masinistien edustajalle annettavaa yhtä ääntä, jokaiselle Amerikan edustajistoon kuuluvalle annettaisiin kolme päätösvaltaista ääntä. Pidämme tätä päätöstä täydellisesti oikeudenmukaisena."

Olin painostanut valtakirjakomitealle ja kongressille että ne numerot mistä jäsenmäärä oli otettu olivat epätäydelliset ja lisäksi painostin ettei tässä ole kysymyksessä jäsenmäärä vaan periaatteet. Lisäksi voin vielä huomauttaa, ettei muilta edustajilta kysyttykään niiden järjestöjen tiliraporttia joita he sanoivat edustavansa, mutta tämä meni luonnollisesti kuuroille korville.

Saksan kysymyksessä antaa Reinstein meille osittaisen käsityksen tilanteesta (vaikka ei täydellistä), ollen kokolailla yhtäpitävä sen kanssa mitä voi luonnollisesti odottaakin.

(Reistein) "Mitä tulee riidanalaiseen Saksan kysymykseen, niin ovat Saksan edustajat epäilemättä täysin tietoisia asiaa koskevista seikoista. Toveri Malzan (kommunisti) väittää Saksan Yhdistyneen Kommunistipuolueen muodostaman ammatillisen liikkeen keskuskomitean nimessä, että niistä 9,000,000:sta järjestyneestä työläisestä jotka kuuluvat niihin suuriin n. k. Vapaisiin Saksan Ammattiunioihin, 2,200,000 kannattaa P. A. K:ta."

Saksan itsenäisten unioiden edustajat väittävät näiden numerojen olevan sepitettyjä, ettei löydy mitään keinoa millä niiden lukumäärä olisi voitu saada selville. Puhues-

saan komitean puolesta, lausuu Reinstein kuitenkin seuraavasti:

"Valtakirjakomitea kuunteli ja keskusteli kummankin kyseessäolevan puolen edustajien väitteistä, lopulta tehden sellaisen päätöksen, että tulisi olemaan tasapuolisuuden ja ammattiunioiden etujen mukaista myöntää 11 ääntä ammatillisen liikkeen keskuskomitean edustajistolle (kommunistinen vähemmistö) joka ohjaa toimintaa yhteenkasatussa Saksan ammatillisessa liikkeessä ja jakaa 5 jälellejäävää ääntä ammattiunioita vastustaville itsenäisen liikkeen edustajille."

Tukeakseen kommunistien väitettä Saksan kysymyksessä, sanoi Muller (kommunisti):

"Ammattiunioissa toimeenpantu äänestys Saksan Yhdistyneen Kommunistipuolueen, eli toisin sanoen Moskovan puolesta, osoitti seuraavat numerot:

"Maanviljelystyöläisten Unio, 150,000; Muurarien ja Rakennustyöläisten, 150,000; Puutyöläisten, 300,000; Liikenne- ja Tiedonvälitystyöläisten, 275,000; Vaatetustyöläisten, 96,000 ja Tehdastyöläisten, 60,000."

Kommunistien laskutapa.

Asia todellisuudessa on sellainen, ettei mitään sellaista äänestystä pantu toimeenkaan, lukuunottamatta jotakin unioita siellä ja täällä, mutta se ei ollut tätä asiaa koskeva äänestys, vaan koski se Amsterdamin Kansainvälistä. Yhdistynyt Kommunistipuolue luonnollisesti kaappasi kaikki ne Moskovalle kuuluvaksi omaisuudeksi, jotka eivät hyväksyneet Amsterdamin Kansainvälistä. Ja ne 2,000,000 työläistä, jotka Saksan kommunistit laskevat omikseen, saatiin sillä yksinkertaisella menettelyllä, että kerrattiin koko Saksan työväenliike niillä muutamilla äänillä mitä saatiin unioista siellä ja täällä. Jokainen joka tuntee yhtään Saksan työväenliikettä on yhtä mieltä siinä asiassa että jos Saksan ammatillisen liikkeen n. k. keskuskomitealla olisi 2,000,000 jäsentä niin se murskaisi sen maan vanhoilliset uniot aivan hajalleen. Heillä olisi ylivoimainen kontrolli.

Mutta oli turhaa riidellä valtakirjakomitean kanssa,

sillä ne enemmistöt joiden muodostamisessa he olivat välikappaleina, tulisivat ehdottomasti kannattamaan niitä.

Espanjan edustajiston kanta äänten jakamiseen nähden oli pääasiallisesti sama kuin syndikalistisen ja industrialistisen edustajistojen yleensä, ollen vastustavalla kannalla valtakirjakomitean päätöksiin nähden. Se kuuluu seuraavasti:

Espanjalaisten protesti.

"Espanjan edustajisto on sitä mieltä, että Moskovassa nykyään koolla oleva kongressi on kaikkien vallankumouksellisten järjestöjen perustava kongressi, erikoisesti niiden järjestöjen jotka aivan Venäjän vallankumouksen alusta saakka ja jo jossakin määrässä ennenkin ovat taistelleet Amsterdamin Kansainvälisen reformistista kantaa vastaan. Olemme sitä mieltä että Europan ja Amerikan ammattiunioinistisen liikkeiden historiat osoittavat, että löytyy järjestettyjä voimia, jotka on erikoisesti otettava huomioon P. A. K:n perustavassa kongressissa. Olemme sitä mieltä että Espanjan proletariaatin historia, joka kaikkien näiden kuluneiden vuosien aikana on ollut uskollinen vallankumouksellisille periaatteilleen; että Ranskan proletariaatin historia, jonka periaatteet ovat aina perustuneet ammattiunionistisen liikkeen itsenäisyydelle ja taistelulle kaikkia poliittisia puolueita vastaan, pyrkien aina muodostamaan työläisten taistelun taloudelliseksi taisteluksi ja että Amerikan proletariaatin ja erikoisesti I. W. W:n historia, joka on aina tukenut ja edistänyt aivan samoja ajatuksia ja menettelytapoja kuin Europankin vallankumouksellinen proletariaatti — osoittaa, että näille aineksille olisi annettava riittävä äänimäärä, voidakseen tehdä läsnäolonsa vaikuttavaksi.

"Meidän täytyy ottaa mukaan Hollannin ja muut vallankumoukselliset vähemmistöt (puhun syndikalistiselta näkökannalta) jotka nyt jo edustavat vaikuttavinta voimaa. Saksassa meillä on kolme sellaista järjestöä, jotka, eroamalla Amsterdamin Kansainvälisestä, omaavat nyt 400,000 käsittävän voiman mainittua kansainvälistä vastaan. Otaksuimme että P. A. K:n perustava kongressi

tulisi ottamaan kaiken tämän huomioon, mutta petyimme. Olemme tulleet näkemään että täällä oli jo hyväksytty päätös muodostaa enemmistö, josta voimme nyt jo sanoa että se on keinotekoisesti muodostettu enemmistö. Tällaiset seikat synnyttävät ajatuksen että aijotaan tukahduttaa tosivallankumouksellisen kansainvälisen syndikalismin pyrkimykset ja antaa Punaiselle Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisellemme määräyksiä joita osa Länsi-Europan proletaareista ei tule hyväksymään, huolimatta siitä minkälaiset tämän kongressin päätökset tulevat olemaan. Sitte täällä on taas edustettuna sellaisia maita joissa ei löydy minkäänlaisia vallankumouksellisia syndikalistisia järjestöjä, tai sitte ei niillä ole vaikutusvaltaa. Siitä huolimatta on näille (ei-syndikalistisille — Suom.) annettu päätösvaltaiset äänet.

"Toisissa maissa, sellaisissa kuten esim. Amerika, Saksa ja Tshekkoslovakia, joissa ammattiunioiden keskukset eivät ole P. A. K:n kannalla, ollen edelleen Amsterdamin Kansainvälisen jäseniä ja joissa ainoastaan pieni määrä soluja (nuclei) kannattaa Moskovaa, niin nämä solut, jotka eivät voi esittää sitäkään jäsenmäärää jota edustavat, esiintyvät silti enemmistöäänillä näiden maiden edustajistoissa. Saksan soluille sanotaan annettavan samat 16 päätösvaltaista ääntä kuin Ranskan ja Espanjan suurille järjestöille. Näinollen, meidän mielestämme ei pitäisi antaa ensimäistä paikkaa näille soluille, jotka, kuten toveri Williams osoitti, voivat helposti esiintyä epäiltävillä miljoonilla äänillä, vaan niille järjestöille jotka menneisyydellään, menettelytavoillaan ja jokapäiväisellä taistelullaan, syndikalistiselta näkökannalta katsottuna, edustavat tosivallankumouksellista voimaa.

"Meidän kantamme on, että sellaisille maille kuin Azerbaijan, Bukhara, Palestiina ja India, jotka ovat täällä edustettuina, ei pitäisi antaa päätösvaltaista ääntä, jotta länsimainen proletariaatti, joka Marxin teorioidenkin mukaan on jo vuosia edustanut vallankumouksellista voimaa, kykenisi selittämään sitä itämaalaisuutta jonka P. A. K:een kuuluvat järjestöt aikovat hyväksyä. Tässä on se syy miksi ne jotka ovat allekirjoittaneet tämän julistuksen, protesteeraavat päätösvaltaisen äänen antamista vas-

taan edellämainituille maille ennenkuin ovat kyenneet tosiperäisesti selostamaan järjestöjensä luonnetta ja voimaa."

Tulen päättämään selostuksen tästä valtakirjakomiteasotkusta selostamalla mahdollisimman lyhyesti sitä, miten eri maat ryhmitettiin ääntenjaottelussa:

Ensimäisessä ryhmässä, omaten 16 ääntä, olivat: Saksa, Ranska, Englanti, Venäjä, Yhdysvallat, Italia, Espanja, Puola ja Itä-Galitsia sekä Tshekkoslovakia.

Toisessa ryhmässä, omaten 12 ääntä, olivat: Australia, Unkari, Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Ukraina, Norja, Itävalta ja Argentina.

Kolmannessa ryhmässä, omaten 8 ääntä, olivat: Belgia, Hollanti, Sveitsi, Rumania, Irlanti (josta ei ollut edustajaa saapuvilla), Canada, Meksiko, Kreikka, Ruotsi, Tanska, Suomi, Kaukaisen Idän Tasavalta ja Azerbaijan.

Neljännessä ryhmässä, omaten neljä ääntä, olivat sellaiset maat kuten: Latvia, Korea, India, Palestiina ja Viro.

Seuraavista maista oli saapuvilla ainoastaan kommunistiset vähemmistöt: Venäjä, Italia, Puola, Itä-Galitsia, Tshekkoslovakia, Itävalta, Unkari, Australia, Belgia, Sveitsi, Rumania, Kreikka, Suomi, Latvia, Korea, India, Palestiina ja Viro. Sellaiset maat kuten Yhdysvallat, Englanti, Saksa ja Ranska ja kaikki muut joita en ole asettanut siihen luokkaan joista oli saapuvilla ainoastaan kommunistinen vähemmistö, olivat kommunististen jäsenten kontrolleeraamia eli toisin sanoen, kommunisteilla oli enemmistö äänistä. Espanja oli ainoa maa jota kommunistiset vähemmistöt eivät kontrolleeranneet.

Kommunistipuolue hallitsee Venäjän unioita.

Olen maininnut Venäjästä että se on siihen luokkaan kuuluva, jolla oli ainoastaan kommunistiset vähemmistöt, sillä kukaan ei kykene osoittamaan toiseksi sitä, etteikö Venäjän uniot ole Venäjän Kommunistipuolueen täydellisen kontrollin alaisina. Niiden virkailijat eivät ole jäsenistön valitsemia, vaan puoluejäseniä, jotka Venäjän Kommunistipuolueen keskuskomitea asettaa virkaan. Asetan Italian samaan luokkaan, sillä sen maan syndikalistisen järjestöjen edustajat eivät ilmaantuneet Moskovaan en-

nenkuin kongressin lopussa, ainoastaan yhden edustajan ollessa saapuvilla istuntojen aikana ja hän edusti Italian vanhoillisten unioiden kommunistisia vähemmistöjä. Italian vanhoillisten unioiden edustajia oli saapuvilla mutta ne eivät ottaneet osaa kongressiin, Australian asetan samaan luokkaan sillä ei yhdenkään työväenjärjestön edustaja saapunut ajoissa, että olisi voinut ottaa osaa kongressiin (niiden jotka ottivat osaa kongressiin myönnettiin edustavan soluja): Suomen siksi että sen edustajat ovat vakinaisia asukkaita Venäjällä, ollen kommunisteja jotka olivat olleet poissa Suomesta pitemmän aikaa. Yksi Suomen edustajista oli Leo Laukki, I. W. W:n jäsen ja yksi Chicagon jutussa tuomituista. (166:n jutun yhteydessä, jossa Laukkikin tuomittiin, kävi ilmi että hänen I. W. W:n kortissaan oli yksi kuukausiveromerkki. Suomea, jonka "taloudellisten järjestöjen edustajana" hän oli, ei hän liene nähnyt viiteentoista vuoteen, eikä koskaan kuulunut mihinkään Suomen taloudelliseen järjestöön. Tässäkin on meillä yksi esimerkki niistä "taloudellisten järjestöjen edustajista." — Suom.)

Englannin edustajisto oli täydellisesti kommunistien kontrollin alaisena. Joidenkin edustajien silmänpeitteeksi yritettiin käyttää Shop Stewards-liikettä, mutta jokainen tietää että Shop Stewards-liike on sulautettu Englannin Kommunistipuolueeseen, josta on ollut seurauksena että mainittu liike on melkein poistunut näyttämöltä. Yksi sopiva todiste siitä mitä politiikot tekevät liikkeelle!

Siinä kaikki mitä on sanottavissa edustajistoista. Se ei ole paljoa, mutta se on niin paljon kuin kukaan voi tietää niiden kokoonpanosta. Koko musta salaisuus siitä, mitä järjestöä kukin saapuvilla ollut valtuuksilla varustettu edustaja edusti, on P. A. K:n virkailijain käsissä.

Oli useita kohtia joissa kongressin kommunistinen enemmistö ja syndikalistinen vähemmistö oli eri mieltä. Eroavaisuudet jotka ovat aina olleet olemassa ja jotka mahdollisesti aina tulevat jatkamaan poliittisen ja industrialistisen teorian erossapysymistä, tulivat nyt uudelleen esille, vaikka se (poliittinen) nyt tällä kertaa ilmeneekin uusissa muodoissa, uusilla nimillä ja käyttäen kulisseinaan vallankumouksellista Venäjää. Se jakoi Ensimäisen

Kansainvälisen ja kaiken muun. Se on edelleen pohdinnan alaisena:

Eroavaisuuden perusta.

"Onko industrialistinen liike aseena kyllin tehokas kukistamaan kapitalismin ja perustamaan työläisten teollisen tasavallan tai onko tämä tehtävä mahdollinen ainoastaan poliittisen koneiston johdon kautta?"

Väittelyt "proletariaatin diktatuurista," suhteista kommunistiseen kansainväliseen ja vanhoillisten järjestöjen sisällä toiminnasta oli kaikki sisällytetty edellämainittuun kysymykseen.

Syndikalistisen aineksen keskuudessa oli havaittavissa yleinen vastustus Moskovan tulkintatavalle "proletariaatin diktatuurista," ilmeten heidän vaatimuksessaan saada selostaa kantansa seuraavaksi: "Proletariaatin diktatuuri taloudellisten järjestöjensä kautta." Syy tähän eroavaisuuteen on helposti nähtävissä. Venäläinen selostus tästä tarkoittaa poliittisen ryhmän ylivaltaa teolliseen ryhmään nähden. Syndikalistinen selostus tarkoittaa taloudellisten järjestöjen ylivaltaa poliittisiin järjestöihin nähden. Asia kokonaisuudessaan (suoraan sanoen) tarkoittaa sitä että nämä molemmat suunnat eivät voi säilyä rinnakkain. Jommankumman täytyy väistyä.

Kysymys suhteista kommunistiseen kansainväliseen nähden saattoi myös vastakkaiset ainekset ankaraan yhteenottoon. Kommunistisen aineksen taholta vaadittiin että P. A. K:n täytyy alistua Kolmannen Kansainvälisen ideologisen johdon alle siksi että he muodostavat vallankumouksen tietoisen taisteluetuvartioston. Syndikalistit vaativat että P. A. K:n täytyy olla täydellisesti riippumattoman mistään poliittisesta ryhmästä ja että sen täytyy saada mennä rauhassa omaa uraansa vallankumouksellisten taloudellisten järjestöjen rakentamiseksi uuden yhteiskunnan perustamiseksi. Tässä kysymyksessä myös paljastui se, että on sula mahdottomuus päästä yksimielisyyteen, ollen tämä kysymys yhtä ratkaisematta nyt kuin se oli ennen kongressia.

"Vanhojen ammattiunioiden sisällä toimimisesta" ja luopuminen vanhoillisista ammattiunioista itsenäisten val-

lankumouksellisten järjestöjen muodostamiseksi, oli kysymys joka johti kiivaimpiin väittelyihin, johtaen siihen että kongressi jakaantui kahteen yhteenliittämättömään leiriin, ilman minkäänlaista toivoa sopimusmahdollisuudesta. Yhden toimintaohjelman hyväksyminen tarkoitti toisen kuolemaa. Lyhyesti sanottuna merkitsee kommunistinen toimintaohjelma sitä, että kaikkien itsenäisten järjestöjen missä maassa tahansa, täytyy sulautua vanhoillisiin järjestöihin ja järjestelmällisellä toiminnalla vallata nämä vanhoilliset uniot. (Tulen selostamaan tätä samalla kun selostan suhteista Kolmanteen Kansainväliseen.) Syndikalistit vastustivat tätä tarmokkaasti sen syyn perusteella, että on mahdotonta vallata näitä vanhoillisia unioita ja lisäksi, he kieltäytyivät hävittämästä itseään ja luovuttamaan alueen politikoitsijoille.

Kongressi, joka näin selvästi jakaantui kahteen ryhmään, voi päättyä ainoastaan yhdellä tavalla ja kun kommunisteilla oli enemmistö kongressin avoimissa istunnoissa, niin syndikalistien oli luonnollisesti turvauduttava omiin suljettuihin istuntoihinsa. Voidakseen laatia ohjelman ja päästäkseen yhteisymmärrykseen siitä mitä olisi tehtävä tästä toivottomasta tilanteesta huolimatta, kokoontuivat syndikalistiset edustajat, minä niihin luettuna, kongressin viimeisinä ja sitä seuranneina päivinä, pitämään kokouksia joka ilta erään hotellin huoneessa.

Kantansa selvittämiseksi olivat syndikalistiset edustajat pakoitetut pitämään vähemmistökokouksia. Vaikka se olikin vastenmielistä syndikalistiselle vähemmistölle ryhtyä vastustustoimenpiteisiin, niin olivat he kirjaimellisesti puhuen pakoitettuja tekemään ainakin yrityksen ehkäistä sitä kommunistien tahalliselta näyttävää saboteerausyritystä, ryhtyessään perustamaan taloudellista kansainvälistä. Kongressi oli jo loppumaisillaan ennenkuin tehtiin yritys saada syndikalistiset ainekset koolle, eivätkä he pitäneet kuin kaksi kokouksta ennen kongressin päättymistä. Useita pidettiin jälkeenpäin.

Toiminnan tarpeellisuudesta syndikalistit olivat kaikki yksimielisiä. Kongressin kommunistinen aines, senlisäksi että se hyväksyi ohjelman joka hävittäisi kaikki pienemmät vallankumoukselliset järjestöt ja tulisi asettamaan

P. A. K:n täydellisesti Kolmannen Kansainvälisen kontrollin alaiseksi, julisti se maailmalle että kongressissa vallitsi täydellinen yksimielisyys kaikissa keskustelun alaisissa kysymyksissä. Ainoa keino millä syndikalistinen vähemmistö kykeni selvittämään tämän vääristellyn aseman, oli, pitää kokouksia ja selostaa ohjelmansa maailman vallankumouksellisille työväen ryhmille.

Näissä kokouksissa ei saatu suuriakaan aikaan, johtuen useista eri syistä. Kielen taitamattomuus teki melkein mahdottomaksi toinen toistensa ymmärtämisen. Oli vaikeaa saada kielenkääntäjiä ja ne muutamat jotka oli saatavissa eivät voineet aina toimia. Usein meidän täytyi tulla toimeen ilman minkäänlaisia kielenkääntäjiä.

Kielivaikeuksien lisäksi oli vielä mielipiteiden eroavaisuuksia siitä mikä kanta olisi otettava. Jotkut olivat (ennen kongressin päättymistä jo) sillä kannalla että protestiksi Kommunistipuolueen höyryjyrä-mentetelytapojen vuoksi olisi viipymättä jäätävä pois koko istunnoista. He väittivät että oli aivan turhaa istua niissä ja ottaa osaa toivottomiin väittelyihin kun kerran oli nähtävissä varma epäonnistuminen. Toiset olivat sitä mieltä että on oikeammin tehty ottaa edelleenkin osaa kongressiin ja vastustaa kommunistista enemmistöä järjestyneenä vähemmistönä. Myöhemmin, kongressin päätyttyä pidettiin useita kokouksia, tarkoituksella päästä yhteisymmärrykseen ennenkuin edustajat hajaantuisivat, mutta vaikka laadittiin useita suunnitelmia ja jokainen allekirjoitti ne, niin näytti mahdottomalta päästä yksimielisyyteen vissistä toimintasuunnitelmasta. Tämä oli tietysti luonnollista siksi että kokouksien pitäminen kongressin ulkopuolella oli jotakin odottamatonta, eikä yksikään syndikalistinen edustaja ollut valtuutettu toimimaan järjestönsä nimessä tällaisessa tapauksessa ja siksi kaikki edustajat olivat haluttomia tekemään mitään ratkaisevia päätöksiä. Haluan kuitenkin mainita tässä että jokainen edustaja joka otti osaa näihin kokouksiin vastusti jyrkästi kommunistisen enemmistön menettelyä ja toimintatapaa. Koko kertomus näistä vähemmistökokouksista ja niissä tapahtuneista monituntisista väittelyistä on liian pitkä selostettavaksi seikkaperäisemmin tässä ja päälliseksi suuri osa ei ole tar-

keää tälle kysymykselle. Siksi minä aijon käsitellä tässä ainoastaan tärkeimpiä kohtia. Kongressin päättyminen aiheutti sen että useat syndikalistisista edustajista lähtivät ennenkuin voitiin päättää mistään asiasta, jättäen jälellejääneet edustajat vieläkin epävarmemmiksi määrittelevän ohjelman hyväksymisen suhteen.

Kaksi esitystä.

Ottamalla syndikalistisissa kokouksissa tapahtuneet keskustelut pääpiirteissään, niin seuraavat kaksi kohtaa muodostivat pääasiallisen perustan keskusteluille:

Ensiksi: "Olla kokonaan tunnustamatta P. A. K:tä taloudelliseksi kansainväliseksi koska se oli Kolmannen Kansainvälisen täydellisen kontrollin alaisena ja lähettää kutsu uuden kansainvälisen perustamista varten."

Toiseksi: "Niin totta kun se olikin että kommunistit hallitsivat P. A. K:n ensimäistä kongressia niin on silti väärin menetelty erota P. A. K:stä ja ryhtyä muodostamaan uutta kansainvälistä. Olisi oikeammin tehty pysyä sen sisällä ja taistella hyvin järjestetyllä vähemmistöllä poliittisen aineksen kontrollia vastaan."

Ne jotka kannattivat toista esitystä väittivät että uuden kansainvälisen koollekutsumisyritys tulisi aiheuttamaan huomattavan määrän sekaannusta vallankumouksellisessa työväenliikkeessä ja että siitä tulisi johtumaan korjaamattomissa olevaa vahinkoa työläisten kansainvälistyttämisliikkeelle. Toisen esityksen kannattajat olivat sitä mieltä että on parempi pysyä kommunistien kontrolleeraamassa P. A. K:ssä kuin ryhtyä paljon aikaa kysyvään toimintaan uuden kansainvälisen perustamiseksi. He katsoivat Moskovalla olevan niin suuren psykoloogisen vaikutuksen maailman työläisiin nähden ettei sellainen vastustus tulisi saamaan minkäänlaista kannatusta. Lyhyesti sanottuna, vaikka poliittisesta kontrollista vapaan kansainvälisen aikaansaaminen olisikin mitä toivottavin, niin katsoivat he tilanteen olevan epäkäytännöllisen ryhtyä uusien kansainvälisten perustamistoimenpiteisiin.

Ne jotka kannattivat ensimäistä esitystä (minä niihin luettuna) sanoivat olevan turhaa edes yrittää taistella kommunistista enemmistöä vastaan pysymällä P. A. K:n

sisällä, sillä kommunistit tulisivat pitämään huolen siitä että heillä on ylivoimainen kontrolli, menettelemällä siilä yksinkertaisella tavalla että hankkisivat sinne niin paljon edustajiaan että niiden lukumäärä olisi suurempi siitä huolimatta kuinka suuri määrä syndikalisteja ilmaantuisi näyttämölle. Niin kauan kun Moskova tulisi olemaan se paikka jossa kongressi kokoontuisi ja missä P. A. K:n päämaja sijaitsisi, niin yhtä kauan he tulisivat myös hallitsemaan kongressia. Tilanteen ollessa tällainen, tulisi olemaan turhaa oletella että kongressin enemmistö tultaisiin päättämään periaatekeskustelujen perusteella. Ne jotka kontrolleeraisivat kongressin koneistoa, tulisivat myös ratkaisemaan sen neuvottelut. Ja mitä uuden kansainvälisen koollekutsumiseen tulee, niin on varmaa että ne jotka aikoivat pysyä P. A. K:ssä ja noudattaa sen määräyksiä, tulisivat katkaisemaan oman kurkkunsa, hajaantumalla maittensa vanhoillisiin ammttiunioihin (jota he eivät kuitenkaan tulisi tekemään), tullen lopulta eroitetuiksi kuitenkin. Näinollen, uuden kansainvälisen tarpeellisuus kävi selvästi ilmi, jos ei muun vuoksi, niin olemassaolevien järjestöjen itsehallinnon säilyttämiseksi, mainitsemattakaan kaikkien vallankumouksellisten työväenjärjestöjen kontrollin luovuttamisen mahdottomuutta poliittiselle ainekselle.

Ne jotka kannattivat toista esitystä olivat suurelta osalta suurempien syndikalistisen järjestöjen edustajia, kuten Espanjan, Italian ja Ranskan. (Italian syndikalistijärjestön edustajat saapuivat Moskovaan vasta kongressin päätyttyä.) Heidän mielipiteensä kommunistien ohjelmasta oli se, ettei heitä voida pakoittaa hajaantumaan mihinkään vanhoilliseen unioon, johtuen kussakin maassa vallitsevista olosuhteista. Siitä huolimatta vaikka Espanjan syndikalistit ovatkin pakoitettuja toimimaan salaisesti, niin muodostaa se voimakkaimman liikkeen Espanjassa ja siksi kommunistien menettelyllä ei ollut heihin nähden sama vaikutus kuin esim. I. W. W:hen ja pienempiin Saksan unioihin nähden. Ranskaan nähden tilanne oli vieläkin erilainen. Siellä syndikalistit olivat jo järjestyneet vähemmistöksi C. G. T:ssa (Yleinen Työväenliitto), ollen läheisissä suhteissa kommunistien kanssa siinä "kol-

mikulmaisessa'' taistelussa kontrollista mainitussa liitossa. Siitä voimakkaasta vanhoillisesta liikkeestä huolimatta mitä Italiassa on, ovat syndikalistit melkein yhtä voimakkaat, ollen heillä 700,000 jäsentä. He ovat liian voimakkaat kiinnittääkseen mitään huomiota liittymisajatukselle vanhoillisiin ammattiunioihin. Siksi kommunistit jättävät kokonaan mainitsematta työväen ohjelmastaan Italiaan nähden.

Italian, Ranskan ja Espanjan tilanteet tekivät syndikalistien aseman sellaiseksi, että heillä oli syndikalistien kokouksissa edessään ainoastaan yksi kysymys. Tämä kysymys oli poliittinen ylivalta P. A. K:n nähden. Mutta heidän valtuuksissaan vaadittiin poliittisista vaikuttimista vapaata kansainvälistä. Ja tällä edellytyksellä he kannattivat toista esitystä.

Ensimäisen esityksen kannattajia olivat pienempien syndikalistisen järjestöjen edustajat Saksasta, Ruotsista, Norjasta, Hollannista, Amerikasta j. n. e. ja kuten olen jo ennemmin osoittanut, heidän kantaansa ei määrännyt ainoastaan kysymys poliittiseen puolueeseen liittyminen, vaan myöskin itsesäilytyskysymys.

Kommunistit, ollessaan tietoisia edellämainitusta tilanteesta, ryhtyivät politiikoille ominaisella tavalla hajoittamaan syndikalistista osaa. Toisen puolen lähetit tekivät ankaraa työtä Espanjan, Ranskan ja Italian syndikalistisen unioiden edustajien kanssa, vaikuttaakseen heihin.

Espanjalaisten asema.

Espanjan edustajiien asema oli tavallisuudesta poikkeava, joten se kaipaa muutaman sanan selitykseksi. Espanjan syndikalistiset uniot ovat kuolinkamppailussa sen maan taantumuksellisten voimain kanssa, josta on ollut seurauksena se että ovat olleet pakoitettuja muuttamaan toimintansa salaiseksi. Espanjan syndikalistisen unioiden jäsenten tai minkään edustavan ryhmän on mahdoton kokoontua keskustellakseen P. A. K:stä millään tavalla. Niiden espanjalaisten edustajien jotka ottivat osaa P. A. K:n kongressiin on mahdoton palata Espanjaan tekemään selkoa, sillä he tulisivat vangituiksi. Tähän päivään mennessä kaksi heistä, Arlandis ja Nin eivät ole menneet

takaisin Espanjaan. Tässäkin tapauksessa ovat kommunistit käyttäneet tilaisuutta hyväkseen, tarkoitusperiensä edistämiseksi, jonka he tekevät heille ominaisella tavalla. Jossakin Espanjassa oleva salaperäinen komitea lähettää hyväksymisjulistuksensa (ainakin kommunistisissa piireissä kerrotaan näin) P. A. K:stä ja tätä julistetaan sitte koko Espanjan syndikalistisen liikkeen hyväksymisjulistuksena. Useat Berliinissä tapaamistani Espanjan edustajista kielsivät että tällä tuntemattomalla komitealla olisi valtaa siihen mitä se tekee, leimaten sitä juoneksi, jolla koetetaan esittää Europan syndikalistinen liike väärässä valossa. Tämä näyttää siltä vaikka ei ota huomioon muuta kuin sen seikan ettei nämä edustajat olleet lähettäneet minkäänlaista raporttia Espanjaan.

Ranskan edustajat horjuivat ainoastaan vähän ja Italian edustajat seisoivat vankkoina. Kommunistien tarkoituksena oli nähtävästi kaapata Espanjan, Ranskan ja Italian edustajat ja sitte pakoittaa jälelläolevat edustajat luopumaan kannastaan. Mitkä ikänsä seuraukset näistä heidän tahdittomista yrityksistään olisi ollut, niin täytyy heidän (kommunistien) vielä käydä maailman työläisten mikroskooppisen (tarkan) tarkastelun lävitse, eikä heillä ole mitään millä voisivat kestää tämän kokeen.

Näissä syndikalistien kokouksissa saatiin laadituksi kolme julistusta, kaikki ollen eroavia laadultaan, mutta se oli kaikki mitä oli toivottavissa sillä kertaa. Esitän tässä Saksan unioiden laatiman julistuksen, jonka Losovsky luki suurella mielenkarvaudella, niinkuin se olisi ollut äärimmäistä petollisuutta että antaudutaan omaksumaan sellaisia näkökantoja. Tämä saksalaisten julistus oli ainoastaan heidän itsensä allekirjoittama. Se on mielenkiintoinen tässä ainoastaan siksi että se osoittaa minkälainen kanta saksalaisilla edustajilla oli jo ennenkuin syndikalistit olivat pitäneet kokouksiaankaan ja ennenkuin heillä oli mitään tietoa siitä kutka olivat kysymyksessä yhtä mieltä heidän kanssaan.

Saksalaisten julistus.

"Punaisen Ammatti- ja Teollisuusunioiden Kansainvälisen ensimäiseen kongressiin osaaottavien itsenäisten

vallankumouksellisten järjestöjen (jotka ovat olleet pakoitettuja muodostumaan vähemmistöksi) edustajille kaikissa maissa.

"Toverit:

"Koko maailman vallankumoukselliset uniot löytävät itsensä riippuvaisen ja kontrolleeraamattoman vähemmistön armoilla joka tulee unioista jotka ovat niin ideologisesti kuin elimellisestikin yhteydessä Amsterdamin Kansainvälisen kanssa, muodostaen nyt enemmistön tässä kongressissa.

"Tähän mennessä ovat kaikki päätökset tässä kongressissa tulleet tehdyiksi näiden (kommunististen) vähemmistöjen määräysten mukaisesti. Kaikki tulevat päätökset tulevat luonnollisesti olemaan samanluontoisia.

"Näinollen on meidän järjestöiltämme nyt jo riistetty oikeudet tässä kansainvälisessä. Me olemme Kolmannen Kansainvälisen samoinkuin niiden käskyjen alaisia jotka rahavaroillaan ja lukumäärällään tukevat Amsterdamin Kansainvälisen vaikutusvaltaa.

"Tämä alistaminen ei merkitse sen enempää eikä sen vähempää kuin että järjestöjemme täytyy luovuttaa itsenäisyytensä jollekin kansalliselle ja kansainväliselle sekasotkuiselle virkailijakunnalle. Vieläpä vaaditaan että järjestömme lopettaisivat toimintansa. Vallankumouksellisia järjestöjä vaaditaan kaivamaan omaa hautaansa.

"Siksi näemme välttämättömäksi protesteerata ankarasti ja yksimielisesti sellaisia pyrkimyksiä vastaan.

"Kansainvälisen työväenliikkeen menestys ei kaipaa sellaista kansainvälistä, joka muodostuu soluista ja ryhmistä vaan sellaista kansainvälistä joka muodostuu itsensäkannattavista ja itsenäisistä järjestöistä.

"Jos vallankumous ei hyötyisi siitä että vastustuksemme täällä on tuloksia tuottamatonta ja koska itsenäisten unioiden kokoaminen P. A. K:n ulkopuolella olevaan kansainväliseen tulisi merkitsemään työväenliikkeen edelleen jakamista, niin emme tule ryhtymään sellaisiin toimenpiteisiin ennenkuin olemme tehneet kaikkemme tehdäksemme vaikutuksemme tunnetuksi P. A. K:n nykyisen luonteen suhteen ja koska soluryhmien ylivalta P. A. K:ssä tekee siitä pilakuvan, niin

"Olkoon päätetty," että:

"Tässä kongressissa olevat uniot jotka muodostavat vastustavan aineksen, liittävät toimintansa yhteen, P. A. K:n sisällä, tarkoituksella toimia läheisessä yhteydessä, sen varalle että jos P. A. K:n johtajisto eroittaisi jonkun näistä järjestöistä tämän kannan takia tai muuten edistävät vaikutusvaltaansa.

"Tämän vastustavan ryhmän tarkoituksena ja päämääränä on tehdä tästä mielikuvituksellisesta P. A. K:stä todellinen kansainvälinen ja taistella kaikkia reformistisia, opportunistisia ja muita aineksia vastaan jotka ovat vihamielisiä liikkeellemme ja muodostaa sen luonne käytännölliseksi ja vallankumoukselliseksi.

"Koko maailman työväenliikkeen etua silmälläpitäen kutsumme kaikkia edustajia liittymään meihin.

"Freie Arbeiter Union (Felsenkirchen), Allgemeine Arbeiterunion Deutschlands, Deutscher Shiffahrtsbund.

"Moskova, heinäkuun 14 päivä, 1921."

Näissä vähemmistö-kokouksissa laadittiin kolme muuta julistusta, joista kaksi on minulla käytettävissä tässä raportissa. Seuraava julistus laadittiin viimeksi, ollen useimman näihin kokouksiin osaaottaneiden edustajien allekirjoittama. Sen laati eräs ranskalainen josta se sitte käännettiin. Se on epäselvänlainen eikä niin voimakas eikä niin määrittelevä kuin edelliset, jotka olivat jyrkästi Kolmatta Kansainvälistä vastaan.

Tämä julistus kuuluu seuraavasti:

"KUTSU MAAILMAN VALLANKUMOUKSELLISILLE SYNDIKALISTEILLE.

"Kokoontuneina Moskovassa Punaisen Työläisten Kansainvälisen kongressin päätyttyä, me — vallankumouksellisen syndikalistisen vähemmistön edustajat — päätimme muodostaa syndikalistisille periaatteille perustuvan työväenliikkeen vasemmistosiiven. Sellaisen toiminnan tarpeellisuus ei ole tehnyt itseänsä ainoastaan tunnetuksi, vaan on osoittautunut välttämättömäksi useista eri syistä joita koetamme selittää kaikella avomielisyydellä.

"Taloudellisten ja poliittisten tekijöiden horjuttamana on maailma läpäisemässä yhden kriitillisimmistä aikajak-

soistaan. Kuolemaan tuomitun lailla, joka taistelee villisti elämän puolesta, tekee kapitalismi epätoivoisia yrityksiä jatkaakseen olemassaoloaan. Jokaisen maan proletariaatti on tulemassa entistä tietoisemmaksi oikeuksistaan ja historiallisesta tehtävästään. 19:ta vuosisadan loppupuolella kapitalismi kasvoi ihmeteltävän nopeasti, joka — johtuen teollisesta edistyksestä — keskitti satoja tuhansia, vieläpä miljoonia työläisiä luokkajärjestöihinsä, syndikaatteihin. Poliittisten puolueiden vanha taistelutapa osoittautui suhteellisesti tarkoitustaan vastaamattomaksi teollisen kehityksen kanssa joka kasvoi päivä päivältä; työläisjoukoille kävi selvemmäksi että heidän on järjestyttävä omiin yhtymiinsä — syndikaatteihin. 20:n vuosisadan alkupuolella saatiin nähdä tämän luokkaliikkeen kasvu joka alkaa entistä suuremmassa määrässä käymään tietoiseksi taloudellisesta ja poliittisesta tehtävästään. Tämä luokkaliike kasvaa paljasta uniorismia laajemmaksi; syndikaateista muodostuu taistelevia työläisten järjestöjä, joiden päämääränä on palkkajärjestelmän poistaminen. Se muodostuu heidän poliittiseksi päämääräkseen.

"Seurauksena tästä on ristiriitaisuus vanhojen poliittisten muotojen ja työväen luokkaliikkeen välillä joka on kehittymässä työväenjärjestöissä, nimittäin syndikaateissa. Ne ristiriitaisuudet jotka Ensimäisessä Kansainvälisessä ilmenivät ideoloogisella alalla ovat nyt teollisuuden kehityksen johdosta siirtyneet todellisuuden alalle. Vaikka emme haluakaan sekaantua yksilöiden oikeuksiin muodostaa poliittisia ryhmiään, sen enempää kuin minkään puolueen toimintavapauteen, niin me vaadimme kuitenkin tasapuolisia ja oikeudenmukaisia oikeuksia muodostaa luokkajärjestöjämme syndikalististen periaatteiden mukaisesti. Vaadimme oikeuden myöntämistä näille järjestöille edistää kamppailuaan kaksipuolisen päämääränsä saavuttamiseksi: täydellinen taloudellinen ja poliittinen vapaus, jonka saavuttamiseksi on ylimenokautena käytettävä proletariaatin diktatuuria, jota polittiset puolueet nyt jo käyttävät. Me jätimme Amsterdamin Kansainvälisen ja taiselemme sitä vastaan siitä yksinkertaisesta syystä, että huomasimme siinä luokkien yhteistoimintaa joka sinänsä jo on vastoin ohjelmaamme, samoinkuin siksi,

että poliittiset puolueet hallitsevat sitä, koettaen kuten aina, alistaa työväenluokan valtansa alle. Tässä syyt jotka keräsivät meidät kaikki Moskovan punaisen lipun ympärille, joka on meidän päämäärämme, proletariaatin vallankumouksen symbooli.

"Mutta saavuttuamme Moskovaan, saimme taas tuntea poliittisten puolueiden vaikutusvaltaa — ja kuinka korkeat ja ylevät heidän tarkoitusperänsä lienevätkin, verrattuna Amsterdamin sosialidemokratiaan, niin siitä huolimatta on se kokonaan väärin eikä sallittavissa että poliittiset suunnat saavat täydellisen johtoaseman taistelevien työläisten järjestöjen yli, jotka ovat syntyneet työläisten omista riveistä, ollen heidän itsensä luomia.

"Käsittämällä sellaisten aikomusten olevan ei ainoastaan teoreettisesti epäoikeutettuja ja käytännöllisesti epäluotettuja, vaan myöskin vaarallisia työläisten eduille jotka kykenevät ainoastaan itse saavuttamaan vapautensa, olemme nähneet välttämättömäksi liittyä yhteen tälle vallankumoukselliselle syndikalistiselle periaatteelle uudessa punaisessa työläisten kansainvälisessä. Tältä pohjalta aijomme taistella työväenluokan etujen puolesta minkä tahansa poliittisen puolueen hallintoyrityksiä vastaan, olivat ne sitte vaikka kaikkein parhaita.

"Syndikalistisesti järjestyneenä katsoo työväenluokka kykenevänsä itse pitämään huolta asioistaan; se julistaa olevansa tietoinen siitä mikä on sille edullista ja että se tulee olemaan kykenevä puolustamaan riippumattomuuttaan ja puolueettomuuttaan.

"Tehtävämme ja toimintatapamme P. A. K:ssä täytyy olla vallankumouksellisen syndikalismin periaatteiden jatkuva ja tarmokas puolustaminen edellämainitussa hengessä ja jokaisella askeleella taistella jokaista näiden periaatteiden vääristämisyritystä vastaan.

"Tätä tarkoitusta ja päämäärää silmälläpitäen, muodostamme täten koko maailman syndikalistisen ainesten liiton, jossa seuraavat ryhmät ovat edustettuina:

"Italian Syndikalistien Unio — 700,000 jäsentä.

"Espanjan Kansallinen Liitto — 900,000 jäsentä.

"Ranskan Vallankumouksellisten Syndikalistien Liitto — 400,000 jäsentä.

"Amerikan I. W. W. — 75,000 jäsentä.

"Ruotsin Työläisten Keskusliitto — 35,000 jäsentä.

"Saksan Yleinen Työväenliitto — 100,000 jäsentä.

"Vapaat Työläisten Uniot (Gelsenkirchen — Saksa) — 150,000 jäsentä.

"Vapaa Maanviljelystyöläisten Liitto (Saksa) — 30,000 jäsentä.

"Ruumiillisen ja Henkisen Työntekijäin Liitto (Saksa) — 13,500 jäsentä.

"Saksan Meriliikennetyöläisten Liitto — 6,000 jäsentä.

"Tanskan Federalistinen Liitto — 10,000 jäsentä.

"Argentinan ja Uruguayn Työväenliitto — 300,000 jäsentä.

"Hollannin Työläisten Kansallinen Keskus — 40,000 jäsentä.

"Norjan Syndikalistinen Liitto — 2,000 jäsentä.

"Canada — 13,000 jäsentä.

"Virasto on valittu, jonka sihteeristön pääkortteeri tulee olemaan Pariisi. Se tulee toimimaan näille edellänimitetyille järjestöille yhdistävänä renkaana; tiedonvälittäjänä ja järjestää tarmokasta propagandatyötä kaikissa kysymyksessäolevissa maissa, joka tulee perustumaan julistuksessa julkituodulle periaatteelle."

Esitän tässä erään toisen juuri saamistani ponsista, tämä ollen ensimäinen joka tuli hyväksytyksi. Tämä on käynyt läpi kahden käännöksen: ensin ranskankieleltä ruotsinkielelle ja sitte englanninkielelle, joten se on luonnollisesti menettänyt jonkunverran alkuperäisestä soinnustaan. Kaikissa näissä syndikalistien hyväksymissä ponsissa on kuitenkin huomattavissa hyvin suvaitsevainen kanta sellaisessa tilanteessa jossa olisi vaadittu nopeaa ja ratkaisevaa toimintaa. Olen jo ennemmin maininnut että syndikalistien keskuudessa vallitsi jossakin määrässä mielipiteiden eroavaisuutta, joten on aivan luonnollista että ne jotka laativat nämä ponnet, tietäessään tämän, koettivat tyydyttää kaikkia. Esimerkiksi ranskankielellä laadittu ponsi oli ymmärrettävissä ainoastaan ranskalaisille edustajille, toisten tullessa tietämään ainoastaan ponnen pääpiirteet. Englannin- ja saksankielillä laaditut olivat taas vaikeita niille, jotka eivät osanneet lukea näitä

kieliä, joten näissä ponsissa esiintyvää epäselvyyttä huomattaessa on pidettävä tätä seikkaa muistissa. Kaikissa on sama kanta, nimittäin vastustava poliittiseen hallintoon nähden.

Syndikalistinen julistus.

Kaikki saapuvilla olleet allekirjoittivat myös seuraavan ponnen:

"Julistus maailman vallankumouksellisille syndikalisteille.

"Jäädessämme vähemmistöksi Punaisessa Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisessä, me, vallankumoukselliset syndikalistit olemme nähneet välttämättömäksi kokoontua P. A. K:n kongressin jälkeen, laatiaksemme vallankumouksellinen syndikalistinen ohjelma, joka liike on järjestynyt taloudellinen liike, ollen osa — tai kuuluen periaatteellisesti. — P. A. K:n.

"Vaikka jäimmekin vähemmistöksi P. A. K:ssä, sen edustustavan takia joka poikkeaa ammattiunionistisen liikkeen todellisesta edustustavasta, niin haluamme kuitenkin lausua omain ja edustamiemme järjestöjen kannan perusteella, että työläisten todellisen voiman ilmaisuna ovat taloudelliset järjestöt, joiden kautta ainoastaan P. A. K. voi tulla tarkoitustaan vastaavaksi: toimivaksi ja todelliseksi voimaksi.

"Haluamatta väheksyä Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen voimaa eli vaikutusvaltaa niihin puolueisiin nähden jotka sen muodostavat, on ehdoton vakaumuksemme kuitenkin se, ettei P. A. K:n voima tai vaikutusvalta tule lisääntymään vaan päinvastoin vähentymään, jos se on K. K:n moraalisen vaikutusvallan, tai muuten sen alamaisena.

"Osaksi tästä syystä, osaksi muista syistä, jotka tulemme julkisesti selittämään, on ehdottomasti välttämätöntä että muodostamme P. A. K:n sisälläolevista — ja vieläpä tällä kertaa ulkopuolellakin olevista — aineksista puolustusjärjestön, voidaksemme täten taistella täydellisen itsenäisyyden puolesta jokaisesta poliittisesta järjestöstä.

"Tietoisuutemme perusteella historiallisesta tehtävästämme (jota tietoisuuttamme mahdollisuutemme Länsi-Europassa ja Amerikassa todistaa), olemme sitä mieltä,

että ainoastaan työläisten taloudelliset järjestöt tulevat ottamaan kapitalismin tilan; että ne ainoastaan kykenevät toimeenpanemaan todellisen yhteiskunnallisen vallankumouksen ja että ne ainoastaan kykenevät tarkoistustaan vastaavalla tavalla järjestämään tuottajille perustuvan uuden yhteiskunnan, käyttämällä ammattiunioille perustuvaa proletariaatin diktatuuria.

"Ja syyt ovat seuraavat.

"Taloudellisten ja poliittisten vaikuttimien horjuttamana on maailma läpäisemässä yhden kriitillisemmistä aikajaksoistaan. Kuolevan lailla, joka taistelee villisti elämän puolesta, tekee kapitalismi epätoivoisia yrityksiä jatkaakseen olemassaoloaan. Entistä tietoisempana oikeuksistaan ja historiallisista tehtävistään, on kaikkien maiden proletariaatti nousemassa. Yhdeksännellätoista vuosisadalla kapitalismi kasvoi äärettömästi, joka — johtuen teollisesta edistyksestä — keskitti satoja tuhansia, vieläpä miljoonia työläisiä luokkajärjestöihin, ammattiunioihin.

"Poliittisten puolueiden vanha taistelutapa osoittautui suhteellisesti tarkoitustaan vastaamattomaksi nopean teollisen kehityksen kanssa, joten työläisille kävi selväksi että heidän on muodostettava oma puolueensa, työläisten puolue, sille kuuluvassa järjestössä, ammattiunionistisessa liikkeessä. Kahdeskymmenes vuosisata näki tämän luokkataistelun kasvun ja tullessaan tietoiseksi voimastaan ja poliittisesta ja taloudellisesta tehtävästään ja astumalla entistä enemmän ammattirajojen yli, ovat ammattiuniot täten muodostuneet palkkaorjuuden ja kommunismin toteuttamisen taistelujärjestöksi. Tässä me näemme vanhojen poliittisten muotojen ja luokkajärjestöihin, s. t. s. ammattiunioihin järjestyneen työväenliikkeen ristiriitaisuuden. Ne ristiriitaisuudet jotka Ensimäisessä Kansainvälisessä ilmenivät ainoastaan ideoloogisella alalla, ovat nyt taloudellisen kehityksen johdosta siirtyneet todellisuuden alalle. Haluamatta millään tavalla sekaantua niiden vapauksiin jotka ovat liittyneet poliittisiin puolueihin, sen enempää kuin näiden puolueiden täydelliseen toimintavapauteen, niin katsomme olevamme yhtä oikeutettuja vaatimaan oikeutta järjestyä taloudellisen elämän

asettamien vaatimusten mukaisiin työväenjärjestöihin. Luokkajärjestöillämme käymme taistelua kaksipuolisen päämäärämme — täydellisen taloudellisen ja poliittisen vapauden — saavuttamiseksi, järjestymällä ja käyttämällä ylimenokautena proletariaatin diktatuuria, sellaisena kuin se ilmenee taloudellisten järjestöjen toimeenpanemana. Eroamisemme Amsterdamin Kansainvälisestä ja taistelumme sitä vastaan ei johtunut ainoastaan siitä, että huomasimme sen toiminnan perustuvan luokkain yhteistoimintaperiaatteelle, joka on vastoin ohjelmaamme ja historiallista tehtäväämme, vaan myöskin poliittisten puolueiden hallitsevan vaikutusvallan takia, jotka ovat aina halukkaita alistamaan työväenluokan valtansa alle. Tästä kaksinaisesta syystä juuri johtui se että kerääännyimme Moskovan punaisen lipun, proletariaatin vallankumouksen symboolin ympärille, joka on aina ollut meidänkin lopullisena päämääränä. Mutta Moskovassa on meille taas selvinnyt sama poliittisten puolueiden tarkoitusperä (joka voi olla korkeampi ja ylevämpi sitä sosialidemokratiaa johon Amsterdamin Kansainvälinen pyrkii, mutta joka on siitä huolimatta täydellisesti väärä ja hyväksymättömissä), nimittäin se, että niille luovutettaisiin täydellinen ylivalta työläisten omista riveistä syntyneiden ja heidän itsensä luomien taistelujärjestöjen yli.

"Käsittämällä tällaisten yritysten seurausten (senlisäksi että ne ovat teoreettisesti mahdottomia) olevan vaarallisia työläisille, jotka ainoastaan itse kykenevät vapauttamaan itsensä, olemme nähneet välttämättömäksi liittyä yhteen vallankumouksellisen syndikalismin periaatteiden mukaisesti, mutta Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen puitteiden sisällä, taistellaksemme jyrkästi tällä pohjalla ja puolustaaksemme työväenluokan perusetuja minkä tahansa poliittisen puolueen hallintoyrityksiä vastaan, olivat ne sitte vaikka kaikkein parhaita.

"Taloudellisesti järjestynyt työväenluokka tietää kokemuksensa perusteella, että se on kykenevä itse huolehtimaan asioistaan ja siksi se puolustaa peräänantamattomasti itsenäisyyttään. Mutta kyetäkseen tekemään sitä suurta työtä, jonka suorittamiseen se tänäpäivänä tuntee itsellään olevan kutsun, suostuu se liittymään yhteen

jokaisen poliittisen puolueen ja jokaisen filosoofisen ryhmän kanssa joka julistautuu olevansa valmis työskentelemään vallankumouksellisella tavalla. Meidän tehtävämme ja menettelymme P. A. K:ssä, samoinkuin sen ulkopuolella, keskittyvät vallankumouksellisen syndikalismin periaatteiden tarmokkaaseen puolustukseen edelläkuvatussa hengessä ja vastustamiseen askel askeleelta jokaista yritystä alistaa sitä johonkin tästä poikkeavalle. Tämän tarkoituksen toteuttamiseksi täytyy meidän liittää kaikki vallankumoukselliset syndikalistiset ainekset P. A. K:n sisällä yhteen, joita seuraavat järjestöt edustavat:

"I. W. W., Geo. Williams; Italian Syndikalistien Unio, Duilio Mari; A. A. U. (Saksa), Bartells; Vapaa Maanviljelystyöläisten Liitto ja Saksan Merimiesten Unio, Otto Rieger; Espanjan Kansallinen Työväenliitto, Joquin Maurin; Norjan, Ruotsin ja Tanskan syndikalistiset uniot, Frans Severin; Argentinan ja Uruguayn Työväenliitto, Tom Barker; ja Ranskan Vallankumouksellisten Syndikalistien Komitea, Michael Relenque.

"Perustavan viraston sihteeristön hyväksymä."

Syndikalistien kokouksessa tapahtuneista keskusteluista voidaan tehdä seuraava yhteenveto, koska seuraavat näkökannat olivat luonnollisena tuloksena siinä tilanteessa. Se seikka että näitä syndikalistisia kokouksia pidettiin jo silloin, niin tuo se esille kaksi kysymystä:

Kumpi teoria on oikea?

(1) Mikä vaivasi P. A. K:n kongressia (i. w. w.-läiseltä näkökannalta katsottuna), joka pakoitti syndikalistiset ainekset eroamaan kongressin muista aineksista?

(2) Jos on olemassa sellaiset perusteelliset syyt jotka jakavat nämä ainekset, niin minkälaiset oikeuskäsitteelliset toimenpiteet voitaisi asettaa käytäntöön (vallankumouksselliselta näkökannalta katsottuna), maailman työläisten yhdistämiseksi? Joko kommunistien poliittinen, tai sitte industrialistinen teoria on oikeassa. Näistä kahdesta on valittava.

Minun ajatukseni mukaan industrialistinen teoria saa vahvistusta siitä yksinkertaisesta seikasta, että niin suuri määrä syndikalistisia edustajia on mennyt Venäjälle; kat-

soen aivan sikäläisen tilanteen sydämeen, tarkasti tutkien Venäjän vallankumousta, mutta siitä huolimatta vastustaen itse Moskovassa juuri sitä teoriaa joka hallitsee Venäjän vallankumousta nykyisellä asteellaan, nimittäin kommunistista poliittista teoriaa. Jos kommunistit perustavat teoriansa Venäjän vallankumoukselle, niin lyövät heidän omat väitteensä ristiin, sillä Venäjältä ei voida saada yhtään ainoaa todistusta jolla kyettäisiin osoittamaan industrialistinen teoria vääräksi. Siksi kannattaa ottaa huomioon, että Moskovassa väitellään industrialistisesta teoriasta yhtä kiivaasti kuin kapitalistissa maissa, joka todistaa ettei mikään vallankumouksellinen taloudellinen järjestö voi koskaan hyväksyä minkään poliittisen puolueen ylivaltaa, esiintyi se sitte minkämuotoisen vallankumouksellisuuden peitessä tahansa. Mielihyvällä muistelen miten kymmenet ja kymmenet työläiset Venäjällä ollessani sanoivat minulle että Venäjällä saamansa kokemukset olivat osoittaneet heille I. W. W:n kannan oikeaksi. Useat näistä olivat entisiä I. W. W:n jäseniä Englannista ja Amerikasta ja melkein kaikki olivat olleet Venäjällä vallankumouksen ensipäivistä saakka.

Olen kiinnittänyt enemmän huomiota näihin vähemmistö-kokouksiin kuin mitä ehkä näyttää välttämättömältä. En ole käsitellyt tätä puolta siksi että lopputuloksiin sisältyisi mitään erikoisen tärkeää, vaan siksi että I. W. W:n jäsenet saisivat selvemmän käsityksen kongressissa ilmaantuneista suunnista ja pitämällä tätä mielessään voivat sitte paremmin tulkita P. A. K:n tuloksia. Teen tämän myös osoittaakseni vastustuksen poliittisen aineksen ylivaltaan nähden olleen laajemman, keskittymättä ainoastaan minuun. Jokainen vallankumouksellinen syndikalistinen järjestö vaati itsenäistä taloudellista kansainvälistä. Sitä eivät kuitenkaan saaneet. Se on ainakin tullut todistetuksi, vaikka ei koko asiasta mainittaisi sen enempää. Olen jo osoittanut että näiden kahden aineksen jakaantuminen oli jo edeltäpäin ratkaistu. Tästä syystä nämä vähemmistö-kokoukset olivat hyvään tarpeeseen, sillä niissä tuli niin kumoamattoman selvästi tuotua esille se poispyyhkäisemättömissä oleva raja joka eroitti nämä kaksi ryhmää. Tämän lisäksi olen sitä mieltä että ne

laskivat perustan todelliselle kansainväliselle, sillä nyt jokainen tietää millä kannalla toiset, vallankumouksellisessa työväenliikkeessä olevat ovat poliittisiin puolueisiin nähden.

"Ponnet ja päätökset"

Nyt otan käsitelläkseni P. A. K:n ensimäisessä kongressissa hyväksytyt "ponnet ja päätökset". Sellaisen tärkeän kongressin päätöksiksi on niitä huomattavan vähän ja puuttuu niistä paljon sellaista jonka katsoisi tarpeelliseksi sisältyä sellaisen kuin vallankumouksellisten unioiden kansainvälisen perussääntöihin. Todellakin minusta näyttää siltä ettei koko ponnet ole muuta kuin joutavia sanatulvia Amsterdamin Kansainvälisen ja eri maiden taantumuksellisten unioiden johtajia vastaan. Mutta joskaan tässä ei ilmene mitään merkityksellisempää taloudellisen kansainvälisen perustamiseksi, niin saa kuitenkin hyvän käsityksen jokaisen ponnen laatijan tarkoitusperästä. Näiden "ponsien ja päätöksien" pintapuolisempikin tutkimus osoittaa että yksi ajatus on hallitsevana jokaisessa painetussa lauseessa ja se on: **Voimaa! "Amsterdamin johtajat on poistetttava." "Viskatkaa ulos gompersit, jauhauxit, thomasit. Vallatkaa heidän unionsa ja tuokaa ne Moskovaan. Luovuttakaa ne meille ja me tulemme sitte johtamaan teidät voittoon."** Niinkuin joidenkin vissien johtajien poistaminen olisi ainoa kysymys joka työläisillä on edessään. Taas se on sitä samaa sammaltunutta filosofiaa johtajistosta.

Hyvän käsityksen saamiseksi P. A. K:tä kontrolleeraavien kommunistien psykologiasta, voidaan kongressin julistusta maailman työläisille käyttää yhtä hyvänä mittapuuna kuin mitään muutakaan. Tämä julistus kun kerran tuli kansainvälisten vallankumouksellisten unioiden kongressilta, niin luulisi kuka tahansa että sen pitäisi sisältämän tärkeän sanoman maailman työläisille. Mutta mitä siinä sanotaan? Se alkaa kertomalla "rikoksellisesta sodasta" ja koskettelee jokaista auringon alla tapahtuvaa vääryyttä joista työväenluokka kärsii, joten olettaisi että se valmistaa lukijaa koko kysymyksen ratkaisua varten. Artikkelin keskikohdalla sitte kysytään:

"Mitä olisi tehtävä?"

Nähtävästi ei laatija voinut ajatella muuta tai en ainakaan minä voinut löytää siinä muuta kuin sen mikä seuraavissa lainauksissa ilmenee:

"Mitä tekevät **Amsterdamin johtajat?**" "Muodostukoon proletariaatin vihanhuuto seuraavaksi tunnussanaksi: **Alas Amsterdamin keltainen kansainvälinen!**" "Irroittakaa itsenne **keltaisista petollisista johtajista** jotka myyvät työväenluokan asian." "Loistavien kamppailujen uusi aika on alkanut, jolloin proletariaatti ansaitsee **paremmat johtajat** kuin Amsterdamin rikkurit". (Ottakaa huomioon tämä!) — "Uudet johtajat tulevat olemaan tietoisia proletariaatin juoksuhautojen puolustamisesta, tullen ottamaan hyökkäävän kannan."

Sanallakaan ei mainita mistään joka osoittaisi muuta kuin johtajien vaihtamista. Tietysti kysymys keltaisten johtajien ulosviskaamisesta "keltaisista unioista" merkitsee sitä että tarvitaan uusia johtajia ja kuka voisi edes kuvitellakaan sellaista että yksikään kommunisti olisi niin julkea että tarjoutuisi johtamaan työläisiä taloudelliseen vapauteen? Minä teen tämän kysymyksen niiden eduksi jotka mahdollisesti eivät ole koskaan antaneet tunnustusta niille johtajakyvyille joita löytyy ja ovat ominaisia Moskovalle. Moskovassa löytyy johtajia minkälaisille unioille vaan, olemattomista aina sellaisiin joita tullaan perustamaan. Lyhyesti sanottuna: Moskovassa löytyy täysi valikoima johtajia, odottaen ainoastaan tarpeellisia järjestöjä joihin nämä johtajiksi itseään väittävät voisivat asettua. Kaikissa teeseissä, ponsissa ja päätöksissä ilmenee luonnollisesti ajatus tästä "johtamisesta" pääajatuksena ja perustana kaikille keskusteluille. Jokaisessa luvussa sitä toistetaan kerta toisensa jälkeen, kunnes näiden teesien lukeminen muodostuu väsyttäväksi toistettujen fraasien tutkimiseksi. Jokaisen I. W. W:n jäsenen tulisi hankkia itselleen kopio näistä "ponsista ja päätöksistä" jos se vaan on mahdollista. Se on tutkimus paljaan johtajakysymyksen turmeltuneesta oppisäännöstä, jolle on vaan roiskittu ihan uusi kerros punamaalia.

Kongressissa hyväksyttiin ainoastaan kolme sellaista asiaa, joita kannattaa ottaa tässä käsittelyn alaiseksi:

"Kysymys menettelytavoista", "Päätös Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen ja Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen suhteista" ja "Perustuslaki." Muitakin kysymyksiä käsiteltiin mutta niissä käsiteltiin asioita jotka ovat käyneet merkityksettömiksi muille paitsi ehkä laatijalle, joka mahdollisesti nautti siitä kun sai harjoitella erityisiä taipumuksiaan asioiden sotkemisessa. Tarkoitukseni ei ole tehdä pilaa vakavasta asiasta, mutta tällaisia verenjanoisia sanatulvia on käsiteltävä jännittämättömällä mielellä, tai muuten kysymys näistä taantumuksellisista johtajista voidaan ottaa niin vakavalta kannalta että sekaannutaan väittelyyn siitä, että kumpi niille olisi tehtävä: räjähdyttää ilmaan tai saattaa ne konetykki-satimeen.

Koko tarkoituksemme on käsitellä tässä (i. w. w.-läiseltä näkökannalta) sitä koneistoa joka oli muodostettu luomaan ja johtamaan P. A. Kansainvälistä.

Suhteet Kommunistiseen Kansainväliseen.

"Päätökset suhteista Kommunistiseen Kansainväliseen" ovat jossakin määrässä harhaanjohtavat, sillä niissä ei mainita mitään näiden kahden ryhmän todellisista suhteista. Mutta "Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen perustuslaki" ratkaisee tämän asian. Koska näin on asianlaita niin lainaan ne tässä sillä pyynnöllä, että jäsenistö tutkisi tarkkaan "punaisten työväenunioiden ja kommunistipuolueiden suhteiden" viimeistä pykälää.

"Päätös Punaisten ammattiunioiden ja Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen suhteista.

"(Toveri Rosmerin ja Tom. Mannin raportista).

"Koska maailmansodasta ja pulmista on ollut seurauksena että työn ja pääoman välinen kamppailu kaikissa maissa on saanut erikoisen terävän, heltymättömän ja ratkaisevan luonteen,

"Koska työväestö on jokapäiväistä kamppailua käydessään tullut entistä selvemmin näkemään välttämättömyyden poistaa porvaristo teollisesta samoinkuin poliittisesta vallasta,

"Koska edellmainittu voidaan toteuttaa ainoastaan proletariaatin diktatuurilla ja kommunistisella järjestelmällä,

"Koska kaikki kapitalistiset hallitsevat luokat, kamp-

pailussa porvariston diktatuurin säilyttämiseksi, ovat nyt jo suuressa määrässä onnistuneet tiivistämään ja keskittämään niin poliittiset kuin taloudelliset järjestönsä kansallisesti ja kansainvälisesti, täten muodostaen kaikista porvarillisista voimista yhteisen rintaman, puolustaakseen itseään ja hyökätäkseen eteenpäin hyökkäävää proletariaattia vastaan ja

"Koska uudenajan luokkataistelu vaatii proletaaristen voimain ja vallankumouksellisen kamppailun suurempaa yhteenlittämistä ja siis merkiten sitä, että erimuotoisten vallankumouksellisten liikkeiden välillä ja ennen kaikkea Kolmannen Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen ja Punaisen Työväenunioiden Kansainvälisen välillä täytyy vallita mahdollisimman läheinen suhde ja elimellinen yhteys, samoinkuin olisi suotavaa että kansallisesti pyrittäisiin muodostamaan samanlaiset suhteet kommunistipuolueiden ja Työväenunioiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen välillä;

"Niin kongressi päättää:

"1. Ryhtyä tarmokkaimpiin toimenpiteisiin kaikkien unioiden liittämiseksi yhteen taistelevaan järjestöön, jolla on yksi suoranainen kansainvälinen keskus — Työväenunioiden Punainen Kansainvälinen.

"2. Perustaa mahdollisimman läheinen yhteys Kolmannen Kansainvälisen kanssa, joka on vallankumouksellisen työväenliikkeen etuvartijajoukko maailman kaikissa osissa, kummankin ollessa edustettuna toinen toisensa toimeenpanevassa komiteassa, pitämällä yhteisiä kokouksia jne.

"3. Edellämainitun yhteyden pitäisi olla elimellisen ja toiminnallisen laadultaan, toimimalla yhdessä vallankumouksellista toimintaa varten kansallisessa ja kansainvälisessä mittakaavassa.

"4. Että jokaisessa maassa on välttämättömästi pyrittävä liittämään yhteen kaikki vallankumoukselliset työväenjärjestöt ja perustamaan mahdollisimman läheinen yhteys punaisten ammattiunioiden ja kommunistipuolueiden välillä, tarkoituksella toteuttaa kummankin kongressin päätökset."

Italian kysymystä koskevasta ponnesta keskusteleminen vei kaksi päivää. Pääasiallisena keskustelun aiheena tässä

oli se, että Italian Yleisen Työväenliiton (tämä muodostuu niistä vanhoillisista unioista jotka kuuluvat Amsterdamin Kansainväliseen, joten ei niitä pidä sekoittaa syndikalistiseen unioon) johtajat olivat joskus luvanneet liittyä P. A. K:n, mutta olivat edelleen pysyneet sen ulkopuolella. N. k. Italian kysymystä koskeva ponsi muodostui siis Italian vanhoillisten unioiden johtajien tuomitsemiseksi heidän näennäisestä kaksinaamaisuudestaan. Ottamalla huomioon sen aikamäärän mitä tämän kysymyksen käsittelyyn käytettiin niin pitäisi tämä asettaa kaikkein tärkeimpäin kysymysten luokkaan. Tämän riitaisuuden ratkaisemiseen käytettiin kaksi kertaa niin paljon aikaa kuin muiden ponsien ratkaisemiseen.

Järjestökysymystä koskevat ponnet.

"Järjestökysymystä koskevat ponnet" muodostivat kysymyksen joka sai kongressin vastakkaiset ainekset kiivaimpaan väittelyyn. Ponnen teoria perustuu "sisältäpäin toimimiselle". Tämä ollen menettelytapa josta kommunistit omaavat niin suuria toiveita vanhoillisten työväenunioiden valtaamisessa. Koko tämä "sisältäpäin toimimisfilosofia" on saanut alkunsa yhdestä ainoastaan halusta: saada tilaisuus johtaa ja voimaa.

Poistaessamme siitä ajatuksen kaikkien työväenunioiden hallinnosta yhdestä keskuksesta Moskovassa, niin koko teoria litistyy kuin pannukakku. Ja tämä johtamisfilosofia on juuri se lähde josta se äärimmäinen vihamielisyys syndikalisteja ja I. W. W:tä vastaan nousee. Losovsky osoittaa tämän selvästi teeseissään "menettelytavoista" sanoessaan: "**Toiselta puolelta taas me näemme syndikalismissa itsenäisyys- ja puolueettomuusperiaatteen kaikkia poliittisia puolueita kohtaan, sisältäen proletariaatin poliittisen puolueenkin.**"

Tämän minä luulen selittävän kaiken "sisältäpäin toimimisesta". "Menettelytapoja" koskevista ponsista ei saa muuta käsitystä kuin sen, että "sisältäpäin toimimisen" päätarkoituksena on poistaa vanhat johtajat. Käsitellessään Englannin työväenunioita, sanoo Losovsky "menettelytapateesien" 24:ssä pykälässä seuraavasti:

"Tällaisen tilanteen vallitessa ei siis tule kysymykseen yksityisten huomattujen jäsenten poisriistäminen työväenjoukoista ja unioista, uusien järjestöjen luomiseksi, vaan on katsottava että tietoisimmat ja toimivimmat vallankumoukselliset ainekset toimivat elimellisesti työläisjoukkojen syvimmissä riveissä; unioiden alimmissa soluissa tehtaissa ja työpajoissa, koettamalla vallata vastuunalaiset ja johtavat asemat työväen unioliikkeessä, ylhäältä aina alas saakka."

On turhaa ajan- ja tilantuhlausta yrittää seikkaperäisemmin tarkastaa tätä "sisältäpäin| toimimisteoriaa." Venäläisellä näkökannallaan ovat tämän teorian opettajat nähtävästi edistäneet sitä sen perusteella ja tämän lisäksi on heillä hyvin niukat tiedot olosuhteista Amerikassa, samoinkuin mistään muustakaan maasta. Mutta käsittelemällä sitä vanhoillisten unioiden johtoasemien valtaamisen näkökannalta, niin on syy sen olemassaololle helposti nähtävissä. Olen tutkinut kaikkea tätä alaa koskevaa kirjallisuutta mitä on julkaistu, mutta en ole vielä löytänyt selvää suunnitelmaa, jonka mukaisesti voitaisiin laatia täydellinen ohjelma tämän teorian toteuttamiseksi.

Seuraava kohta teeseistä, koskien "järjestämistä", ollen Losovskyn kirjoittama, sattuu sikäli kuin minä tiedän lähemmäksi tätä kysymystä kuin muut:

"Neljäs luku. Vanhojen ammattiunioiden valtaaminen.

"12 pykälä. Työväenluokan vallankumouksellisen liikkeen kuristaminen ja ammattiunioiden virkavallan nykyaikana näyttelemä vastavallankumouksellinen osa herätti kaikkien maiden vallankumouksellisen proletariaatin joissakin osissa ajatuksen vanhojen unioiden jättämisestä ja uusien, puhtaasti vallankumouksellisten luomisesta. Tästä saivat alkunsa sellaiset tuunussanat kuin "hävittäkää uniot" ja "ulos unioista", jotka saivat koko suosiollisen vastakaiun niiden vallankumouksellisten ainesten joukossa jotka olivat koko toivottomassa mielentilassa ja menettäneet luottonsa joukkoihin. Vallankumouksellisten ainesten riistäytyminen irti unioista, josta on seurauksena laajojen joukkojen jättäminen työväenluokan vaikutuksen

alaiseksi, (This policy of breaking off from the unions by the revolutionary elements, thanks to witch the great masses are abandoned to the influence of the working class, plays into the hands of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy and must be resolutely and categorically rejected) on vastavallankumouksellisen virkailijakunnan etujenmukaista, joten siitä on ehdottomasti luovuttava. Yhtymäkohtamme vallankumouksellisen kamppailun kehittämisessä ei tulisi olla unioiden hävittäminen vaan niiden, eli toisin sanoen, suurten työläisjoukkojen valtaaminen jotka ovat edelleen vanhoissa ammattiunioissa.

"13 pykälä. Eroittamalla kaikki johtavat ainekset vallankumouksellisesta ammattiunionistisesta liikkeestä, meni kaikkien maiden ammattiunioiden virkailijakunta puolitiehen tämän 'ulos unioista' tunnussanan toteuttamisessa. Tämä antoi vaan entistä enemmän tukea sille toivottomalle mielialalle ja vahvisti 'ulos unioista' tunnussanaa. Mutta P. A. K:n kannattajat tekisivät mitä suurimman virheen jos antautuisivat tähän provokatsiooniin ja luopuisivat ammattiunionistisesta liikkeestä ja sulkisivat itsensä pieniin vallankumouksellisiin unioihin.

"Unioista eroitettujen työläisten ei pitäisi hajaantua. Heidän täytyy pysyä järjestyneinä saman suunnitelman mukaan kuin olivat ennen eroittamistakin ja toimia edelleenkin sen union oikeana laillisena osana joka eroitti heidät. Heidän ei pitäisi millään muotoa edistää ammattiunioiden virkailijakunnan asiaa ja ottaa osaa kamppailuun joukkojen alati kasvavaa vallankumouksellisuutta vastaan.

"14 pykälä. Meidän pitäisi menettelytapaohjelmassamme ottaa huomioon, että tällä hetkellä nämä vanhat ammattiuniot sisältävät useita miljoonia työläisiä. Vallankumouksellisten ainesten tehtävä ammattiunioissa ei pitäisi olla parhaiden ja luokkaitetoisimpain ainesten riistäminen niistä, tarkoituksella perustaa pieniä järjestöjä. Heidän tehtävänsä tulisi olla näiden unioiden vallankumouksellistuttaminen ja muodostaminen yhteiskunnallisen vallankumouksen aseiksi. Tämä voitaisiin toteuttaa jokapäiväisellä taistelulla niiden vallankumouksellisten vaatimusten toteuttamiseksi joita vanhoissa ammattiunioissa olevat työläiset esittävät. Kaikki järjestötyö tulisi kehittää taiste-

luksi ammattiunioiden virkailijakunnan petollisuutta ja hitautta vastaan kamppailussa työläisten jokapäiväisten etujen edistämiseksi. Unioiden valloittaminen merkitsee joukkojen valloittamista, joka voidaan toteuttaa ainoastaan järjestelmällisellä ja kestävällä taistelulla, asettamalla luokkien yhteistoimintaohjelman tilalle vakaa vallankumouksellinen toimintaohjelma. 'Ulos unioista' tunnussana estää meitä joukkojen valloittamisessa puolellemme ja jarruttaa yhteiskunnallisen vallankumouksen edistymistä.

"15 pykälä. Olisi yhtä väärin ajateltua ammatillisen järjestäytymisen muodostavan itsessään päämäärän. Ne ovat ainoastaan välikappaleita pääämäärn saavuttamiseksi. Hylkäämällä tunnussanan 'ulos unioista' täytyy meidän ehdottomasti julistaa vastustavamme tunnussanaa 'yhtenäisyyttä hinnalla millä hyvänsä ja joka tapauksessa' ja sellaista luonnotonta järjestäytymistapaa. Unioiden valtaaminen ei tarkoita union tilikirjan tai omaisuuden, vaan sen jäsenistön valtaamista. Tämä eroavaisuus unhoitetaan helposti, sekoittamalla unio ja konttori, rahastoineen ja virkailijoineen yhteen. Vallankumouksellisten luokkatietoisten unioiden tulisi jyrkästi taistella tällaista 'ammattiunio-koneisto-kantaa' vastaan. Vallankumoukselliset ammattiuniot vastustavat hajoittamista. Mutta meidän jokaisen pitäisi painaa mieleemme että vaikka ne kannattavat yhtenäisyyttä niin ne eivät pelkää hajaannusta."

Huomattavin puoli tuossa edellämainitussa on se huojuvaisuus ja runsas epämääräisyys millä tätä "lempiasiaa" käsitellään. Se on lapsellisuuden mestariteos. Siinä käsketään työläisiä jättämään Amsterdamin "keltaiset johtajat", mutta seurata edelleen eri maiden "keltaisia johtajia", joten näyttää siltä että he ovat tietämättömiä siitä ettei kansallisten johtajien kannattaminen suinkaan heikennä Amsterdamin Kansainvälistä.

Jätän tämän sotkun I. W. W:n jäsenten ratkaistavaksi samoinkuin sen että missä tämä "sisältäpäin toiminta" olisi alettava ja mihin se päättyy. Se on samaa kuin lähteä poraamaan tunnelia ilman että tietää missä sen toinen pää tulee olemaan.

Nyt kun olen luullakseni osoittanut että P. A. K. oli Kolmannen Kansainvälisen täydellisen hallinnon alai-

sena niin on paikallaan tässä kiinnittää huomio "järjestökysymyksen teesien" 45:nen pykälän kohtaan: "Liittymisehdot Punaiseen Kansainväliseen." Siinä on se kömpelösti peitetty "syötti", jonka tarkoituksena on kuljettaa maailman työväenliike Punaisen Kansainvälisen kansainvälisten kurinpitäjien kautta Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen toimeenpanevan komitean käsiin.

"Kansainvälinen järjestö on vasta silloin oikealla tavalla perustettu kun jokaisessa maassa löytyy samanlaiset järjestöt jotka panevat sen päätökset täytäntöön. Kokemukset kansainvälisessä liikkeessä ennen ja erikoisesti sodan aikana osoittavat, että useat järjestöt eivät pidä kansainvälisten kongressien päätöksiä sitovina kansallisiin järjestöihin nähden. Mutta Punainen Kansainvälinen ei voi hyväksyä tällaista ja siksi se asettaa voimaan tarpeellisen kansainvälisen proletariaatin kurin, s. t. s. että eri kansallisten järjestöjen täytyy noudattaa kansainvälisten kongressien ja kokouksien päätöksiä."

Näiden "ponsien ja päätöksien" arvostelemista voitaisiin jatkaa loppumattomiin, sillä niistä puuttuu selvä suunnitelma kansainvälisen järjestön perustamiselle. On kuitenkin turhaa seuloa tutkittua ja kaavanmukaista mielettömyyttä. Tosiasia on, että kun ottaa huomioon kaiken, niin lepää sen pääasiallinen voima sen epäselvyydessä, sillä sen tarkoituksena on sekoittaa työläisten suuren enemmistön mielet, jotka, katsellen Venäjän vallankumousta ideologiselta näkökannalta, sekoittavat tämän ihmetteltävän saavutuksen poliittisen puolueen kanssa.

Haluan enää käsitellä ainoastaan yhtä kohtaa "P. A. K:n perustuslaissa." Tilan säästämiseksi, jätän pois johdannon tälle ponnelle ja alan "Päämäärästä ja Tarkoitusperästä."

"2. Päämäärä ja tarkoitusperä.

"Työväenunioiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen päämääränä on:

"1) Koko maailman suurten työläisjoukkojen järjestäminen kukistamaan kapitalismi; raatajien vapauttaminen sorrosta ja riistosta ja sosialistisen yhteiskunnan perustaminen.

"2) Tehdä vallankumouksellisen luokkataistelun, yhteiskunnallisen vallankumouksen, proletariaatin diktatuurin ja vallankumouksellisen joukkotoiminnan (mass action) periaatteille perustuvaa laajakantoista agitatsioni- ja propagandatyötä, tarkoituksella kukistaa kapitalistinen järjestelmä ja porvarillinen valtio.

"3) Taistella maailman työväen unionistisen liikkeen elinvoimaa kalvavaa, vahingollista mätäpaisetta (kompromissia porvariston kanssa) vastaan, samoinkuin luokkayhteistoiminta-, yhteiskunnallisen rauhan periaatetta ja sitä typerää toivomusta vastaan että ylimenokausi kapitalismista sosialismiin olisi rauhallinen.

"4) Yhdistää maailman työväen unionistisen liikkeen vallankumoukselliset ainekset ja käydä ratkaisevaa taistelua Kansojen Liiton yhteydessä olevaa kansainvälistä työvirastoa ja Amsterdamin Kansainvälistä ammattiunioiden liittoa vastaan, joiden ohjelma ja menettelytavat eivät muuta kuin tukevat maailman porvaristoa.

"5) Yhdenmukaistuttaa ja säännöstää työväen luokkataistelu kaikissa maissa ja järjestää kansainvälisiä mielenosoituksia aina kun tilanne vaatii.

"6) Olla alkuunpanevana kansainvälisissä toimeenpanoissa huomattavien luokkataistelutapausten sattuessa, lähettää ulos keräyslistoja lakkolaisten hyväksi suurten yhteiskunnallisten yhteentörmäyksien sattuessa j. n. e."

En usko olevan tarpeellista kosketella edelläolevaa sen enempää kuin kysyä, että mikä kohta näissä selostaa millään tavalla sitä asiaa josta niiden pitäisi olla kirjoitettu? Sanoa että "päämääränä ja tarkoitusperänä" on "raatajien vapauttaminen sorrosta ja riistosta" ei merkitse mitään, sillä keltaiset sosialistit ja amsterdamilaisetkin käyttävät tätä epämääräistä sanontatapaa. Järjestyä? Niin! Mutta millä tavalla? Ja mikä on se johdonmukainen toiminta jolla työläiset voivat saada teollisuudet haltuunsa. Tässä kysymyksessä emme halua jättää mitään mielikuvituksen varaan. Tosiseikka tässä on se, että tämä pykälä on yksi lisätodistus opitusta ja kaavamaisesta loruilusta. Mutta jos kirjoittaja olisi kirjoittanut todelliset ajatuksensa niin olisi liian paljon tullut paljastetuksi.

Jäsenyysehdot.

"Jäsenyyssääntöjen" perusteella on P. A. K:n seuraava kongressin ovet ja akkunat taas avoinna kommunistiselle edustajavyörykkeelle, joka edustaa mielikuvituksellisia työläismiljoonia. Tämän pykälän laatijalla ei tietysti ollut tätä mielessä!

Jäsenyys.

"Mikä hyvänsä vallankumouksellinen taloudellinen luokkajärjestö on jäsenkelpoinen Työväen Unioiden Punaiseen Kansainväliseen, seuraavilla ehdoilla:

"1) Hyväksyy vallankumouksellisen luokkataisteluperiaatteen.

"2) Toteuttaa nämä periaatteet jokapäiväisessä taistelussa kapitalismia ja porvarillista valtiota vastaan.

"3) Tunnustaa kapitalismin kukistamisen välttämättömyyden yhteiskunnallisen vallankumouksen kautta ja proletariaatin diktatuurin voimaanasettamisen ylimenokaudeksi.

"4) Tunnustaa ja alistuu kansainvälisen proletariaatin kurin alaiseksi.

"5) Tunnustaa Työväen Unioiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen perustavan kongressin päätökset ja asettaa ne käytäntöön.

"6) Katkaisee välinsä Amsterdamin keltaisen Kansainvälisen kanssa.

"7) Hyväksyy yhteistoiminnan kaikkien vallankumouksellisten järjestöjen ja maan kommunistipuolueen kanssa kaikissa puolustus- ja hyökkäystoiminnoissa porvaristoa vastaan."

Neljäs luku, "Kansainväliset kongressit."

Tämä luku on naurettava, ollen siinä kaksi mielenkiintoista kohtaa ja on se erikoisen arvokas kommunisteille, sillä ratkaistakseen niiden työläisten lukumäärän joita he edustavat, ei heidän tarvitse käyttää muuta kuin lyijykynää, ja kirjoittaa numerot. Koko syndikalistisessa liikkeessä on mahdollisesti noin 3,000,000 jäsentä, joten he

tulisivat sen perusteella saamaan 18 ääntä. Tämä on vapaa arvioiminen, käyttämällä neljättä lukua pohjana äänimäärän määrittelyssä. Saksan kommunistinen vähemmistö kykenisi jo yksistään vastaamaan tätä, puhumattakaan Amerikan, Ranskan, Englannin, Italian ja lukuisten muiden maiden edustajistoista. Sama naurettavaisuus ilmenee seuraavassa kohdassa, jossa määritellään edustus. On varmaa ettei eri maiden vanhoilliset työväen uniot tule koskaan liittymään Punaiseen Kansainväliseen, joten tämä juuri tekee kommunistiset vähemmistöt välttämättömiksi. Seuraavat ovat ne kaksi kohtaa joista olen edellä maininnut.

"Jokainen ammatti- tai teollisuusunioista muodostettu kansallinen järjestö, jonka jäsenmäärä on alle 10,000, saa kongressissa yhden neuvottelevan äänen; 10,000—25,000 jäsentä käsittäville kansallisille järjestöille annetaan yksi päätösvaltainen edustusoikeus; 25,000—100,000 jäsenestä annetaan kaksi päätösvaltaista edustajaoikeutta; 100,000—250,000 jäsenestä neljä; 250,000—500,000 kuusi ja mitä menee sen yli, niin annetaan yksi päätösvaltainen edustusoikeus jokaista 500,000 jäsentä kohti. Ammatillisille ja teollisille kansainvälisille vallankumouksellisille luokkajärjestöille annetaan jokaiselle kaksi päätösvaltaista ääntä.

"**Kaikkien maiden järjestyneille vähemmistöille annetaan sama edustusoikeus,** mutta kaikki Työväen Unioiden Punaiseen Kansainväliseen kuuluvat järjestöt kussakin maassa muodostavat yhden edustajiston, jonka kesken äänet sitte jaetaan kunkin järjestön jäsenmäärän perusteella. Järjestyneille vähemmistöille ja osille annetaan edustusoikeus kongressissa ainoastaan siinä tapauksessa, ettei sen maan työväen unioiden (tällä tarkoitetaan vanhoillisia unioita) järjestö kuulu Työväen Unioiden Punaiseen Kansainväliseen."

Keskusneuvosto.

"Työväen Unioiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen elimiä" määrittelevien sääntöjen viidennen luvun mukaan tulee venäläisillä aina olemaan keskusneuvostossa neljä edustajaa, toisilla mailla kaksi ja joillakin yksi. Sanon aina,

sillä tämä kansainvälinen ei tule koskaan kokoontumaan ukopuolella Venäjää. Siitä huolimatta tämä ei tule merkitsemään mitään, sillä tulevaisuudessa tämä keskusneuvosto tulee jatkamaan olemassaoloaan ainoastaan paperilla. Todellinen koneisto on toimeenpaneva toimisto jonka keskusneuvosto valitsee ja sitte kun tämä keskusneuvosto on tämän tehnyt niin tulee se hajaantumaan seuraavaan kongressiin saakka. Ollen aina varma kommunistisesta enemmistöstä tulee tämä keskusneuvosto luonnollisesti aina asettamaan luotettavia ja todellisia tovereita toimeenpanevaan toimistoon j. n. e., j. n. e. ja huomiomme ollessa kiintyneenä tähän ylevään keskukseen, ei tarvitse suurestikaan ponnistaa henkisiä kykyjään ennenkuin näkee että tätä koneistoa hallitseva voima ei ole keskitettynä missään muualla kuin Kolmannen Kansainvälisen päämajassa. Lainaan seuraavan luvun.

"Viides luku. Työväen Unioiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen elimet.

"Työväen Unioiden Punaisella Kansainvälisellä on kaksi elintä: keskusneuvosto ja toimeenpaneva toimisto.

"Keskusneuvosto. Keskusneuvosto muodostuu seuraavasti: Englannilla, Yhdysvalloilla, Saksalla, Italialla, Espanjalla, Tshekkoslovakialla, Puolalla ja Ranskalla on kaksi edustajaa kullakin; Venäjällä on neljä ja kaikilla muilla mailla joilla on yli 25,000 jäsentä, on yksi päätösvaltaisella äänellä varustettu edustaja ja mailla joilla on vähemmän kuin 25,000 jäsentä, on yksi neuvottelevalla äänellä varustettu edustaja ja ammatillisten ja teollisten kansainvälisten vallankumouksellisten luokkajärjestöjen edustajilla on yksi neuvotteleva ääni.

"Keskusneuvosto johtaa kongressien väliajoilla kaikki Työväen Unioiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen tehtävät; ratkaisee kaikki kysymykset tilanteen mukaisesti; edustaa Työväen Unioiden Punaista Kansainvälistä koko maailman edessä; toimii sen nimessä, kokoo sille kaikki kansainvälistä työväenliikettä koskevat aineet ja asiapaperit; hoitaa kaikkia sen rahavaroja, johon sisältyy "kansainvälisen solidarisuuden taistelurahasto," julkaisee lehtiä ja aikakausijulkaisuja eri kielillä, lyhyesti sanottuna, on

se elin, jolle on keskitetty valta johtaa kaikkea työtä maailman kongressien väliajoilla.

"Keskusneuvosto kokoontuu vähintäin kahdesti vuodessa, käsitellen enimmäkseen periaatekysymysten selvittelemistä, jättäen kaikki juoksevat asiat toimeenpanevalle toimistolle."

Toimeenpanevan toimiston nykyinen kokoonpano ja keinot joita käytettiin Andreytchinen siihen asettamiseksi on jo sinänsä pätevä todiste siitä minkälainen aines tulee aina muodostamaan tämän koneiston. Samoin kuin tämä, on se myös totta, että Punainen Kansainvalinen tulee olemaan personoituna näissä seitsemässä miehessä. He tulevat muodostamaan Punaisen Kansainvälisen. Kaikkien P. A. K:n kuuluvien järjestöjen keskitetystä hallintosuunnitelmasta, joka on niin suoraan tuotu esille "ponsissa ja päätöksissä," voi selvästi nähdä että tämä tulee kauniisti istumaan ja ohjaamaan Punaista Kansainvälistä oman mielensä mukaisesti. Siihen saa varmasti luottaa että tällä toimistolla tulee olemaan seuraavan kongressin koneisto hyväksi rasvattuna tulevien poliittisten seikkailujen varalle.

Toimeenpaneva toimisto.

Toimeenpaneva toimisto muodostuu seitsemästä jäsenestä jotka keskusneuvosto valitsee, sisältäen kaksi siitä maasta jossa Työväen Unioiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen päämaja sijaitsee.

"Toimeenpaneva toimisto johtaa kaikki Työväen Unioiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen juoksevat asiat. Se säännöstää departementtien ja osien työt; julkaisee Työväen Unioiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen viralliset julkaisut; edustaa Työväen Unioiden Punaista Kansainvälistä ja sen keskusneuvostoa koska ja missä tahansa se vaan on tarpeellista ja valmistaa kaikki kysymykset keskusneuvoston istuntoja varten. Toimeenpaneva toimisto kokoontuu vähintäin kerran viikossa."

Varojen hankinta.

Perustuslain määrittelyt varojen hankintaan nähden jätän jonkun laskuopillisen neron ratkaistavaksi joka sat-

tuu lukemaan tämän raportin. Minä en voi tehdä muuta johtopäätöstä kuin sen, että ne työväen ryhmät joilla on jäsenistö, tulevat suorittamaan rahastuksen. Kommunistiset vähemmistöt tulevat olemaan "vapaamatkustajia," mutta omaamalla kaikki äänet, tulevat he käyttämään kaikki rahat juuri samojen järjestöjen hävittämiseksi jotka ovat rahat luovuttaneet. Tällaisella työväen unioiden kansainvälisellä on todellakin valoisa tulevaisuus!

"Seitsemäs luku. Varat.

"Punainen Kansainvälinen rahastetaan siihen kuuluvien kansallisten järjestöjen säännöllisillä verotuksilla ja ylimääräisillä luovutuksilla. Lankeava maksuosuus asetetaan seuraavaksi: järjestöjen, jotka saavat keskusrahastoonsa 50 prosenttia tai enemmän jäsenveroistaan, tulee maksaa vähintäin 1 pros. kokonaistuloistaan; järjestöjen, jotka saavat keskusrahastoonsa 25—50 pros. tulee luovuttaa vähintäin 2 pros.; järjestöjen, jotka saavat 10—25 pros. jäsenveroista, tulee luovuttaa vähintäin 3 pros. ja järjestöjen, jotka saavat vähemmän kuin 10 pros. jäsenveroista, tulee luovuttaa 5 pros. Siksi kunnes tarpeellinen rahasto on saatu perustetuksi, tulee sen maan yleinen työväenjärjestö jossa Työväen Unioiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen päämaja sijaitsee rahastamaan sen."

Lopetan käsittelemällä "suhteita Kommunistiseen Kansainväliseen," sanomalla että tämä on hyvin kömpelö pyydys, ollen se tarkoitettukin vaan pintapuolista tarkistelua varten. Kommunistit tiesivät kaiken aikaa omaavansa kontrollin P. A. K:n nähden, mutta koettivat tällä pettää syndikalistisia järjestöjä. Mutta näillä läpinäkyvillä juonilla ei ole petetty ketään. Tämä kohta on mainio viralliseksi keppihevoseksi kommunisteille. He koettavat sillä uskottaa että P. A. K. on riippumaton Kolmannesta Kansainvälisestä. Mutta kysymys on: Kenelle voisivat he sen todistaa?

"Kymmenes luku. Suhteet Kolmannen Kansainvälisen kanssa.

"Läheisten ja särkymättömien suhteiden muodostamiseksi Työväen Unioiden Punaisen Kansainvälisen ja Kol-

mannen Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen välillä, keskusneuvosto:

"1) Lähettää kolme ratkaisevalla äänioikeudella varustettua edustajaa Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen toimeenpanavaan komiteaan ja päinvastoin.

"2) Järjestää yhteisiä istuntoja Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen toimeenpanevan komitean kanssa, tarkoituksella keskustella kansainvälistä työväenliikettä koskevista tärkeimmistä kysymyksistä ja saada toiminta yhteiseksi.

"3) Julkaisee tarpeen vaatiessa yhteisiä vetoomuksia Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen kanssa."

Tähän päättyy "ponsien ja päätöksien" käsittely ja kun minulla ei ole enää mitään tärkeää tuotavana esille joka koskisi P. A. K:tä, niin koskettelen vähän "merimiesten kansainvälistä kongressia."

Merimiesten maailmankongressi.

Senlisäksi että minulla oli valtuudet Punaiseen Kansainväliseen, oli minulla myöskin valtuudet merimiesten maailmankongressiin, jonka oli määrä alkaa Pietarissa elokuun 1 p. Tämä kongressi ei kuitenkaan toteutunut koskaan, mutta järjestettiin n. k. konferenssi joka pidettiin Moskovassa elokuun 12 p., 1921. Losovskyn esitysten mukaan tätä aijottua kongressia ei pidetty koska katsottiin tilanteen olevan sopimattoman perustaa Punaisesta Kansainvälisestä erillään oleva merimiesten kansainvälinen. Tämän lisäksi oli saapuvilla ainoastaan muutamia merimiesten edustajia ja he edustivat ainoastaan pientä prosenttia sen teollisuuden työläisistä. Merimiehiä edustavia edustajia oli saapuvilla ainoastaan neljästä maasta: Australiasta, Argentinasta, Saksasta ja Amerikasta. En vastustanut tämän aijotun kongressin muuttamista kokoukseksi. Saksan ja Argentinan edustajat vastustivat ankaranlaisesti tätä muutosta. Kokouksessa ei tapahtunut mitään sellaista josta kannattaisi lähemmin mainita.

Syndikalistinen kongressi Saksassa.

Lähdettyäni Moskovasta, saavuin Berliniin ja ollessani pakoitettu jäämään sinne joksikin aikaa, hyväksyin kutsun ottaa veljesedustajana osaa Saksan syndikalistien (F. A.

U. D.) kongressiin. Ennen kongressin alkamista saapui muita edustajia (jotka olivat edustaneet eri maita Punaisessa Kansainvälisessä) ja ryhdyttiin epävirallisiin keskusteluihin kansainvälisestä tilanteesta. Näissä keskusteluissa kävi ilmi että oltiin yksimielisiä siitä ettei P. A. K:n kongressi tyydyttänyt ensinkään syndikalistisia järjestöjä, mutta oltiin erimielisiä siitä että minkälaisiin toimenpiteisiin olisi ryhdyttävä. Katsottiin olevan järkevintä antaa yleisen tilanteen selviintyä, odottamalla siksi kunnes ne monet järjestöt jotka olivat edustettuina Moskovassa, ehtisivät ratkaista edustajiensa raporttien suhteen. Tämä tulisi tietysti ottamaan jonkun aikaa. Lähtiessäni kotiin Saksasta oli tilanne minun käsittääkseni seuraava:

Että tuskin yksikään Europan syndikalistisista järjestöistä tulee liittymään P. A. K:n ja että nämä järjestöt ovat hyvin halukkaita jollakin tavalla pääsemään yhteistoimintaan toisten vallankumouksellisten järjestöjen kanssa. Ainoa mitä tarvitaan on, että joku järjestö panee asian alulle ja tarpeelliset väliaikaiset toimenpiteet taloudellisen kansainvälisen perustamiseksi on helposti järjestettävissä. Ja olen sitä mieltä että jos I. W. W. panisi tämän asian alulle niin tulisi se heti tuottamaan tuloksia.

Saksan kongressissa olleet ulkomaalaiset edustajat, minä niihin luettuna, olivat yksimielisiä siinä että Hollannin edustajat toimisivat väliaikaisen toimiston sihteeristönä, tullen se toimimaan sellaisena tiedonantotoimistona jonka kautta eri vallankumoukselliset järjestöt voisivat seurata asioiden kulkua.

Tähän päättyi osanottoni kaikkeen joka koski Europan työväenliikettä, lukuunottamatta lyhyttä puhetta Saksan syndikalistien kongressissa, joka on julkaistu ennemmin.

Todistus hallinnosta.

Lisään tähän aineistoa jonka luulen olevan pätevänä todisteena siitä että Kolmas Kansainvälinen hallitsi P. A. K:stä. Se ilmenee kahden asiapaperin muodossa, jotka koskevat samaa asiaa. Ensimäinen muodostuu Kolmannen Kansainvälisen hyväksymistä ponsista ja toinen muodostuu P. A. K:n ensimäisen kongressin hyväksymistä ponsista. Epäilemättä nämä ponnet ovat alkujaan saman

henkilön kirjoittamat, mutta kun ne on hyväksytty edellämainituissa kongresseissa, niin on toista muokattu, vähän, vaihtamalla joitakin sanoja ja muuttamalla lauserakennetta vähän. Nähtävästi Kolmannen Kansainvälisen kongressissa hyväksytty on alkuperäinen. Se ei ole suuresta merkityksestä kuka kirjoittaja on, mutta se on koko suuresta merkityksestä mitkä vaikuttimet aihettuivat sen ilmestymään Punaisen Kansainvälisen ensimäisessä kongressissa hyväksytyissä ponsissa, senjälkeen kun se oli hyväksytty Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen kolmannessa kongressissa.

Julkaisemme nämä asiapaperit tässä rinnastettuina, joten lukija voi helpommin tarkastaa nämä valitut kohdat. Vasemmanpuolinen on kommunistisen kongressin ja oikeanpuoleinen on P. A. K:n kongressin hyväksymä. Lukija tulee luonnollisesti näkemään että nämä kaksi asiapaperia ovat samanlaiset, vertaamalla rinnakkain olevia pykäliä toisiinsa.

KOLMANNEN KOMMUNISTISEN KANSAINVÄLISEN MAAILMANKONGRESSISSA HYVÄKSYTYT TEESIT JA PÄÄTÖKSET, SIVUILTA 69—72, VENÄJÄLLÄ PAINETUSSA KIRJASSA.

(Pykälä 3, sivu 69—70.)

Viime vuoden kampailu on erikoisen selvästi osoittanut varsinaisten ammattiunionististen järjestöjen tarkoitustaanvastaamattomuuden. Yhden liikkeen työläisten kuuluminen moneen eri unioon vaikuttaa heikentevästi kamppailuun. On välttämätöntä ja tämän tulisi olla sitkeän kamppailun lähtökohtana

VALLANKUMOUKSELLISTEN AMMATTI- JA TEOLLISUUSUNIOIDEN ENSIMÄIS. KANSAINVÄISEN KONGRESSIN PONNET JA PÄÄTÖKSET, SIVUILTA 38—44, AMERIKASSA PAINETUSSA KIRJASSA.

(Pykälä 46, sivu 38.)

Viime vuosien kamppailut ovat osoittaneet erikoisen selvästi varsinaisten ammattiunionististen järjestöjen tarkoitustaanvastaamattomuuden. Yhden liikkeen työläisten kuuluessa eri ammattiunioihin vaikuttaa heikentävästi niiden taistelutehokkuuteen. On välttämätöntä ja tämän tulisi olla heltymättömän kamppailun lähtökohtana

(Pykälä 4, sivu 70)

Jokaisen tehtaan ja myllyn pitäisi muodostua vallankumouksen varustukseksi. Sen vanhanaikaisen yhteyden tilalle joka on vallinnut union jäsenistön ja itse union s. t. s. rahankerääjien, edustajien ja valtuutettujen välillä, tulisi muodostaa ja asettaa tehdaskomiteat.

(Pykälä 5, sivu 70.)

Ensimäinen työläisille ja tehdaskomiteoille asetettava kysymys on työttömyyden takia eroitettavien pitäminen työmaalla työnantajan kustannuksella. Työnantajan ei olisi sallittava mielivaltaisesti viskata työläisiä kadulle vaan on heidät pakoitettava maksamaan täysi palkka työttömille

(Pykälä 6, sivu 70)

Työmaiden sulkeminen ja työläisten työajan supistaminen osoittautuu nykyaikana tehokkaimmaksi aseeksi epämieluisten ainesten poistamisessa, jolla porvaristo pakoittaa työläiset alistumaan palkanalennukseen, työpäivän pidentämiseen ja keskinäisen sovittelun poistamiseen. Työnsulku saa entistä enemmän suoran toiminnan luonteen työnantajain taholta.

(Pykälä 7, sivu 70.)

Yhtenä taistelukeinona näitä työmaiden sulkemisia vastaan joiden tarkoituksena on

(Pykälä 47, sivu 39.)

Jokaisen tehtaan ja työpajan pitäisi muodostua vallankumouksen varustukseksi Se vanhanaikainen yhteys joka on vallinnut union jäsenistön ja itse union s. t. s. rahankerääjien, edustajien, valtuutettujen yms. välillä, ei vastaa tarkoitustaan, vaan on välttämätöntä pyrkiä rakentamaan unio työmaakomiteoille perustuvaksi.

(Pykälä 48, sivu 39.)

Ensimäinen työläisille ja työmaakomiteoille asetettava kysymys on työttömyyden takia eroitettavien pitäminen työmaalla mainitun teollisuushaaran työnantajain kustannuksella. Työnantajain ei olisi sallittava mielivaltaisesti viskata työläisiä kadulle vaan on ne pakoitettava maksamaan täysi palkka työttömille

(Pykälä 49, sivu 39.)

Työmaiden sulkeminen ja työajan supistaminen osoittautuu nykyaikana tehokkaimmaksi aseeksi, jonka avulla porvaristo pakoittaa työläiset alistumaan palkanalennukseen, työpäivän pidentämiseen ja keskinäisen sovittelun poistamiseen. Työsulku saa entistä enemmän suoran toiminnan luonteen, jota työnantajat käyttävät järjestyneitä työläisiä vastaan.

(Pykälä 50, sivu 40.)

Yhtenä taistelukeinona näitä työmaiden sulkemisia vastaan joiden tarkoituksena on palk-

palkkojen ja elintason alentaminen, tulisi olla tehtaiden ja myllyjen ottaminen työläisten omiin käsiin ja tuotannon jatkaminen omistajain menettelystä huolimatta.

kojen ja elintason alentaminen, tulisi olla tehtaiden ja myllyjen ottaminen työläisten omiin käsiin ja tuotannon jatkaminen vastoin omistajan tahtoa.

(Pykälä 9, sivu 71.)

Kapitalistien käyttäessä hyväkseen maan taloudellista pulakautta, alentaakseen palkkoja, tulisi vallankumouksellisten ammattiunioiden koettaa ehkäistä palkkojen alentamista jokaisessa laitoksessa, sillä hajanaisesti toimimalla jotkut osat voisivat tulla voitetuiksi.

(Pykälä 53, sivu 41.)

Kapitalistiluokan käyttäessä hyväkseen taloudellista pulakautta alentaakseen palkkoja, tulisi vallankumouksellisten ammattiunioiden tehtävänä olla palkanalennusyritysten tyhjäksitekeminen kapitalistisissa teollisuuksissa, jotta eivät tulisi voitetuiksi hajanaisina ollessaan.

(Pykälä 11, sivu 71.)

Vallankumouksellisen ammattiunionistisen liikkeen on jyrkästi vastustettava kaikkien maiden opportunistien opettamaa ehdotonta luottamusta keskinäisen sovittelun merkitykselliseyteen. Keskinäinen sovittelu jne. jne.

(Pykälä 54, sivu 41.)

Vallankumouksellisen ammattiunionisen liikkeen on jyrkästi ja päättäväisesti vastustettava kaikkien maiden opportunistien opetusta keskinäisen sovittelun pyhyydestä. Keskinäinen sovittelu jne. jne.

(Pykälä 13, sivu 71.)

Nämä taistelevat järjestöt eivät taistele ainoastaan työnantajain hyökkäyksiä ja lakonrikkurijärjestöjä vastaan, vaan ovat alkuunpanijoina, pysäyttämällä kaiken rahdin ja tuotteet.

(Pykälä 56, sivu 42.)

Näiden taistelevien järjestöjen ei tulisi taistella ainoastaan työnantajain hyökkäyksiä ja lakonrikkurijärjestöjä vastaan, vaan olla alkuunpanijoina kaiken rahdin ja tuotteiden pysäyttämisessä jne. jne.

Olen luullakseni käsitellyt kaikki P. A. K:tä koskevat tärkeät kohdat. Yksityiskohtien tutkiminen olisi tehnyt tästä raportista paljon pitemmän, mutta se olisi pienestä merkityksestä tässä. Olen myöskin sitä mieltä että lukija tulee lopettamaan tämän raportin lukemisen sillä ymmär-

ryksellä, että olen käsitellyt kommunistista hallintopuolta enemmän kuin muita asioita. Tämä ei ole minun mielestäni väärin sillä minun käsittääkseni oli se pääkysymys P. A. K:n kongressissa. "Ponsissa ja päätöksissä" ilmenevät vissit sanat ja kohdat ovat tärkeitä ainoastaan tähän kontrollikysymykseen nähden. Ja kontrollikysymyksen ollessa ratkaistu, on ilmeistä (ainakin sikäli kun kommunistit ovat kysymyksessä) että nämä "ponnet ja päätökset" ovat pienestä merkityksestä hyväksytyssä toimintaohjelmassa. Mutta tässä tapauksessa (P. A. K:n nähden) näyttää kuitenkin siltä että kommunistit ovat valmiita menemään kantansa peittämisessä niin pitkälle että valmistavat kokonaisen ponsikokoelman, joilla todellisuudessa ei ole mitään merkitystä. Siksi en ole suurestikaan kosketellut niitä, sillä olen sitä mieltä että jäsenistö tulisi näkemään sen tyhjyyden joka sisältyy kaikkeen siihen mitä hyväksyttiin. Kertomuksen Venäjän oloista jätän eri raporttiin, jonka toivon voivani esittää I. W. W:n jäsenille.

Tässä kaikki mitä voin esittää raporttina ja jätän sen I. W. W:n jäsenistön harkittavaksi sillä vakaumuksella ja luottamuksella että antavat sille sen tarkan harkinnan minkä se ansaitsee.

Parhain tervehdyksin, olen

Teollisen vapauden puolesta,

GEO. WILLIAMS.

Chicago, Ill., joulukuun 12 päivä, 1921.

P. A. K:n lausuntoja.

"Nykyään toimivat vallankumoukselliset ovat joko One Big Uniossa, Industrial Workers of the World-liitossa tai muissa samanlaisissa järjestöissä. Vaikka lukumääränsä ei olekaan suuri, niin kuitenkin he hallitsevat ammattiunioissa olevien vallankumouksellisten mielet, osoittaen olevansa toivottomia näihin ammattiunioihin nähden, täten tehden heidät toimettomiksi niiden sisällä. On keksittävä joku keino millä hajoittaa nämä "ihanne"-uniot ja vapauttaa vallankumoukselliset voimat joukkojen keskuuteen; ajatus on välttämättömämpi kuin kysymyksessä oleva jäsenistö ja järjestön todellinen rakenne. On otettava huomioon että tämä voidaan tehdä ainoastaan asteittaisesti. Ensimäiset askeleet tulevat mahdollisesti olemaan nykyään voimassaolevan asetuksen poistaminen, jonka mukaan vallankumoukselliset ovat kiellettyjä pitämästä virkailijain paikkaa ammattiunioissa; hallinnon luovuttaminen sellaisissa hyvinjärjestyneissä teollisuuksissa kuin kaivosteollisuus, voimassaoleville unioille; ja kun tämä on saatu hyvään alkuun, niin aletaan tukemaan "ihanne"-unioiden jälelläolevia osia ja niiden keskitystä järjestymättömillä aloilla, erikoisesti ammatittomilla ja mahdollisesti tullaan alkamaan vähemmistökomitealiike suurempien voimassaolevien sisällä, ei särkemistarkoituksessa, vaan niiden voimistuttamiseksi ja tehdä ne hyökkäävämmiksi — asettaa niihin vallankumouksellinen johto...."

"Ensiksi on meidän otettava huomioon, ettei I. W. W:tä eikä O. B. U:ta voida pakoittaa eikä houkutella luopumaan kannastaan heti; saada heitä uskomaan on melkein yhtä vaikeaa. He ovat kiintyneet järjestöönsä uskonnollisella fanatismilla. Mahdollisesti olisi vieläkin vaikeampaa saada heitä littymään yhteen; vaikka tästä kysymyksestä kummankin järjestön edustajan pitäisi keskustella. Käytännöllisin askel mikä voitaisiin ottaa heti ja joka lupaa menestystä heidän kannatuksensa saamisessa voi mahdollisesti tulla olemaan sopimus heidän puoleltaan, jonka kommunistinen vähemmistö on jo periaatteellisesti hyväksynyt [illegible] teollisuusalo[illegible]ityksistä vallata kaksoisoja kuin kivihiili-, rauta-

tie- ja vaateteollisuudet; ja sensijaan että kiellettäisiin jäseniä ottamaan osaa ammattiunioiden hallintoon ja toimintaan, heitä kehoitetaan toimimaan niissä vakavassa tarkoituksessa, ei niiden hajoittamiseksi, vaan voimistuttamiseksi ja niiden parhaiden puolien kehittämiseksi...."

"Siitä voimakkaasta työväenliikkeestä huolimatta joka Englannissa on, jossa on tapahtumassa radikaalisia muutoksia, yritetään siellä luoda uusia One Big Union tai I. W. W:n mallisia järjestöjä. Sellaiset yritykset olisi ehdottomasti ja räikeästi tuomittava ... Kymmenien tuhansien vallankumouksellisten työläisten ulosriistäminen uusien itsenäisten järjestöjen muodostamista varten, on rikos Englannin ja koko maailman työväenluokkaa vastaan. Näinollen tulee kaikkien Punaisen Ammattiunioiden Kansainvälisen kannalla olevien järjestöjen keskittää kaikki voimansa unioiden valloittamiseksi yksi kerrallaan, yhdistää niiden rivit, eikä tuhlata aikaa harvoihin valittuihin eli "huippuun" kuuluvien kanssa, jotka eivät ole kosketuksissa pohjajoukkojen kanssa..."

I. W. W:n toimeenpanevan komitean lausunto.

Toimeenpaneva komitea vakuuttaa uudelleen I. W. W:n kansainvälisyyden. Järjestömme tarkoitus on järjestäytyä maailmanlaajuisesti. Todellisuudessa, niinkuin nimemmekin edellyttää, on tarkoituksemme olla Maailman Teollisuustyöläisten Liitto (Industrial Workers of the World). Me ojennamme solidaarisen kätemme vallankumouksellisille, luokkatietoisille työläisille kaikissa maissa. Me kehoitamme heitä tarkastamaan ohjelmaamme, esipuhettamme ja järjestösuunnitelmaamme ja katsomaan eivätkö voi perustaa tieteellistä pohjaa vallankumoukselliselle unionismille maissaan. Lausumme tervetulleeksi esitykset kansainvälistä yhtymistä varten jotka eivät ole ristiriidassa periaatteidemme ja toimintaohjelmamme kanssa, eivätkä vaadi meitä uhraamaan itsenäisyyttämme.

Taisteleva I. W. W.

(SUOMENNOS)



WORKERS SOCIALIST PUBLISHING CO.
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DULUTH, MINN.

ALKULAUSE.

I. W. W:n (Industrial Workers of the World — Maailman Teollisuustyöläiset) historia on taistelujen historia. Kautta maailman on tämä järjestö tehnyt itsensä tunnetuksi taistelevana järjestönä. Koko olemassaolonsa ajan on se ollut taistelussa, ankarassa taistelussa. Se on taistellut vaihtelevalla menestyksellä. Monta kertaa on se tullut lyödyksi takaisin verisin päin. Mutta tämän järjestön sekä voitot että tappiot ovat olleet kunniakkaita.

Sanat eivät voi kuvata sitä sitkeyttä, uhrautuvaisuutta, rohkeutta ja jalomielisyyttä mitä tämän järjestön jäsenet ovat osoittaneet. Sanat eivät voi kuvata niitä hirveitä kärsimyksiä mitä tämän järjestön jäsenet ovat kärsineet ja kärsivät tänäpäivänä. Kaiken tämän ovat he tehneet tämän järjestön edistymiseksi. Mitkään ylistelyt heistä eivät ole liikaa, sillä nämät, jotka ovat tehneet järjestöstämme sen mikä se on, ovat omanneet korkeimman ihanteen mitä kukaan voi omata: — maailma, jossa kaikki saavat kaikesta nauttia. Tämän ihanteen puolesta he ovat taistelleet. Tämän ihanteen puolesta he ovat uhranneet.

Tämä kirjanen ei ole seikkaperäinen kertomus niistä lukuisista taisteluista mitä tämä järjestö on käynyt. Niistä mainitaan ainoastaan ylimalkaisesti. Kirjanen on tarkoitettu lyhyeksi selostukseksi tämän järjestön periaatteista, tarkoitusperistä ja menettelytavoista, joita on niin paljon väärinymmärretty, sillä niitä on niin paljon väärintulkittu.

Viime kuukausien aikana on järjestömme osoittanut maailmalle jotakin sellaista, jota työväenliikkeen historiassa ei ole ennen tapahtunut: järjestömme on käynyt taistelua kansainvälisessä mittakaavassa! Se on taas todennut olevansa TAISTELEVA I. W. W. Sellaisena se haluaa tulla tunnetuksi. Sellaisena se kehoittaa maailman palkkatyöläisiä liittymään riveihinsä.

Suomentaja.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

I.

I. W. W.

Harva se ihminen Amerikassa, joka ei ole kuullut tai lukenut INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' OF THE WORLD-järjestöstä, eli I. W. W:stä, joksi sitä tavallisesti kutsutaan, mutta hyvin harva tietää mitä se todellisuudessa on ja mitä se pyrkii toteuttamaan. "I. W. W."-nimen ympärille on kerääntynyt tavaton määrä vääriä käsityksiä. Sanomalehdistö on I. W. W:stä luonut sellaisen, joka hyvin vähäisessä määrässä pitää paikkansa tosiasioiden kanssa. Siksi olemme varmat siitä, että haluat tutustua *luotettavaan* selostukseen tämän järjestön periaatteista, tarkoitusperistä ja menettelytavoista, samoin kuin joistakin muista näitä asioita läheisesti koskevista kysymyksistä.

Joitakin väärinkäsityksiä I. W. W:stä.

Hyvin suuressa määrässä ollaan siinä käsityksessä, että I. W. W. on salainen järjestö; että se muodostuu pääasiallisesti ulkomaalaisista; että se suunnittelee pimeässä väkivaltaisuuksia, verenvuodatusta, omaisuuden ja ihmishenkien hävittämistä ja päälliseksi Yhdysvaltain hallituksen kukistamista! Tässä maassa löytyy suuria ja voimakkaita järjestöjä, joiden erikoistehtävä on tällaisten vääristelyjen kokoonpunominen I. W. W:stä.

I. W. W:llä ei ole mitään tekemistä poliittisen vallankumouksen eikä minkäänlaisen poliittisen toiminnan kanssa, kuten tulet helposti näkemään, luettuasi edemmäksi. Emme

utele henkilöltä hänen poliittisia, sen enempää kuin uskonnollisia mielipiteitään, tai minkä värinen hänen ihonsa on. Ne eivät liikuta meitä. Emme luokittele kanssaihmisiämme näiden seikkojen perusteella. Niin välinpitämätön on tämä järjestö poliittisiin, uskonnollisiin ja rotukysymyksiin nähden, että on kieltänyt sellaisen propagandatyön tekemisen järjestössä, koska sillä on taipumusta poistaa huomio tarkoitusperistämme ja aikaansaada eripuraisuutta ja hajaannusta.

Sensijaan, me luokittelemme kanssaihmisemme yhteiskunnallisen asemansa perusteella kapitalisti- eli loiseläjäluokkaan ja työväenluokkaan. Me keskitämme huomiomme siihen, joka koskee jokaista yhtä läheisesti, nimittäin *taloudelliseen kysymykseen,* kiinnittäen huomiomme muihin kysymyksiin ainoastaan silloin, kun ne sattuvat eteemme ja sekaantuvat toimintaamme, tai sitte puhtaasti kasvatuksellisessa tarkoituksessa, mutta ei koskaan tarkoituksella tehdä propagandatyötä jonkun vissin puolueen, uskonsuunnan tai rodun hyväksi.

I. W. W. on vallankumouksellinen työväenunio.

I. W. W:n perustamistoimenpiteisiin ryhdyttiin vuonna 1904, mutta tämän uuden työväenunion muodostaminen tapahtui vasta seuraavana vuonna Chicagossa pidetyssä suuressa konventsionissa, jolloin tämän järjestön periaatteet, tarkoitusperät, menettelytavat ja rakenne laadittiin, ollen ne pääpiirteissään samanlaiset vielä tänäkin päivänä. I. W. W. perustettiin työväen unioksi ja on se sellaisena pysynyt. Kuka ikänään yrittää sanoa siitä jotakin muuta, tulkitsee sitä väärin. *Tämän taloudellisen järjestön* jäsenien katseet eivät ole, niinkuin poliittisten puolueiden, kiinnitettyinä hallitusrakennuksiin, vaan tehtaisiin, myllyihin, työpajoihin ja muihin tuotanto- ja jakolaitoksiin. Emme vedä mitään rajaa äänestämään oikeutetun, maassa syntyneen amerikalaisen ja äänestysoikeudettoman ulkomaalaisen välillä. Jokainen joka tekee palkkatyötä, joko mies, nainen, tai lapsi, on jäsenkelpoinen järjestöömme ja oikeutettu äänestämään sitä koskevissa asioissa.

I. W. W. on maailmaa käsittävä teollisuusunio.

Tämän maailmanlaajuisesti tunnetun työväenunion perustajat antoivat sille nimeksi THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS' OF THE WORLD (Maailman Teollisuustyöläiset), siten osoittaen järjestön tarkoituksena olevan liittää yhteen maailman teollisuustyöläiset. Tämä ei ole vielä toteutunut, mutta järjestön vaikutus on jo laajalle levinnyt. Järjestömme on jo Englannissa, Australiassa ja Etelä-Afrikassa; Meksikossa, Argentinassa ja Chilessa; Skandinaviassa ja muissa maissa. Väittäessään olevansa maailmanlaajuinen unio, perustaa I. W. W. sen sille, että se on tehnyt voimakkaan vaikutuksen muihin työväenjärjestöihin ja saanut ne hyväksymään ohjelmansa sekä hengessä että teoissa.

Vaikka jäsenmaksuja maksavan jäsenistön lukumäärä Yhdysvalloissa ei käsitä sataa tuhatta, niin muodostaa I. W. W. voimakkaan maailman mahdin. Yli miljoona jäsenkorttia on järjestömme taholta laskettu ulos ja jäseniämme löytyy tänäpäivänä jokaisessa maassa auringon alla. Niitä on Huippuvuorten hiilikaivoksissa, lähellä pohjoisnapaa. Niitä on valaskalanpyydystysasemilla Etelä-Georgiassa, lähellä etelänapaa. Niitä on jokaisella laivalla joka valtameriä kyntää, kylväen oppimme siemeniä jokaisessa satamassa ja istuttaen sitä suotuisaan maaperään kaukaisilla rantamilla.

Tällä hetkellä, jolloin kaikki muut yhteiskuntateoriat ja -liikkeet ovat epäonnistuneet, eivätkä kykene lupaamaan mitään tulevaisuuteen nähden, niin I. W. W. yksin on tilanteen valtijana maailman työläisten mielissä. Tässä suhteessa on perustajain ihanne toteutunut. Tehtäväksemme jää nyt siirtää työläisten mielissä oleva ajatus teolliseen elämään ja silloin tulee perustajain tarkoitus kokonaisuudessaan toteutetuksi. Muissa maissa olevien teollisuusunionistien avulla toivomme voivamme läheisessä tulevaisuudessa toteuttaa tämän suunnitelman muodostamalla *teollisen kansainvälisen.*

II.

I. W. W:n historia on verellä kirjoitettu.

Alussa I. W. W. muodostui suureksi osaksi Lännen kaivosmiehistä, metallityöläisistä, rautatieläisistä ja kulkevista työläisistä. Vuosien kuluessa on se laajentanut toimintansa lukuisiin teollisuuksiin, ollen sillä tänäpäivänä 29 tätä maata käsittävää teollisuusuniota ja yhden näistä, Meriliikennetyöläisten Teollisuusunion alkaessa käydä kansainväliseksi. Nämä löytyvät lueteltuina edempänä. Suuri osa jäsenistöstä muodostuu kulkevista työläisistä ja voimakkaimmat uniot kaivostyöläisistä, puutavarateollisuustyöläisistä, maanviljelystyöläisistä, rakennustyöläisistä, meriliikennetyöläisistä, metallityöläisistä, kutomotyöläisistä ja rautatietyöläisistä.

Menneisyydessä on järjestö toimeenpannut useita suuria ja pieniä lakkoja, useissa teollisuuksissa, vaihtelevalla menestyksellä, viimeaikoina sangen suurella menestyksellä. Erikoisen huomattavassa määrässä on I. W. W. kyennyt parantamaan maanviljelyksessä, kaivos- ja puutavarateollisuudessa työskentelevien työläisten asemaa ja kutomoteollisuustyöläiset ovat myös I. W. W:n kautta saavuttaneet huomattavia parannuksia. Ennen I. W. W:n näyttämölle astumista ja sen alkuaikoina oli vuodevaatekimppu selässään maata kiertävien työläisten asema äärettömän kurja. Työläisellä, joka kerran oli joutunut tähän asemaan, oli vähän tai ei ollenkaan toiveita koskaan enää kohota yhteiskunnallisesti. Hän oli kerta kaikkiaan vajonnut. Tänään ovat asiat toisin, josta kiitos I. W. W:lle. Nyt ovat nämä työläiset järjestönsä avulla saaneet uutta toivoa, itsekunnioitusta ja voimaa. Tässä lyhyessä selostuksessa emme voi mennä yksityisseikkoihin.

Järjestön tähänastinen pääasiallinen toiminta on luonnollisesti ollut kasvatuksellista luonteeltaan. Tätä työtä tehdessään on järjestö lukuisia kertoja joutunut virkavallan kanssa yhteenottoon puhe-, paino- ja kokoontumisvapaudesta.

10,000 vangittu.

Jos julkaisisimme kaikkien niiden I. W. W:n jäsenten nimet, jotka sen olemassaolon aikana ovat joutuneet vanki-

laan, niin tulisi niistä suuren kaupungin telefooniluettelon kokoinen kirja. Yli tuhannen jäsentä on tullut viskatuksi vankilaan niissä eri osissa maata tapahtuneissa puhevapaustaisteluissa joihin I. W. W. on joutunut. Vuonna 1912 vangittiin Lawrencen, Mass, kutomotyöläisten lakon aikana yli 900 I. W. W:n jäsentä. Satakunta vangittiin vähän myöhemmin Little Fallsissa, N. Y. (1912-13). 1,800 I. W. W:n jäsentä pantiin telkien taakse Patersonin, N. J., kutomotyöläisten lakon aikana. 1,164 työläistä, suurelta osalta i. w. w:läisiä, kaapattiin ja karkotettiin väkivaltaisesti Bisbeessä, Ariz., vuonna 1917 ja pidettiin kuukausimääriä ilman näennäisiäkään laillisia toimenpiteitä. Western Federation of Minersin kuuluessa vielä I. W. W:hen viskattiin tuhansia sen jäseniä vankilaan. Vuonna 1920 laadittiin osittainen luettelo niistä jäsenistä, jotka tulivat viskatuiksi vankilaan sitte sodan puhkeamisen. Tämä lista käsitti 1,327 nimeä. Sen jälkeen on jäseniämme jatkuvasti astunut vankilain ovista sisälle. Aivan hiljakkoin vangittin Portlandissa, Ore., 450 I. W. W:n jäsentä ilman pätevää syytä. Tällä kertaa on parisataa järjestömme jäsentä vankilamuurien sisäpuolella, jotkut ollen palvelemassa elinkautista, toiset viiden, kymmenen, viidentoista, kahdenkymmenen ja kahdenkymmenenviiden vuoden pakkotyörangaistusta — kaikki toimintansa vuoksi I. W. W:ssä. Yhteinen, sitten vuonna 1905 vangittujen I. W. W:n jäsenten määrä nousee yli kymmenen tuhannen.

Vailla yhteiskunnallisia oikeuksia.

Vähintäin parikymmentä järjestömme jäsentä ovat viholisemme tai heidän kätyrinsä murhanneet mitä törkeimmällä tavalla.

Näiden, järjestömme jäseniä kohtaan tehtyjen suurimpien rikoksien lisäksi on järjestöämme kohtaan tehty lukemattomia muita rikoksia, joko sitten "lain ja oikeuden" nimessä, tai ilman virallisuuden leimaa.

I. W. W:n jäseniä on tervattu ja höyhennetty, karkoitettu, rääkätty, heiltä on kielletty kansalaisille kuuluvat oikeudet, ajettu maanpakoon, heidän koteihinsa on hyökätty, heidän omaisuuttaan ja kirjeenvaihtoaan on takavarikoitu, heiltä on kielletty puolustusoikeus, heitä on pidätetty koh-

tuuttomia takauksia vastaan, on pakoitettu työhön vasten tahtoaan, heitä on kaapattu, rääkätty raakamaisesti, heitä vastaan on punottu juonia ja syytetty syyttömästi, tuomittu maksamaan suuria sakkoja, ovat kuolleet vankilassa odottaessaan oikeudenkuulustelua, ovat tulleet mielipuoliksi piinaamisesta, heiltä on kielletty postioikeudet, heiltä on kielletty puhe-, paino- ja kokoontumisvapaus ja kaikki muut oikeuskirjan (Bill of Rights) takaamat oikeudet.

I. W. W:n jäseniltä on kielletty itsenäisyyden julistukseen sisältyvät oikeudet — oikeus elämään, vapauteen ja onnekkuuteen.

I. W. W:n kokoushuoneisiin, konttoreihin ja päämajaan on hyökätty ilman laillista lupakirjaa.

I. W. W:n omaisuutta, kirjoja, vihkosia, veromerkkejä, kirjallisuutta ja konttoritarpeita on laittomasti takavarikoitu ja hävitetty.

I. W. W. edistyy, sillä se lepää taloudellisen pakkolain perustalla.

On helposti käsitettävissä, että ainoastaan rohkeutta ja vakaumuksellisuutta omaavat miehet ja naiset liittyvät vapaaehtoisesti tällaiseen järjestöön. Mutta enemmistö ei liity vapaaehtoisesti. Nälkä, kärsimykset, köyhyys, kurjuus ja epätoivo työntää heidät tähän järjestöön, aivan samoin kuin kuohuva virta sysää törmät tieltään, työntäen ne mereen. Luhistuvan kapitalismin kuohuva virta luo I. W. W:lle jäseniä.

Täten, hirveä vaino on epäonnistunut yrityksessään kukistaa tai hävittää I. W. W:n. Päinvastoin, periaatteemme leviävät aavikkotulen tavoin, jota verenvuodatus eikä väkivalta kykene sammuttamaan. Jokaista sataa vankilaan viskattua kohti astuu esille kymmeniä tuhansia, valmiina liittymään ja rohkaisemaan läsnäolollaan niitä, jotka käyvät kamppailua.

Juuri tämän seikan pitäisi mielestämme osoittaa maailmalle, että *tämän liikkeen takana on mahtava luonnollinen voima* ja että tämän järjestön vainoaminen on yhtä typerää kuin oli Xerxesille, muinaisajan Persian kuninkaalle, sotilaillaan ruoskituttaa ja kahlehdituttaa Bosporuksen laineita,

jotta nämä asettuisivat ja antaisivat armeijan kulkea ylitse. Tämä luonnollinen voima, *taloudellinen pakkolaki*, antaa järjestöllemme sellaisen henkisen ja moraalisen voiman, jota hirttolavat eivät voi tappaa, eivät vankilat lannistaa. Sokeimpainkin vastustajaimme pitäisi ymmärtää, että kestääkseen sellaisen hirveän kokeen, täytyy järjestöllämme olla tukenaan perustotuus, jota ei voida niin vaan ilman mitään ylenkatsoa, vaan jota pitäisi tutkia. Kaikesta henkilökohtaisesta vaarasta huolimatta hyväksyvät työläiset periaatteemme vapautuksen sanomana. Mitkä voivat nämä ihmeelliset periaatteet olla? Ne ovat julkilausuttuina periaateohjelmassamme, kuuluen seuraavasti:

III.

I. W. W:n esipuhe.

Työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla ei ole mitään yhteistä. Mitään rauhaa ei voi olla niin kauan kuin nälkää ja puutetta on olemassa miljoonilla työläisillä ja niillä harvoilla, jotka muodostavat työnantajain luokan, ovat kaikki elämän hyvyydet.

Näiden kahden luokan välillä täytyy taistelun jatkua niin kauan kunnes maailman työläiset järjestyvät luokkana, ottavat haltuunsa maan ja tuotantokoneiston ja poistavat palkkajärjestelmän.

Me huomaamme, että teollisuuksien johdon keskittyminen yhä harvempiin ja harvempiin käsiin tekee ammattiyhdistykset kykenemättömiksi pitämään puoliaan työnantajain luokan alati kasvavaa valtaa vastaan. Ammattiyhdistykset pitävät yllä sellaista asiaintilaa, että se katkeroittaa yhden työläisjoukon toista vastaan ja siten auttaa työläisiä tuhoamaan toinen toisensa palkkataistelussa. Tämän lisäksi ammattiyhdistykset auttavat työnantajain luokkaa johtamaan työläisiä siihen harhaluuloon, että työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla on yhteisiä etuja.

Tämä asiaintila voidaan muuttaa ja työväenluokan edut säilyttää ainoastaan siten muodostetun järjestön avulla, että kaikki työläiset yhdellä teollisuusalalla, tai kaikilla aloilla, jos välttämätöntä, lakkaavat työstä milloin lakko tai työnsulku on julistettu jossakin järjestön osassa, siten tehden loukkauksen yhtä vastaan loukkaukseksi kaikkia vastaan.

Vanhoillisen mielilauseen: "Tyydyttävä päiväpalkka tyydyttävästä päivätyöstä" asemasta meidän on kirjoitettava sotalippuumme vallankumoukselliset tunnussanat: "Palkkajärjestelmän poistaminen."

Työväenluokan historiallinen tehtävä on kapitalismin kukistaminen. Tuotannon armeija on järjestettävä ei ainoastaan jokapäiväistä taistelua varten kapitalisteja vastaan, vaan myöskin jatkamaan tuotantoa sitten kun kapitalismi on voitettu. Järjestymällä teollisuuksittain me muodostamme uutta yhteiskuntarakennetta vanhan kuoren sisällä.

IV.

I. W. W:n tarkoitusperä.

Kuten periaateohjelmassamme sanotaan, aikoo I. W. W. järjestää kaikki tuotannolliset voimat, nimittäin henkisen ja ruumiillisen työn tekijät tässä ja lopullisesti muissakin maissa teollisesti, teollisuusunioihin, työpaikoissa teollisuusunion osastoihin ja teollisuusneuvostoihin. Luettelemme myöhemmin uuden yhteiskunnan pääjaostot, jotka aiomme järjestää.

Vertaus teollisuus- ja ammattiunionismista.

Ajatus teollisesta järjestymisestä syntyi *vastapainoksi eli vastavaikuttimeksi vanhalle ammatilliselle järjestäytymiselle.* Ammatittain järjestäminen merkitsee samaa työkalua käyttävien yhtymien järjestämistä: puuseppien, maalarien, koneenkäyttäjien, pannuseppäin j.n.e. järjestämistä eri ryhmiin. Täten järjestämällä saadaan yhtä monta uniota kuin on työkalulaatikkoakin. Tällä tavalla järjestäminen jakaa työläiset yhdellä teollisuusalalla yhtä moneen unioon kuin on ammattejakin, *pystyttäen raja-aidan joka päivä toistensa kyynärpäitä koskettavain työläisten välille, sensijaan, että yhdistäisi heidät.*

Kuvataksemme asiaa, ottakaamme esimerkiksi amerikalainen laivatelakka. Rautalaivojen rakennustelakalla löytyy suunnilleen nelisenkymmentä eri ammatti- ja työalaa. Luettelemme joitakin niistä. Siellä työskentelee levynleikkaajia, masinisteja, koneenkäyttäjiä, sähkötyöläisiä, putkittajia, asbestityöläisiä, puuseppiä, tilkitsijöitä, maalareita, takeloitsijoita y. m. y. m. Ammatillisen järjestäytymisen mukaan tulee olemaan erikoinen "kansainvälinen" unio jokaista ammattia varten, olematta minkään muunlaisessa tekemisessä toisten kanssa kuin siinä, että kukin maksaa pääveroa samaan päämajaan. Jotkut näistä neljästäkymmenestä ammatista on mahdollisesti yhtynyt samaan "kansainväliseen" ammattiunioon, mutta yleensä jokaisella laivatelakalla löytyy useita ammattiunioita. Nämä samalla laivatelakalla olevat ammattiuniot ovat usein keskinäisessä kahnauksessa ja kun tyytymättömyys kuohuu yli laitojen, niin ei ole mikään harvinaisuus nähdä niiden lakkoutuvan yksitellen, yhden union tullessa voitetuksi niiden kautta jotka eivät ole lakossa, kuten

periaateohjelmassamme sanotaan. Melkein jokainen amerikalaisella laivatelakalla työskennellyt huomaa tämän selostuksen oikeaksi. Mutta vielä enemmän, tämä selostus soveltuu melkein jokaiseen muuhunkin ammatillisesti järjestyneeseen teollisuuteen. Tämä on sitä mitä me kutsumme "järjestetyksi lakonrikkomiseksi". Se jättää työläiset työnantajain armoille. Nämä ammattirajat, jotka jakavat telakan vähintäin pariinkymmeneen ammattiryhmään, jotka silmäilevät toisiaan epäilevästi, ovat juuri niitä mitä työnantaja tarvitsee, pitääkseen palkat alhaisina, työpäivät pitkinä ja työsuhteet huonoina. Emme käsittele tässä seikkaperäisesti ammattiunionismin huonoja puolia. Riittää kun sanomme, että *I. W. W. tuli perustetuksi osaksi vastapainoksi juuri näille sietämättömille, järjettömille olosuhteille.*

Kun tähän lisää kaikkien maiden ammatillisissa liikkeissä vallitsevan ihanteellisuuden puutteen, hyväksyessään kapitalismin ja palkkatyön olemassaolon ihmiskunnan korkeimmaksi asteeksi; kykenemättömyytensä esittää työväenluokalle mitään toivoa tulevaisuuteen nähden; pyrkimyksensä muodostaa n. k. työtrusteja, tarkoituksella sulkea ulkopuolisia työstä, sensijaan että pyrkisivät ratkaisemaan joukkojen elämänkysymykset — niin käy selville mikä muodostaa taustan I. W. W:n periaatejulistukselle.

Kuten mainittu, pyrkii tämä uusi unioliike järjestämään asiat uudelle kannalle teollisen järjestäytymisen kautta.

Käyttäkäämme taas esimerkkinämme laivatelakkaa, osoittaaksemme *minkälainen todellinen teollinen järjestö on.* Ensimäinen työ minkä I. W. W. tekee ammatillisesti järjestyneellä telakalla on, repii alas ammattirajat. Se ottaa ammattiunion kortin pannusepältä, koneenkäyttäjältä, putkittajalta, puusepältä, maalarilta j. n. e. ja sanoo: "Ette ole enää pannuseppinä, koneenkäyttäjinä, putkittajina, puuseppinä ja maalareina. Olette yhdistetyt laivanrakennustyöläisinä, joka yksi joka työskentelee tällä laivatelakalla ja muilla. Sensijaan, että meillä olisi tällä ja muilla laivatelakoilla parikolmekymmentä eri uniota, tulee meilla tästälähtien olemaan ainoastaan yksi, 'Laivanrakennustyöläisten Teollisuusunio'. Jokaisen telakan työläiset muodostavat osaston tässä uniossa ja siinä osastossa tulee olemaan, yhteistoiminnan aikaansaa-

miseksi telakan eri osastoissa työskentelevien työläisten välillä, tarvittavat neuvostot ja komiteat."

Tällä tavalla yhden telakan työläiset muodostavat yhden tiiviin yhtymän; koko maassa ja viimein koko maailmassa olevat telakat tulevat muodostamaan yhden teollisuusunion ja siten tulevat tämän teollisuuden työläiset yhdistetyiksi yhteistoimintaa varten. Laivanrakennuskeskuksissa tulee olemaan teollisuusneuvostot. Tällöin ei tule tapahtumaan sellaista, että yksi työläisryhmä on työssä toisen ryhmän ollessa lakossa, siten saattaen toisensa häviölle. Silloin kun lakkoudutaan, tulevat kaikki lakkoutumaan ja voittamaan. Täten väittävät teollisuusunionistit, jotka näkevät teollisuusuniossa voimakkaamman aseen taistelussa työnantajia vastaan.

I. W. W:n välilliset ja lopulliset tarkoitusperät.

Teollisuusunion tarkoitusperä on kaksinainen.

Ensiksi, jokapäiväistä taistelua varten työnantajaluokkaa vastaan paremmasta palkasta, lyhemmästä työpäivästä ja paremmista olosuhteista, on teollisuusunio taisteluväline. Tämä ei kaipaa pitempää selostusta. Riittää kun sanomme teollisuusunion, yhdistämällä kaikki työläiset yhteen, olevan paljon tehoisamman taisteluvälineen tätä tarkoitusta varten mitä ammattiunio voi koskaan olla, ammattiunio kun käsittää ainoastaan yhden ammattialan työläiset.

Toiseksi, teollisuusunio on oleva työläisille väline teollisuuksien haltuunottamisessa ja tuotannon ja jaon jatkamisessa "kun kapitalismi on tullut kukistetuksi", tai on lakannut toimimasta, s. t. s., on luhistunut. Ja kuta pitemmälle tämä luhistuminen on kehittynyt, sitä suuremmaksi käy jälkimäinen tehtävämme ensimäiseen verrattuna.

Kapitalismin luhistuminen.

Olemme sitä mieltä, että kapitalistinen tuotanto- ja jakojärjestelmä on vakavassa luhistumisen tilassa kautta maailman, tämä maa siihen luettuna, vaikka poskipäillään nykyään onkin kuumeen kohottamat punatäplät, ja epäilemme, josko tämä järjestelmä kykenee enää pääsemään jaloilleen, kuten se on ennemmin vallinneiden kriisien jälkeen tehnyt. Maailma on vararikkotilassa. Näyttää siltä, niinkuin biljoonat dollarit täytyisi pian pyyhkäistä pois täydellisenä menetyksenä maailman kapitalistiluokan tilikirjoista, ja me tiedämme mitä

tämä merkitsee niille, joilla ei ole muuta myytävää kuin työvoimansa.

Vanhat tuotantoelimet, se on, yksityisomistaja, tavallisesti pienen laitoksensa kanssa, osakeyhtiö, trusti, trustiyhtymä, eivät näytä enää kykenevän tyydyttämään ihmisten tarpeita. Sadat miljoonat ihmiset kautta maailman joutuvat olemaan ilman välttämättömimpiä tarvikkeita siksi, ettei heillä ole tilaisuutta käyttää hyväkseen maata tai luonnon antimia, eikä teollisuuskoneistoa. Elämän välttämättömyydet alkavat olla ulottumattomissa entistä suuremmille ihmisjoukoille, jotka alkavat käydä raivoisammiksi, uhaten umpimähkään murskata koko järjestelmän. Jo pitemmän ajan ovat kapinat, mellakat, rotukahakat, lynchaukset, sotatilan julistamiset, terrorismi ja suuret lakot olleet päiväjärjestyksessä useassa maailmanosassa ja erikoisesti Amerikassa. Edelleen, yhä pidentyneitä ja laajakantoisempia työttömyyskausia on ollut, joskin vuodet 1922-23 ovat luoneet vähän lievennystä. Köyhyys ja kurjuus tekevät ihmisistä epätoivoisia.

Kaikki nämä ilmiöt osoittavat kapitalistisen järjestelmän olevan luhistumassa. Tilanne Europassa ja muualla oikeuttaa uskomaan lopullisen romahduksen olevan ovella. Kapitalistinen luotto lakkaa olemasta voimassa, seurauksena ollen melkein kaikkien teollisuuslaitosten pysähtyminen. Nämä hirveät mahdollisuudet voivat toteutua, koska kapitalistinen sanomalehdistökin sen myöntää.

Täten, taloudellinen epävarmuus ja huoli nykyisyydestä ja tulevaisuudesta tekevät miljoonien elämän sietämättömäksi. He alkavat huomata olevansa orjuutetut ja että joutuvat hitaasti mutta varmasti maailman tapahtumain pyörteisiin, jotka eivät ole miksikään hyödyksi, jotka eivät lupaa mitään varmuutta tulevaisuudelle. Tällaisesta asioiden tilasta johtuva jännitys saa tuotanto- ja jakovälineiden omistajat turvautumaan pakkokeinoihin ja väkivaltaan, säilyttääkseen omistus- ja kontrollioikeuden. Tuotantoa harjoitetaan nykyään suuressa määrässä verhottujen pistimien ja konetykkien varassa, samalla kun sanomalehdistössä keskustellaan läheisen tulevaisuuden mahdollisuutena pommeista, joilla voidaan huumata kokonaisen kapinallisen kaupungin väestö, tai saattaa kuolemaan suonenvedontapaiseen nauruun. Järjestelmä ei voi enää pysyä pystyssä. Se voi enää säilyttää

itsensä ainoastaan väkivaltauhkauksillaan, kuten kuolevaa ihmistä pidetään hengissä hapen avulla.

Miljoonat työläiset tuhoutuvat hitaasti mutta varmasti näissä olosuhteissa, tullen sysätyiksi yhteiskunnan kuiluun, saman kohtalon uhatessa meitä jälelläolevia, jos emme tee jotakin hyvin pian. Emme voi ainaisesti kantaa tätä kurjuustaakkaa ja kun lopullinen romahdus tapahtuu, tulee meillä kaikilla olemaan edessämme nälkä, alastomuus ja muut kuvaamattomat kärsimykset. Kaaos, hävitys, sisällissota, vaeltavain joukkojen toimeenpanema terrorismi ja "kaikkien sota kaikkia vastaan" — tällainen tulee tilanne epäilemättä olemaan monessa paikassa. Ja löytyykö ketään, joka voisi sanoa tämän maan tulevan säilymään tällaiselta kohtalolta? Päinvastoin, kapitalistiluokkamme säälimättömyys ja raakamaisuus, lukuisien rotujen ja oppien olemassaolo, vihamielisyys ulkomaalaisia ja neekereitä kohtaan, Ku Klux Klanin ja muiden samankaltaisten ammatti-"isänmaallisten" vihan lietsojain katala toiminta, muodostavat alkuaineet pahimmalle helvetinjuomalle mitä maailma on koskaan maistanut. Jotkut ainekset näyttävät tahallisesti pyrkivän johtamaan asioita suoraan yhteentörmäykseen. Aika on käsillä kaikkien kaukonäköisten työläismiesten ja -naisten, jotka ovat ainoat joihin voidaan luottaa, ryhtyä toimenpiteisiin tällaisen katastroofin ehkäisemiseksi.

Näitä seikkoja I. W. W., vuosien raakamaisen vainon karkaisemana ja opettamana, esittää maailmalle pelastavana ohjelmana, ainoa ohjelma mikä voi ratkaista yhteiskunnallisen kysymyksen ja saattaa meidät uuden yhteiskunnan rauhalliseen satamaan, jossa on iloa ja yltäkylläisyyttä.

Teollisuusuniollamme aiomme ottaa käsiimme tuotannon ja jaon nyörit niitä käsittelemään kykenemättömien kapitalistien käsistä ja jatkaa ravinnon, vaatteiden ja suojan luomista, siten pelastaen kärsivän ihmiskunnan. Aiomme asettaa voimaan tasapuolisen tuotanto- ja jakojärjestelmän, jossa ei vallitse luokkasortoa, eikä toinen toista riistä. Väitämme, että työläisten unio jokaisessa laitoksessa on parhaiten soveltuva elin määrittelemään sen laitoksen asioita. Toisin sanoen, *me asettaisimme yksityisomistuksen ja -kontrollin tilalle yhteisen omistuksen ja kontrollin, asettaisimme kapitalismin tilalle teollisuuskommunismin.*

V.

I. W. W:n menettelytavat.

Menettelytapojen tullessa kysymyksen alaisiksi, niin on I. W. W. tässä suhteessa ehkä tullut enemmän väärinymmärretyksi ja väärintulkituksi kuin missään muussa. Itse haluamme nimittää menettelytapojamme *taloudelliseksi suoraksi toiminnaksi.* Mitä se on?

On olemassa poliittista eli epäsuoraa toimintaa, ja taloudellista eli suoraa toimintaa.

Tehdäksemme I. W. W:n menettelytavat helpommin ymmärretyiksi, selostakaamme kumpaakin.

Toiminnan eri muotoja.

Poliittinen eli epäsuora toiminta on sitä toimintaa, jota työläiset harjoittavat tarkoitusperiensä saavuttamiseksi saattamalla hallituskoneisto vaikutusvaltansa tai valtansa alaiseksi. Tähän sisältyy äänestäminen, virkailijoiden kanssa kuherteleminen (lobbying), lahjominen, n. k. joukkotoiminta (mass action), kuulat ja poliittinen vallankumous. Kaikki nämä ovat poliittisen toiminnan menettelytapoja. *Järjestönä hylkää I. W. W. kaikki nämä menettelytavat edellämainittujen tarkoitusperien toteuttamiseksi, olemalla silti millään tavalla sekaantumatta jäsenien poliittisiin mielipiteisiin.*

Taloudellista suoraa toimintaa on se toimintamuoto, jota työläiset käyttävät tarkoitusperiensä toteuttamiseksi pyrkimällä kontrolliin siellä missä työskentelevät, tehtaassa, myllyssä, työpajassa — itsekohtaisen toimintansa kautta.

Löytyy vissinlaisia "vallankumouksellisia" politiikkoja — poliittisen toiminnan edustajia — jotka haluavat käyttää taloudellisia järjestöjä, unioita, klupuna, raivatakseen niillä tiensä ja päästäkseen niiden avulla hallitusrakennuksien valtijoiksi ja kontrolleeraajiksi. I. W. W. ei halua olla osallisena tällaisissa turhanaikaisissa edesottamisissa.

A. F. of L. suistaa taloudellisen suoran toiminnan ojaan.

Tehokkaan ja tehottoman taloudellisen suoran toiminnan välinen eroavaisuus voidaan valaista parhaiten vertaa-

malla I. W. W. ammattiunioihin. Sääntöjen ja ohjeidensa mukaisesti syytävät I. W. W:n toimitsijat jatkuvasti vallan ja vastuunalaisuuden, jolla on luonnollinen taipumus keskittyä työväenliikkeen toimitsijain hartioille, takaisin jäsenistölle, *suoran toiminnan* aikaansaamiseksi. Ammattiunion virkailijat taas asettautuvat jäsenistön yläpuolelle ja tekevät itsensä unionsa keisareiksi, ympäröiden itsensä terroristisiä menettelytapoja käyttävällä hurttasakilla, huiputtaen jäsenistöä ja harjoittaen kiristystä ja petkutusta. Kaikki vastustusta ilmaisevat ilmiöt, kokouksissa ja työmailla, pidetään kurissa terrorilla ja tarpeen vaatiessa kukistetaan väkivallalla. Kun unionmiehet yrittävät toteuttaa tarkoitusperiänsä tällaista tietä, niin he eivät harjoita suoraa toimintaa oikealla tavalla. Jäsenet eivät käy kokouksissa, vaan kuluttavat aikansa muuten, palkaten keisarinsa ja hurttansa vissillä kuukausipalkalla "toimimaan" edestään. Voi löytyä joitakin ammattiunioita joihin nähden tämä ei pidä paikkaansa, mutta jokainen tietää sen soveltuvan hyvin moneen.

Silloinkin kun nämä ammattiunionistit lakkoutuvat — ja lakko on ehdottomasti suoran toiminnan muoto — niin tottelevat he usein ainoastaan määräyksiä, jonka kautta lakkokin menettää todellisen suoran toiminnan luonteensa. Jokainen on kuullut siitä miten "miehet on kutsuttu pois työstä" ja miten "heidät on määrätty takaisin." Se on nämä keisarit ja hurtat, jotka "kutsuvat pois" ja "määräävät takaisin", ollen se heidän salaisten kiristysmenettelyjensa mukaista. Lakostakin äänestettäessä, tekevät jäsenet sen usein määräyksen mukaisesti, kuten Etelän neekerit vaalipäivänä. Lakkolaisista tulee keisarien pelinappuloita.

I. W. W. edustaa työmaatoimintaa ja solidarisuutta.

Tällaisen toiminnan vastapainoksi I. W. W. esittää edustamansa taloudellisen suoran toiminnan. Me haluamme saada työläiset toimimaan itsekohtaisesti ja ottamaan osaa kamppailuun riistäjiä vastaan ja uuden yhteiskunnan aikaansaamiseksi. Me haluamme, että työläiset käsittelevät ja ratkaisevat itse asiansa. Tämän tehdessään he eivät voi suurestikaan erehtyä. Mutta luovuttaessaan kohtalonsa muiden käsiin, voivat he hyvin helposti tulla petetyiksi. Virkailijoiden pitäisi olla heidän palvelijoitaan, eikä heidän herrojaan.

Suora toimintamme sysää union pääasiallisen toiminnan *työmaalle*, josta on seurauksena työläisten harjaantuminen teollisuuden valtaamis- ja käynnissäpitämistehtävää varten. Ammattiunionistisen menettelyn mukaan siirtyy union toiminta *union konttoriin*, rajottuen suureksi osaksi johtajain kysymyksenalaiseen nojatuolitoimintaan.

I. W. W:n toiminta ilmenee *työmaatoimintana ja solidarisuuden osotuksena.* Missä hyvänsä i. w. w:läiset työskentelevät, katsovat he sen perään, että siellä on yksi tai useampi työmaalähetti ja työmaakomitea. Saatuaan työmaakoneistonsa käyntikuntoon, alkavat he *käyttämään painostustaan* työläistovereitaan, työnantajia ja orjavoutejaan kohtaan. Ja työmaalla on lukemattomia keinoja, jos vaan vakavasti halutaan niitä käyttää ja parantaa omaa ja työläistoverien asemaa. Yhteisellä toiminnalla vähentävät i. w. w:läiset taakkaa vähän siellä vähän täällä, kunnes elämä työmaalla käy ainakin siedettävämmäksi. Ennen I. W. W:n näyttämölle tuloa oli tapana teettää kulkevalla työläisellä työtä mielin määrin. Työmaatoiminta on lakkauttanut tämän. I. W. W. on lyhentänyt työpäivää maanviljelys-, puutavara-, kaivos-, meriliikenne ja muissa teollisuuksissa. Tämän työmaatoiminnan kautta, jonka kanssa I. W. W:n toimitsijoilla on vähän tai ei ollenkaan tekemistä, ovat jäsenet säilyttäneet itsensä ja ottaneet ensimäisen askelen uuteen yhteiskuntaan johtavalla tiellä.

I. W. W:n lakkotoiminta.

I. W. W. harjottaa myös lakkona ja boikottina tunnettua suoraa toimintaa, mutta se on aina jäsenistö joka julistaa lakon ja boikotin, eivätkä toimitsijat. I. W. W. pitää *lakon työmaalla* parempana *lakkoa ulkopuolella työmaan*, turvautuen viimemainittuun ainoastaan silloin, kun muita keinoja ei ole. Lakko työmaalla tarkottaa työskentelyn rajottamista, jolla katsotaan voitavan pakottaa työnantaja haluttuihin myönnytyksiin. Tällaisella lakolla on se edellytys, että se ehkäisee lakonrikkurien tuonnin ja jättää työläisten sisääntulon koskemattomaksi, paitsi sulkutapauksessa, joka on aina mahdollinen, mutta ei aina ehdoton tulos. I. W. W:n jäsenet tietävät, että lakko ulkopuolella työmaan käy usein pitkittyneeksi paastoksi, työnantajan yrittäessä täyttää lakkoutunei-

den paikat rikkureilla, jolloin työläiset usein haluavat jättää taistelupaikan, se on, työmaan, viholliselle.

Järjestön perusperiaatteet kehottavat työläisiä yrittämään pysytellä työmaalla ja kontrolleeraamaan sitä parhaansa mukaan, sensijaan että menettää koko kontrolli jättämällä se. Porttien ulkopuolella on työläisten voima hyvin pieni. Tämä on sopusoinnussa I. W. W:n lopullisen päämäärän kanssa, saavuttaa työmaakontrolli, teollisuusunion työmaaosaston ottaessa täyden kontrollin ja toimiessa tuotannon ja jaon elimenä, joka tulee eteen kapitalistien käydessä kykenemättömiksi jatkamaan tuotantoa. Kun viimeinen työmaataistelu on käyty ja voitettu, niin tulemme pitämään työmaat hallussamme ainiaan.

VI.

Teollinen hallinto poliittiseen hallintoon verrattuna.

Yhteiskuntatalouden rakenteessa tapahtuvat merkitykselliset muutokset, jotka yhteiskunnallinen vallankumous pakosta asettaa eteemme, melkeinpä ennemmin kuin olemme vielä ehtineet vapauttamaan itsemme vanhan yhteiskunnan jätteistä, tuovat mukanaan muita, tärkeitä, yhteiskunnan järjestelyssä tehtäviä muutoksia.

Poliittisen hallinnon luhistuminen.

Olemme sitä mieltä, että *kapitalismin taloudellista luhistumista seuraa poliittinen luhistuminen.* Tämä on täydelleen materialistisen historiankäsityksen mukaista, jonka mukaan kaikki yhteiskunnalliset laitokset ovat yhteiskunnan taloudellisen rakenteen mukaiset. Jos taloudellinen perusta luhistuu, niin epäilemättä hallitus luhistuu myös pian sen jälkeen. Jos poliittiset hallinnot eivät pian mukaudu muuttuneisiin taloudellisiin olosuhteisiin, niin ne eivät voi pysyä pystyssä.

Poliittinen luhistuminen tulee tapahtumaan osaksi tuloverojen puutteessa. Tuotannon ja jaon ollessa pysähdyksissä, tulevat hallituksen tulot veroista y.m.s. vähenemään huomattavasti. Mutta yksityisomistuksellisessa yhteiskunnassa tarvitsee hallitus varoja aivan samoin kuin teollisuuslaitos tai mikä hyvänsä liike. Esimerkiksi, teollisen lamaannuksen takia Europassa, yrittävät sikäläiset hallitukset lainata rahaa jolla voisivat hallita. Poliittinen luhistuminen seuraa taloudellista luhistumista.

Jos ei ole varoja kaupungin, valtion tai kansallisen hallinnon ylläpitoa varten, niin ovat virkailijat ja politiikot pakotetut sulkemaan viraston toisensa jälkeen. Mutta vaikka hallituksella olisi suuret määrät varoja kassassa, niin mikään yksityisomistukselle ja veroille perustuva hallitus ei säilyisi kauaa yhteiskunnassa, jossa tuotannon ja jaon yksityiskontrolli on luhistunut. Sellainen hallitus jäisi riippumaan ilmaan ja kuivuisi kokoon ja olisi kykenemätön toimimaan hallintona.

Tämän ollessa filosofiamme, *emme siis ole kiintyneet tarkotustaan vastaamattomaan hyökkäykseen meitä sortavia hallituksia vastaan.* Koira, jota isketään kepillä, tarttuu hampaillaan keppiin. Työläisten pitäisi olla järkevämpiä. Jokaisessa maassa on hallitus taloudellisten valtijain kädessä oleva keppi eli klupu. Jättäkäämme keppi rauhaan ja kääntykäämme kepin käsittelijää vastaan. Venäjän, Ruotsin ja Saksan työläiset ovat vääntäneet hallituskepin taloudellisten valtijain käsistä ja kokeilevat sosialistisilla hallituksilla. Mutta sosialistinen keppi on yhtä paha kuin kapitalistinenkin.

Hallitus on ainoastaan heijastus eli varjo hallitsevasta taloudellisesta yhteiskuntajärjestelmästä, emmekä me juoksentele varjojen ja heijastuksien perässä. Me haluamme saada käsiimme olemuksen joka varjon synnyttää. Kun olemus luhistuu ja lannistuu, niin käy varjolle samoin.

Tämä filosofiamme ei pidätä I. W. W:n jäseniä poliittisesta äänestyksestä. *Heillä on täydellinen poliittinen vapaus,* mutta älköön yrittäkö asettaa järjestöämme minkäänlaisen politiikan alaiseksi.

Teollinen hallinto on taloudellisen pakkolain synnyttämä.

Kuten sanottu, kun taloudellinen rappeutuminen on kehittynyt niin pitkälle, että ihmisten kärsimykset ovat sietämättömät, niin tulevat he tarvitsemaan uudet tuotanto- ja jakoelimet, tuottaakseen ravintoa, vaatetta ja suojaa, tai joutuvat perikatoon. Luodakseen järjestyksen kaaoksesta ja pelastaakseen yhteiskunnan turmiosta, täytyy kaikkien hyödyllisten ihmisten järjestyä teollisesti. Emme voi mitenkään alkaa uudelleen kapitalismin mukaisesti.

Silloin ihmiset tulevat huomamaan vanhojen hallintojen kelpaamattomuuden. He tulevat huomaamaan olevan tarpeellista siirtyä poliittisesta hallinnosta *teolliseen hallintoon.*

Tiedämme miten poliittiset hallinnot ovat kokoonpannut. Äänestäminen ja edustus tapahtuu maantieteellisiä rajoja silmälläpitäen. Kansalaiset äänestävät piirissään sekaisin, usein tuntematta toisiaan ja ehdokasta. Ehdokas esitetään tavallisesti äänestäjille jonkun poliittisen koneiston taholta, sisältyen siihen monta salaisuutta, jotka eivät siedä päivänvaloa. Virkailijoita ei tavallisesti aseteta äänestettäväksi

niinkään paljon kykyjensä, kuin sen perusteella minkä verran heillä on valtaa poliittisessa koneistossa, tai sen perusteella missä määrässä ovat halukkaat ajamaan poliittiseen koneistoon kuuluvien asioita. Seurauksena tästä näemme lakimiesten ja ammattipolitiikkojen johtavan sellaisen korkealle teollistuneen maan asioita kuin Yhdysvaltain. Siksi näemme, että poliittiset hallinnot käyvät tarkotustaan vastaamattomammiksi ja avustavat kapitalismin tiensyrjään ajautumista. Tämä ei pidä paikkaansa ainoastaan kapitalistisiin hallintoihin nähden, vaan myöskin sosialistisiin. "Asettakaa kaikkiin tärkeisiin virkoihin luotettavia bolshevikeja, ovat he kykeneviä tai ei", oli tunnuslauseena Venäjällä. Seurauksena oli Neuvosto-Venäjän luhistuminen. Uudenajan teollinen yhteiskunta on liian monimutkainen taloudellinen koneisto puoluepolitiikkojen ja poliittisten hallintojen johdettavaksi. Edistyäkseen, täytyy teollisella yhteiskunnalla olla eri alojen asiantuntijoista muodostuva hallinto, nimittäin *teollinen hallinto.*

Emme halua enää lakimiehistä ja muista kultakielisistä puhujista muodostuvaa, jotenkuten kokoon kyhättyä sekasotkua hallitsemaan itseämme. *Teollisen yhteiskunnan kansalaiset haluavat valita hallintonsa työpajoista, teollisuudesta, työpaikastaan,mikä ikänään se lienee.* Jokainen heistä haluaa asettaa parhaiten asioita tuntevat miehensä ja naisensa muodostamaan hallinnon. Tässä hallinnossa tulee jokainen inhimillisen toiminnn ala olemaan edustettuna, jotavastoin poliittinen puoluehallinto muodostetaan suurelta osalta ilman että otettaisiin ensinkään huomioon kelpoisuuksia. Oikeastaan, usea politiikko ei osaa tehdä mitään hyödyllistä työtä. Puoluejuonet kuuluvat heidän alaansa.

Teollisella äänestyksellä, jolloin kukin hyödyllinen työläinen alallaan äänestää; *teollisella edustuksella,* jolloin meillä on palveluksessamme asiantuntijat jokaiselta inhimillisen toiminnan alalta ja josta on seurauksena *teollinen hallinto — aiomme ikiajoiksi ankkuroida kaiken vallan kansan syviin riveihin, jotka tekevät henkisesti tai ruumiillisesti* hyödyllistä työtä, jotta se ei mitenkään voisi luisua heidän käsistään ja tehdä mahdolliseksi uuden luokkahallintojärjestelmän.

Seuraavassa luvussa selostettu teollisuusuniokoneisto on toinen ankkuri, jolla I. W. W. aikoo saavuttaa vapauden tulevaisuuden ihmisille.

Tätä me tarkotamme, puhuessamme *teollisesta kansanvallasta ja teollisesta kommunismista.*

VII.

I. W. W:n rakenne.

Kuten ennemmin mainittu, on I. W. W:ssa nykyään 29 toimivaa teollisuusuniota, yhdistettyinä kuuteen departementtiin. Jotkut näistä teollisuusunioista ovat vielä pieniä, ollen vasta alkuja.

Tämänpäivän taistelurintama on huomisen yhteiskunnan rakenne.

Seuraava lista käsittää teollisuusdepartementit ja teollisuusuniot:

Maanviljelysdepartementti — No. 100.

Maanviljelystyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 110.
Puutavaratyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 120.
Kalastustyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 130.
Kukka- ja Kasvitarhatyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 140.

Kaivosdepartementti — No. 200.

Metallikaivostyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 210.
Hiilenkaivajain ja Koksiuunityöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 210.
Öljy-, Kaasu- ja Petroolityöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 230.

Rakennusdepartementti — No. 300.

Rautatie-, Maantie-, Kanava-, Tunneli- ja Siltarakennustyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 310.
Laivain Rakentajain Teollisuusunio No. 320.
Talojen ja Liikerakennuksien Rakennustyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 330.

Tehdasteollisuuden ja Yleisen Tuotannon Departementti — No. 400.

Kutomo- ja Vaatetyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 410.
Puunjalostustyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 420.
Kemiallisten Tuotteiden Teollisuustyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 430.
Metalli- ja Konetyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 440.
Kirjapaino- ja Julkaisutyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 450.
Ruokatavaratyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 460.

Nahkatyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 470.
Lasi- ja Saviastiatyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 480.
Kuljetus- ja Tietojenvälitysdepartementti — No. 500.
Meriliikennetyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 510.
Rautatietyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 520.
Puhelin- ja Sähkölennätintyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 530.
Kunnallisten Kuljetuslaitosten Työläisten Teollisuusunio No. 540.
Ilmaliikennetyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 550.
Yleisön Palvelusdepartementti — No. 600.
Terveydenhoitotyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 610.
Puistojen ja Teiden Ylläpitotyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 620.
Kasvatustyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 630.
Yleisen Jaon Työläisten Teollisuusunio No. 640.
Yleisten Laitoksien Työläisten Teollisuusunio No. 650.
Huvilaitoksien Työläisten Teollisuusunio No. 660.
Tämä kymmenluvuttain numeroittaminen tekee mahdollisksi lisätä uusia teollisuusunioita luetteloon sitä mukaa kuin niitä tarvitaan.

Yksityisseikkoja rakenteesta.

Kuten mainittu, nämä teollisuusuniot muodostuvat työmaaosastoista. Kun nähdään tarpeelliseksi liittää useampi teollisuusunio departementiksi, niin se tehdään.

"Lakeja" I. W. W:ssä laativat yleinen konventsiooni, teollisuusunion konventsiooni ja teollisuuden piirikonventsiooni j.n.e. Muita lakeja laativia elimiä muodostetaan sikäli kuin tarve vaatii.

Keskuselimet: I. W. W:n yleinen toimeenpaneva komitea ja yleissihteeri-rahastonhoitaja. Teollisuusunioilla on sihteeri-rahastonhoitajansa ja yleinen järjestökomiteansa.

Edelläoleva on I. W. W:n tämän päivän taistelurintama, samalla kuin se on runko uuden yhteiskunnan tuotanto- ja jakokoneistolle. Tämän koneiston toivomme muodostavan tulevaisuuden teollisuushallinnon.

Näiden lisäksi on olemassa maantieteellisiä laadultaan olevia, paikallisia ja alueellisia tarkotuksia vastaavia hallintoelimiä, jotka tulevat ottamaan nykyisten paikallishallin-

tojen paikat, kun nämä ovat lakanneet tyydyttämästä kansan enemmistöä. Nämäkin elimet tullaan valitsemaan teollisen äänestystavan kautta. Ne tulevat olemaan teollisia luonteeltaan, eikä poliittisia. Esikuvia näistä paikallisista ja alueneuvostoista ovat nykypäivän työväen neuvostot: Venäjän neuvostot, ranskalainen bureau du travail, saksalainen arbeiterboerse, italialainen camera di lavoro, skandinavialainen lokal samorganisation.

Periaatteellisista syistä ei .I W. W. kuitenkaan luo mitään yksityiskohtaisia raudanjäykkiä sääntöjä, joita tulevaisuuden sukupolvien pitäisi noudattaa. Haluamme luoda uudet elimet sitä mukaa kuin kuljemme eteenpäin, mukautuen taloudellisen pakkolain alaisuuteen, sen sijaan että alistuisimme joidenkin oppisääntöjen tai kirjanoppineisuusfilosofiain, kuten sosialismin, bolshevismin tai anarkismin alaisuuteen. I. W. W:n jäsenten keskuudessa voi löytyä paljon, jotka edelleen kutsuvat itseään sosialisteiksi, bolshevikeiksi tai anarkisteiksi, miksi milloinkin, mutta yksikään niistä ei voi kutsua järjestöä seuraajakseen tai palvelijakseen.

Jos haluatte antaa meille lyhyen nimen, niin kutsukaa meitä *teollisuuskommunisteiksi.* Me olemme maailman korkeimmalle kehittyneen teollisuusmaan taloudellisen kehityksen tulos. Koko elämämme tunnetaan tästä teollisesta toiminnasta. Me ajattelemme ja puhumme teollisuuksista. Teollisen järjestäytymisen kautta pyrimme vapauttamaan itsemme. Olemme teollisuuskommunisteja. Sosialistit, bolshevikit, anarkistit ja muita katsantokantoja omaavat työläiset alkavat hyväksyä filosofiamme, periaatteemme, tarkotusperämme, menettelytapamme, järjestömuotomme ja vieläpä nimemmekin. Tältä periatteelliselta perustalta ojennamme kätemme yli merien, valmiina yhtymään teollisuusunionistien kanssa TEOLLISEEN KANSAINVÄLISEEN, joka tulee olemaan tämän järjestön perustajain unelman toteutuminen, valitessaan sille nimeksi "The Industrial Workers of the World."

VIII.

I. W. W:n kasvatustyö.

Niin tärkeästä merkityksestä kuin I. W. W:n saavutukset teollisella alalla ovat olleetkin, niin on sen tähänastinen pääasiallinen toiminta ollut *kasvatuksellista* laadultaan. Se on juuri ponnistelujensa kautta tällä alalla kun I. W. W:stä on tullut maailmanlaajuinen liike. Valitettavasti kyllä, ei I. W. W. kykene vielä antamaan muuta kuin aivan alkeellisinta opetusta teollisuudesta. Mutta ennen kaikkea tarvitaan tänäpäivänä suuresti parannettua yleistä opetusta.

Tiedottomuus.

Tilastot osottavat lukutaidottomien lukumäärän Yhdysvalloissa olevan huikean suuren. Näitä ei löydy ainoastaan neekerien ja ulkomaalaisten keskuudessa, vaan maassasyntyneidenkin keskuudessa. Joissakin osissa maata on näiden lukumäärä suurempi kuin yleensä luullaankaan. Viimeisimmän sotilassensuksen mukaan laskevat viranomaiset täysiikäisten lukutaidottomien muodostavan 25 prosenttia maan väestöstä. Ja nämä ovat melkein kaikki työväenluokassa. Heti tämän ryhmän yläpuolella on melkein lukutaidottomien suuri ryhmä. Ainoastaan suhteellisesti pientä osaa työläisistä voidaan nykyään koskettaa painetulla sanalla, mahdollisesti kymmentä miljoonaa neljästäkymmenestä miljoonasta työläisestä. Jälelläoleva määrä on välinpitämätöntä tai luoksepääsemätöntä, johtuen tietämättömyydestä ja lukutaidottomuudesta.

Että tietoisuustaso todella on alhainen, sen todistaa sotasensus. Tutkittuaan armeija-rekryyttejä, sanovat psykologistit *kolmentoista vuotiaan älykkyystason olevan sotapalvelukseen kelvollisten amerikalaisten keskimääräisen älykkyystason.* Samojen virallisten tilastojen mukaan on vähempi kuin yksi kolmasosa yläpuolella tämän keskimäärätason ja ainoastaan yksi neljäsosa prosenttia on korkeammalla älykkyystasolla.

Tämä ikävä asiaintila on syynä siihen suhteelliseen hitauteen jolla järjestömme edistyy.

Ammattiunio on usein ainoastaan kaikkitietävän räyhää-

jän johtama kopla, jäsenistön tarvitsematta tietää muuta kuin sen, että maksaa jäsenmaksunsa. I. W. W:ssä on toisin. Voidakseen käsittää I. W. W:n merkityksellisyyden ja maailmaa käsittävän luonteen, täytyy omata tavallista kehittyneemmän älykkyyden ja yläpuolella tilastoille perustuvan kolmentoista vuotiaan ymmärryksen. Tämä *tietämättömyys* on suurin voitettavanamme oleva este, monta vertaa suurempi kapitalistien vainoa. Kapitalistit tietävät mitä tekevät, kieltäytyessään rakentamasta kouluja.

Luku- ja kirjotustaidoton työläinen on näinä koettelemuksen aikoina yhtä vaarallinen työläisten pyrkimyksille kuin isorokkoa tai jotakin muuta tarttuvaa tautia sairastava ihminen on terveydellemme. Siksi koetamme saada luku- ja kirjotustaidottomia työläistovereitamme oppimaan lukemaan ja kirjottamaan. Opiskelumahdollisuudet ovat monet, jos vaan etsimme niitä. Lukutaidotonta ihmistä on melkein mahdoton saada johdonmukaisesti ymmärtämään mitään asiaa ja hänen mielipiteensä suurissa kysymyksissä ovat luonnollisesti merkityksettömät. Hän tietää hyvin vähän tai ei ollenkaan muuta kuin sen mitä kokee. Hän on henkisesti kahlehdittu, mutta hän on silti veljemme ja työläistoverimme.

Se mitä olemme sanoneet lukutaidottomista, pitää myöskin paikkansa melkein lukutaidottomiin. Nämä voivat jollakin tavalla tavata sanan, tai kirjottaa nimensä, mutta eivät kykene sulattamaan muuta kuin keltaisessa sanomalehdistössä olevia skandaalijuttuja. Kokonaan lukutaidottoman veljensä kanssa ajelehtii hänkin yhteiskunnalliseen perikatoon, jos ei joku saavu hänen avuksensa.

Taistelu pimeyttä vastaan.

Koko olemassaoloaikansa on I. W. W:n virallisen äänenkannattajan ensimäisen sivun yläreunassa ollut kolme sanaa: "valistus, järjestyminen, vapautus." Niihin sisältyy koko asia. Ennen kuin voimme vapauttaa itsemme, täytyy meidän valistua ja järjestyä.

Jos halutaan rauhallista ylimenoa, niin rakennettakoon kouluja. Jos halutaan katastroofia, niin suljettakoon niiden ovet. Sen sijaan, että yritetään lannistaa vimmastuneita työläisiä vankiloilla ja konetykeillä, avustettakoon heitä ope-

tuksella, jotta he voisivat ratkaista yhteiskuntakysymyksen. Jos työläisillä ei ole hyvää yleistä alkeistietoa, niin putoaa huomattava osa opetuksestamme teollisuuksista karuun maahan, tai sitte täytyy opetuksen olla niin alkeista luonteeltaan ettei siitä ole suurtakaan hyötyä tämänpäiväisten jättiläismäisten kysymyksien käsittelyssä, kysymyksien, jotka ovat usein liian monimutkaisia korkealle kehittyneen ymmärryksen omaavankin tajuttavaksi.

On kuitenkin vähän toiveita parannuksesta opetuksen alalla, jos *opettajat* eivät järjesty yhteen suureen unioon ja asetu tukemaan pisimmälle tähtäävää yleistä opetusohjelmaa, painostamalla erikoisesti historiaa, taloustiedettä ja kehitysoppia sen eri puolilta.

I.W. W:n jäsenet ovat vuosien kuluessa pitäneet tuhansia puheita ja jakaneet kymmeniä miljoonia kirjoja, vihkosia, sanomalehtiä ja lentolehtisiä y.m.s. Suurempi osa täten kylvetystä tiedosta on ollut laadultaan yleispiirteissään yhteiskunnallisia asioita käsittelevää. Tähän mennessä järjestö ei ole suuremmassa määrässä kyennyt antautumaan erikoisemmin korkeampain teollisia asioita koskevien kysymyksien käsittelyyn, mutta jo pitemmän ajan on suunnittelun alaisena ollut perustaa pysyväinen "Teollisuuksia tutkiva toimisto" eli "kasvatustoimisto", tarkotuksella ottaa yksi teollisuus toisensa jälkeen perinpohjaisen käsittelyn alaiseksi, teollisuusuniokäsikirjojen ja muiden, koko teollisuuskokonaisuutta käsittelevien kirjojen luomiseksi. Tällaiset käsikirjat, lentolehtiset ja vihkoset valaisisivat työläisille paremmin edessään olevat kysymykset, joutuessaan vastakkain teollisuuksien haltuunottamiskymyksen kanssa. Lähitulevaisuudessa tämä voi toteutua. Sillävälin kehoitamme lukijaa tarkastamaan kirjaluetteloamme, joka on pyydettäessä saatavissa.

I. W. W. julkaisee toista tusinaa päivä- ja viikkolehteä ja kuukausijulkaisua. Kehoitamme kääntymään päämajan puoleen, saadaksesi haluamaasi lukemista.

IX.

Siveellinen puoli I. W. W:stä.

Päältäpäin katsoen on I. W. W:n esipuhe taloustieteellinen asiakirja. Mutta jos pysähdyt ajattelemaan, niin huomaat sen todella olevan "toivon, luoton ja hyvän tahdon" julistuksen, toivona ollen lopullinen oikeuden voimaansaattaminen, luotto ihmiskuntaan ja keskinäisen hyvän tahdon osottaminen. "Loukkaus yhtä kohtaan, on loukkaus kaikkia kohtaan", sanotaan periaatejulistuksessamme. Työväenluokan näkökannalta katsottuna on tämä "kultaisen säännön" julistus.

Sanomamme taikavoima ei ole ohjelmamme tarjoamissa taloudellisissa etuisuuksissa. Jäsenemme eivät menisi tuhansittain vankilaan muutaman dollarin ja sentin takia. Tosiasia on, että periaatejulistuksemme, sen lisäksi että se on kapitalismin tuomiopäivää ennustava pasuuna, on se myöskin aikakausien voimakkain oikeusopillinen asiakirja. Todellakin, monelle I. W. W. on uskonto. Se on vaikuttanut heihin enemmän mitä mikään uskonto olisi voinut tehdä. Se on "pelastanut" heidät, antanut rauhan mielilleen ja toivoa tulevaisuuteen nähden.

Yhdessäpitävänä voimana tällaisen hirveän painostuksen alaisuudessa ei ole ainoastaan taloudellisen pakkolain asettama uniotarve, vaan myöskin toimintamme perustana oleva ihmiskunnan solidarisuuden ja maailmanlaajuisen veljeyden periaatteen synnyttämä toivo ja innostus.

Nykyinen helvetillinen yhteiskuntajärjestelmä väsyttää ja kuluttaa ihmisiä henkisesti. He alkavat tulevaisuudelta toivoa jotakin parempaa, jos ei itselleen, niin ainakin tuleville sukupolville. He alkavat haluta vapautusta kapitalistisen yhteiskuntajärjestelmän aikana vallitsevasta saastaisesta ja alentavasta elämästä. He kaihoavat rauhaa, puhtautta, oikeutta, rakkautta ja onnea, ja he katsovat olevansa oikealla tiellä näiden saavuttamiseksi liittyessään I. W. W:hen.

I. W. W:n esipuheen rivien välissä helposti luettavissa olevista oikeusopillisista periaatteista, toiveista ja ajatuksista on täten tullut uskonto, joka saattaa heidät kestämään suurimmat koettelemukset ja kärsimykset, ehkäisten heitä mur-

tumasta ja käymästä epätoivoisiksi. Tämä uskonto tukee heitä pyrkiessään elämään puhtaasti, tekee rohkeiksi voimakkaita vastaan, jalomielisiksi heikkoja ja avuttomia kohtaan, valmiiksi panemaan henkilökohtaisuutensa alttiiksi missä ikänään joukkojen katkera kamppailu puhkeaa ilmoille. Se on heille elämänsä ohjeena oleva toivon tähti.


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KASVATUSTOIMISTON JULKAISEMA

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ALKULAUSE

Suurtehtaita, joissa työskentelee toisinaan kymmeniätuhansia työläisiä, joissa on jättiläismäisiä, hämmästyttäviä koneita, ei ole aina ollut. Ne ovat ilmestyneet vähin erin ja ovat kasvaneet melkein tykkänään kuolleen käsityön ja pikkuteollisuuden tilalle.

Jos tarkastamme kuinka tuotantoa harjoitetaan kapitalistisen tuotantojärjestelmän vallitessa, niin näemme ennen kaikkea tuotettavan TAVAROITA. No, mitä eriskummallista siinä on? — kysäsee joku. Tässä on merkillepantavaa se, ettei TAVARAA ole MIKÄ TUOTE TAHANSA, vaan se, mikä tuotetaan MARKKINOITA varten — MYYTÄVÄKSI.

Tuote EI OLE tavaraa silloin kun se tuotetaan tuottajaa ITSEÄÄN, OMAA KÄYTTÖÄ VARTEN. Jos maanviljelijä kylvää viljaa, korjaa sadon ja sitten pui, jauhaa jyvät ja paistaa itselleen leivän, niin *EI TÄMÄ LEIPÄ OLE TAVARAA: se on yksinkertaisesti leipää. TAVARAA on se vasta silloin kun sitä ruvetaan myymään ja ostamaan, silloin siis kun sitä ruvetaan tuottamaan ostajaa, markkinoita varten: se on silloin sen joka sen ostaa.*

Kapitalistisen järjestelmän vallitessa kaikki tuotteet tuotetaan markkinoita varten, kaikki ne muodostuvat tavaroiksi. Kapitalistisessa tuotannossa vallitsee suuri työjako. Kukin tehdas tuottaa tavallisesti jotakin yhtä lajia tuotetta ja jokainen käsittää, ettei tuotetta tuoteta tällöin itseä varten. Esimerkiksi: Ruumisarkkutehtailija ei tarvitse kaikkia tehtaassaan valmistettuja ruumisarkkuja itseään, eikä omaisiaan varten, vaan valmistetaan niitä hänen tehtaassaan markkinoita varten. Kutomotehtaissa valmistettuja kankaita ei myöskään tuoteta ainoastaan tehtaan omistajaa, hänen omaisiaan ja tehtaassa työskenteleviä työläisiäkään varten. Niitä on valmistettava niin paljon, että voidaan lähettää markkinoille. Kellotehtaassa valmistettujen kellojen kanssa on asianlaita samaten. Lyhyesti sanottuna, kapitalistisen tuo-

tannon vallitessa tuotetaan tuotteita markkinoita varten — myytäväksi. Kapitalistisen tuotannon vallitessa tuotetaan TAVAROITA.

Kapitalistien kynä- ja muut rengit koettavat uskotella työläisten olevan vapaita ja väittävät kovasti sitä väitettä vastaan, että työvoima on tavara. Työvoima on kuitenkin tavara. Sen omaaja — palkkatyöläinen — ei kykene käyttämään sitä itse, vaan on pakoitettu myymään sitä samalla tavalla kuin tehtailija on pakoitettu myymään tehtaassaan tuotettuja tuotteita — TAVARAMARKKINOILLA. Työvoima on nykyisessä TAVARATUOTANNOSSA vallitsevan, tavaroiden vaihtoa koskevan pakkolain alainen niinkuin muukin tavara.

Tämän puolen ymmärtäminen on palkkatyöläisille tärkein. Tämän asian selostamista varten on tämä kirjanen julkaistu. Tätä kirjasta on luettava niin kauan, että oppii sen ulkoa, jonka voi tehdä kuka hyvänsä palkkatyöläinen, joka haluaa päästä selville asemastaan.

Kehoita työläistoveriasikin tutkimaan tätä kirjasta. Siitä on hyötyä hänelle samoinkuin sinullekin.

Suomentaja.

JOHDANTO

Lukijan tulee pitää mielessään, että missä ikänä työläisen toiminta on otettu esimerkiksi, niin työläinen, samoinkuin hänen toimintansa on asetettu kuvaamaan työväenluokkaa ja yhteiskunnallista tuotantoa; sillä palkkatyön riistäminen tarkoittaa sitä, että yksi luokka riistää toista — kapitalistiluokka työväenluokkaa — eikä ehdottomasti sitä, että työnantaja riistää työläisyksilöä. Jos emme ymmärrä tätä, niin on luokkataistelu ainoastaan merkityksetön fraasi.

TYÖN KESKINÄINEN RIIPPUVAISUUS.

Kun tässä mainitaan jostakin työläisestä, tai työläisryhmästä, jonkun esineen eli tavaran tuottajana, niin on tarpeellista ymmärtää, että se tapahtuu ainoastaan kysymyksen selventämiseksi. Tuotantojärjestelmän ollessa kapitalistisen, on yhdenkään työläisen mahdoton valmistaa mitään tuotetta yksilönä; yksinkertaisin esine, samoinkuin uusimmanaikainen kone, on koko työväenluokan tuote. Tulitikun, samoinkuin kaikkien muiden maailmassa valmistettujen tavaroiden valmistuksessa ovat kaikki tuotantohaarat välttämättömät.

Kaivosmiehestä sanomme, että hän tuottaa hiiltä, leipurista, että hän tuottaa leipää, mutta niin ei ole asianlaita. He avustavat toinen toisiaan leivän ja hiilen tuottamisessa, samalla ollen riippuvaisia muista työläisistä välineisiin ja tarpeisiin nähden. Ennenkuin kaivosmies laskeutuu maan alle, ovat työläistoverinsa eri tuotantoaloilla työskennelleet yhteisesti varustaakseen hänet asunnolla, ravinnolla, huonekaluilla, työvälineillä, ammukkeilla j. n. e., joten kaikki työläiset avustavat häntä hiilenkaivamisessa. He eivät mene kaivokselle, mutta kaivosmieskään ei kykenisi menemään sinne ilman muiden työläisten apua. Hiilenkaivaminen on siis yhteiskunnallinen toimitus, johon kaikki työläiset ottavat osaa. KAIVOSMIES SUORITTAA VIIMEISEN YHTEISKUNNALLISEN TEHTÄVÄN TÄMÄN LUONNONAAR-

TEEN MUUTTAMISESSA KÄYTETTÄVÄKSI TARVIKKEEKSI. Mutta ei siinä kaikki. Kaivosmiehet eivät kaiva hiiltä käyttääkseen sitä itse. Se on tarkoitettu asuntojen lämmittämiseen ja voimanantajaksi jollekin teollisuudelle — muut työläiset jatkavat kaivosmiehen alkamaa työtä hiilen tuottamisen täydellistyttämisessä. SILLÄ MIKÄÄN TAVARA EI OLE VALMIS ENNENKUIN SE SAAPUU OSTAJALLE JOKA KÄYTTÄÄ SEN. Vasta sitte kuin tämä on tapahtunut, on saavutettu se päämäärä joka johti sen tuottamiseen — yksityisen tai yhteiskunnallisen tarpeen tyydyttäminen.

KAIVOSMIES AINOASTAAN ESIKUVA.

Kaivosmiestä on käytetty tässä ainoastaan esikuvana. Mutta voit hänen tilalleen asettaa farmarin, metsämiehen, sahurin, muurarin, ajurin tai minkä hyvänsä, eikä ole yhtään väliä minkä näistä valikoit tutkiaksesi hänen toimintaansa, niin tulet näkemään, että hän on yhteistoiminnassa, jota ilman toimintansa on mahdottomuus. Kapitalistisessa teollisuudessa ovat työläiset järjestettyinä sillä tavalla, että keskinäinen riippuvaisuutensa on selvästi nähtävissä. Yksilö, sen enempää kuin mikään ryhmäkään, ei ole riippumaton. Luokkana työläiset työskentelevät ja tuottavat; luokkana heitä riistetään ja luokkana heidän täytyy järjestyä ja ainoastaan luokkajärjestön kautta tulevat saamaan parannuksia nykyiseen tilaansa ja lopullisesti vapauttamaan itsensä.

MAANVILJELYSTYÖLÄISTEN TEOLLISUUSUNION NO. 110:n KASVATUSTOIMISTO.

ENSIMÄINEN LUKU.

Työvoima.

Jos olet palkkatyömies tai nainen, niin on elämäsi riippuvainen työn saannista; sinun on antauduttava työläiseksi jollekin työnantajalle.

Ennenkuin edellämainitunlainen suhde voi syntyä, täytyy sinun omata jotakin jota työnantaja tarvitsee siinä liikkeessä jota hän harjoittaa. *Sinä omaat* — rikkauden luomisessa tarvittavaa voimaa — *työvoimaa*. Se on ainoa mitä sinulla on, mutta se on välttämätön tekijä teollisuudessa. Koko kapitalistinen teollisuus lepää sinunlaistesi miesten ja naisten olemassaololla, joilla ei ole elämisen mahdollisuutta muuten kuin tarjoamalla elinvoimaansa, työvoimaansa myytäväksi.

Melkein kaikilla teollisuusaloilla käytetään työläisten työvoimaa muiden voimamuotojen yhteydessä, sellaisten kuin höyry, sähkö, kaasu, vesi, gasoliini ja hevoset. Inhimillinen työvoima eroaa näistä muista voimamuodoista siinä suhteessa, ettei se ainoastaan kuluta itseään, vaan kuluttaa itseään tietoisesti, johtamalla, kontrolleeraamalla ja käyttämällä muita voimamuotoja. Työläisen aivot ovat osa työvoimastaan, samoinkuin kätensä ja jalkansa. Muut voimamuodot voisivat samalla olla vahingollisia kuin ne ovat hyödyllisiä, jos inhimillinen työvoima ei johtaisi niitä.

Työvoiman myynti.

Myydessäsi työvoimaasi työnantajalle, suostut luovuttamaan sen hänen käytettäväkseen niin moneksi tunniksi päivässä, tavallisesti kymmeneksi, josta hän taas suostuu maksamaan korvaukseksi summan (jota kutsutaan palkaksi), sanokaamme $3 päivässä; tai suostut käyttämään sen vissiin määrään raaka-aineita, jonka hän antaa määrätyllä hinnalla. Ensinmainittua kutsutaan työvoiman myynniksi aikamäärän mukaan, viimemainittu on kappalejärjestelmä. Kummas-

sakin tapauksessa myyt työvoimaasi työnantajalle, joko se sitte mitataan kellon tai tavaramäärän mukaan.

Myydessäsi työvoimaasi, luovutat sen työskentelemällä kaupassa asetettujen ehtojen mukaisesti. Jos jollakin on sokeria, silavaviipale tai takki myytävänä, niin luovuttamalla sen ostajalle ja saamalla vastineen, on toimitus suoritettu. Mutta kun työläinen myy työvoimaansa, täytyy hänen seurata sitä myyntipaikalle — vainiolle, työpajaan, kaivokseen, rautateille — ja työskennellä siellä siksi kunnes sovittu aika on päättynyt, tai määrätty määrä työtä tullut suoritetuksi. Tämä on se työvoimassa ilmenevä omituisuus, että se on osa työläisestä — hänen elinvoimaansa, eikä sitä voida eroittaa hänestä.

Työvoima on tavara.

Kaikkia valmistettuja ja myytäväksi tarjottuja käyttöarvoja kutsutaan tavaroiksi. Kapitalistisen tuotannon ominaisuus on se, että kaikki sen tuotteet ovat tarkoitetut vaihtoarvoiksi — tavaroiksi ja oikeudenmukaisesti palkkatyöläistä pidetään työvoiman luojana — vaihtoarvona. Esineillä taas on vaihtoarvoa silloin kun niillä on käyttöarvoa. Näin työvoima tuo palkkatyöläiselle sen vastineen, eli markkinaarvon; mutta vastineeksi sen vaihtoarvolle työnantaja ostaa sen käyttöarvon — oikeuden käyttää sitä määrätyn ajan — sanokaamme kymmenen tuntia.

Työläinen myy työvoimaansa, saaden vastineeksi palkan, jolla hänen täytyy hankkia elintarpeet itselleen ja hänestä riippuvaisille. Työnantaja ostaa työvoimaa siksi, että hän tarvitsee sitä laitoksensa käynnissäpitämiseksi, on tämä sitten tehdas, kaivos, rautatie tai farmi. Uusimmanaikaisella laitoksella ei kyetä luomaan rikkautta, jos työn taikavoima ei pane sitä käyntiin. Työnantaja ei ota palkkatyöläistä työhön mistään ihmisystävällisestä syystä, vaan hän on pakoitettu tekemään sen, tai epäonnistumaan liikeyrityksessään. Ottaessaan työläisen työhön, koettaa hän saada hänet mahdollisimman edullisilla ehdoilla, joka tarkoittaa sitä, että hän koettaa saada työläisen niin pienellä palkalla kuin työläinen suostuu työskentelemään. Mutta alin palkka, jolla työläiset keskimäärin suostuvat työskentelemään, on se määrä jolla he kykenevät ylläpitämään itsensä ja

perheensä yleisen työläisen elintason mukaan. Ja tämä taso määrää työläisen palkan. Työläisen ylläpitoon ja lajinsa lisäämiseen tarvittavien tarpeiden luomisessa käytetty aika määrää työläisen työn vaihtoaryon eli palkan. Kuten tulette myöhemmin näkemään, on tämä se, joka määrää tuotteiden keskinäisen suhteen — niiden tuottamiseen käytetty yhteiskunnallinen työaikamäärä — ja, työvoiman ollessa tavarana, määritellään sen vaihtoarvo samalla tavalla.

Mutta työvoima eroaa muista tavaroista siinä, että senlisäksi kuin se on osa työläisestä, on se myös osa omistajansa pyrkimyksistä, toivomuksista ja tahdosta. Se tahtoo sanoa, että samalla kuin se on tavara, on sillä inhimillisiä ominaisuuksia ja ollen eroittamaton osa työläisestä, vaikuttaa se siten, että se asettaa hänet tavaran tasolle. Kapitalistisessa yhteiskunnassa hän ei ole ainoastaan tuottaja ja tavaran — työvoiman — myyjä, vaan on hän itse melkein niinkuin tavara — ihmisnahkaan kääritty paketillinen työvoimaa.

Kapitalistin ja työläisen välinen markkinasuhde.

Työläisen ja työnantajan välillä vallitseva suhde ei ole inhimillinen laadultaan, vaan markkinasuhde — he ovat ostaja ja myyjä. Inhimilliseltä näkökannalta katsottuna se ei ole kahden ihmisen välinen suhde, vaan palkkaorjan suhde kapitalistiin. Silloin kun sanotaan, joka tapahtuu hyvin usein, että kapitalistiset laitokset ovat kokonaan ihmisystävällisiä laadultaan, että ne antavat työläisille elintarpeet, niin valehdellaan. Kapitalistien tarkoituksena ei ole varustaa työläistä elintarpeilla, vaan käyttää hyväksi näitä vailla olevan työläisen asemaa. Koska kuolleita työläisiä ei voida riistää, niin on selvä, että työläiset on pidettävä hengissä jos aijotaan jatkaa heidän riistämistään. Työnantaja ei välitä siitä millä tavalla työläiset elävät niin kauan kuin kykenevät tuomaan hänelle työvoimaa josta hän tinkii heidän kanssaan. Kanssaihmisinä hän ei ensinkään heitä pidä. Jos työnantaja ilmoittaa tarvitsevansa kaksi työläistä ja neljä miestä ilmoittautuu näitä toimia varten, kaksi näistä ollen voimakasta miestä, yksi ollen heikko ja sairaaloinen ja neljäs raajarikko. Työnantaja ottaa työhön kaksi ensi-

mäistä, sillä ne omaavat sitä mitä hän haluaa — työvoimaa. Kaksi viimemainittua voivat olla surkeassa asemassa ja suuremmassa työn tarpeessa kuin ne kaksi ensinmainittua, mutta työnantaja tarvitsee työvoimaa, joten he eivät voi tulla kysymykseen.

Mikään inhimillinen vaikutin ei kannusta työnantajaa panemaan laitostaan käyntiin. Liike-elämän laki hallitsee häntä. Jos hän ostaa työvoimaa, välineitä, tai raaka-aineita, niin yrittää hän saada niitä alkaisimmalla hinnalla ja vaatii parhainta lajia. Hän on alhaisten palkkojen kannalla — haluaa saada työvoimaa halvalla — kun taas työläiset haluavat saada korkean hinnan.

Kysymyksiä.

1. Mitä tarkoitetaan sillä kun sanotaan, että "työläisen elämä riippuu työnsaannista?"
2. Mitä on työvoima?
3. Mikä eroitus on työvoimalla ja muilla lajeilla voimaa kuten höyry, sähkö j. n. e.?
4. Kuinka työvoimaa mitataan?
5. Miksi työnantaja ostaa työvoimaa?
6. Jos työvoiman ja työn välillä on eroa, niin mikä se on?
7. Mikä on tavara?
8. Miksi kapitalistista tuotantoa pidetään käynnissä?
9. Voiko jollakin esineellä olla vaihtoarvoa ilman että sillä olisi käyttöarvoa? Miksi?
10. Miksi työläinen myy työvoimaansa?
11. Mitä hän saa siitä?
12. Ylimalkaisesti sanoen, mikä määrää hänen palkkansa?
13. Ovatko työläisen ja työnantajan edut samanlaiset työläisen kysyessä työtä?

TOINEN LUKU.

Vaihtoarvo.

Työnantaja ja työläinen, edellinen ostaja ja jälkimäinen myyjä, eivät aseta työvoiman vaihtoarvoa — palkkaa. Markkinat ovat määrääjänä kummallekin. Työnantaja, etujensa mukaisesti, koettaa saada työvoiman mahdollisimman halvalla, kun taas työläinen yhtä luonnollisesti, koettaa saada mahdollisimman korkean hinnan. Mutta markkinalaki määrää, että työvoiman on vaihdettava itsensä samojen sääntöjen mukaisesti kuin muutkin tavarat — sillä, minkä verran välttämätöntä yhteiskunnallista työtä käytetään niiden tavaroiden valmistukseen, joita työläinen, vallitsevan elintason mukaan tarvitsee ylöspitoonsa. Täten mitataan kaikkien tavaroiden vaihtoarvo. Yhteiskunnallisesti välttämätön työaika luonnollisesti tarkoittaa tarvittavaa keskimääräistä aikamäärää, joka taas riippuu tuotantokoneistosta ja vallitsevan tuotantotavan tehokkuudesta. Tämä tarvittava keskimääräinen työaika määrää kaikkien tavaroiden keskinäisen suhteen markkinoilla, halliten työvoiman samoin kuin kaikkien muidenkin tavaroiden vaihtoa. Marx sanoo: "Jos me ajattelemme *tavaroita arvoina*, ajattelemme me niitä yksinomaan *todellisen*, määrätyn tai jos haluatte sanoa *kristalloidun yhteiskunnallisen työn* valossa. Tässä suhteessa voivat ne *erota* ainoastaan edustamalla suurempaa tai pienempää työmäärää, kuten esimerkiksi suurempi työmäärä voidaan kuluttaa silkkisen nenäliinan kuin tiilikiven valmistukseen. Miten ovat *työn määrät* laskettavat? *Ajan mukaan, jonka työ kestää,* mittaamalla työtä tunnittain, päivittäin j. n. e."

Esimerkin vuoksi, jos otamme yhden päivän työn tuloksen: lakin, kirjan ja silavaviipaleen. Jokaisen hinta on $3.00. Päältäpäin katsoen näillä ei ole mitään yhtenäisyyttä. Ne eivät ole yhden näköisiä, eikä niitä käytetä samaan tarkoitukseen ja silti jokaisessa on sama määrä jotakin samaa, joka tekee ne samanarvoisiksi toinen toiseensa nähden ja $3.00 kullassa. Mikä se on? Se määrä yhteiskunnallista työaikaa joka on tarvittu niiden tuottamiseen (samoin kuin $3.00 kullassa) on yhtä suuri kaikkiin nähden.

Se ei ole juuri se aikamäärä mikä jonkun tuotteen tuottaminen on vaatinut kömpelöillä työvälineillä ja vanhanaikaisilla tuotantotavoilla, vaan se välttämättömän yhteiskunnallisen työajan määrä joka määrää sen vaihtoarvon.

Arvo ja työtekniikka.

Karl Marx sanoo ("Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto, sivu 55): "Voisi näyttää siltä, että jos jonkun tavaran arvo määrätään sen *tuotantoon käytetyn työn paljouden mukaan,* joten, mitä laiskempi tai kömpelömpi joku mies on, sen arvokkaampi on hänen tuottamansa tavara, koska häneltä on kulunut kauemman aikaa tavaran valmistamiseen. Tämä olisi kuitenkin surullinen erehdys. Teidän on muistettava, että minä käytän sanaa "yhteiskunnallinen työ" ja määrittelyyn "yhteiskunnallinen" sisältyy monia seikkoja. Sanottaessa, että tavaran arvon määrää siihen kiinnitetyn tai kristalloidun työn paljous, me tarkoitamme *työn paljoutta,* joka on *välttämätöntä* sen tuottamiseen määrätyllä yhteiskunta-kehitysasteella, visseissä tuotannon keskimääräisissä yhteiskunnallisissa olosuhteissa, vissillä keskimääräisellä yhteiskunnallisella ponnistuksella ja keskimääräisellä käytetyn työn taidolla."

Mary Marcy (Shop Talks on Economics) käyttää seuraavaa kuvausta:

"Jos kulutat kolme kuukautta tehdäksesi kynäveitsellä tukista tuoli, niin lopuksi se ei ole yhtään sen arvokkaampi kuin se tuoli joka on tehty suuressa tehtaassa, jossa työläiset suurilla koneilla valmistavat satoja tuoleja yhdessä ainoassa päivässä."

Se ajan tuhlaus joka on käytetty tuolin tekemiseen kynäveitsellä ei määrää sen vaihtoarvoa, vaan määrää sen se keskimääräinen aikamäärä joka sen valmistukseen kuuluu uudenajan koneilla ja tehokkailla tuotantovälineillä. Vaihtoarvoa ei määrää työaikamäärä vaan se määrä *yhteiskunnallista työaikaa* joka siihen on käytetty.

Jokainen uusi, teollisuudessa käytäntöön otettu kone ja jokainen parannus jo käytännössä olevissa koneissa, vähentää tuotteiden tuottamisessa tarvittavan työajan määrää niissä teollisuuksissa, joissa näitä koneita käytetään. Mutta koska yksityiset koneet vaikuttavat ainoastaan johonkin teol-

lisuushaaraan, niin eivät ne alenna suurestikaan keskimääräistä työaikaa. Keskimääräisen aikamäärän määrää kautta teollisuuden käytännössä olevien koneiden keskimääräinen tehokkuus, sillä tuotanto on yhteiskunnallinen laajuuteensa ja laatuunsa nähden.

Se, missä määrässä uuden koneen käytäntöön ottaminen tai parannus jo käytännössä olevissa vaikuttaa ajan säästämiseen, riippuu teollisesta kehitysasteesta silloin kun uusi kone otetaan käytäntöön tai jo käytännössä oleviin nähden tehdään parannuksia. Kapitalistisen kehityksen alkuasteilla, jolloin kone tempasi työkalun ammattilaisen kädestä, oli vaikutus suurempi kuin nykyään, jolloin koneet ovat jo korkealle kehittyneet ja yleisesti käytännössä. Vaikka väheneminen tarvittavassa työajassa vieläkin heijastuu tavaran vaihtoarvossa, niin löytyy nykyään voimia, jotka eivät olleet toiminnassa kapitalismin alkuasteilla ja nämä pyrkivät verhoamaan tämän seikan. Tämä puoli kaipaa erikoista käsittelyä ja tullaan se tekemään myöhemmin.

Lainaamme taas kuvauksen Mary Marcyn kirjasta "Shop Talks on Economics": "Olettakaamme, että jokainen kenkätehdas maassa kävisi täydellä voimalla täyttääkseen kenkien kysyntää. Vanhanaikaisia koneita käyttävissä tehtaissa tarvittaisiin enemmän työvoimaa jokaisen kenkäparin valmistukseen kuin sellaisissa joissa käytetään uudemmanaikaisia koneita, kun taas uusimmanaikaisissa tehtaissa, joissa on uusimmanaikaiset koneet, tarvittaisiin verrattain vähän inhimillistä työvoimaa kenkäin tuottamisessa."

Välttämätön yhteiskunnallisen työvoiman määrä.

Me näemme kuinka vähempi määrä työläisiä korkeammalle kehittyneillä koneilla kykenee lisäämään tuottavaisuutta suuressa määrässä — vähempi määrä työvoimaa eli aikaa tuottaa suuremmat tulokset. Kuvaus osoittaa ettei ainoastaan tarpeellinen työajan keskimäärä laske, mutta osoittaa myös tarpeellisen taidon vähenemistä. Kone vaikuttaa työläiseen kahdella tavalla: 1) ottamalla työläisen paikan ja 2) poistamalla taitonsa tarpeellisuuden. Se tekee ammattitaidottomat ja vähän ammattitaitoa omaavat työläiset tärkeimmiksi tekijöiksi teollisuudessa.

Kaikkien kenkien tuottamisessa kaikilla koneilla käytetty

aikamäärä, siihen lisättynä muiden työläisten yhteiskunnallisen avun määrä, määrää niiden kenkien vaihtoarvon ja jokaisen parin vaihtoarvon. Kullan, hopean, kuparin, papujen, silavan, vaatteiden — minkä tavaran hyvänsä — vaihtoarvo mitataan samalla tavalla, sen tuottamisessa käytetyn yhteiskunnallisen työaikamäärän perusteella. Tavaroiden arvo nousee ja laskee sitä mukaan kuin niiden tuottamisessa tarvittava aikamäärä lisääntyy tai vähenee. Työvoima ei ole mikään poikkeus tästä säännöstä. Työvoiman tuottamisessa tarvittava työaikamäärä määrää sen vaihtoarvon. Lainaamme Marxia: "Kuten kaikkien muidenkin tavaroiden, määrätään senkin (työvoiman) arvo sen tuottamiseen tarvittavan työnpaljouden mukaan. Miehen työkyky tavataan ainoastaan hänen elävässä olennossaan. Miehen täytyy nauttia vissi määrä tarvikkeita kasvaakseen ja säilyttääkseen henkensä. Mutta mies, samoin kuin konekin, kuluu ja on hän korvattava toisella miehellä. Paitsi vissiä määrää tarvikkeita, joita vaaditaan *hänen omaksi* ylöspidokseen, tarvitsee hän toisen määrän tarvikkeita kasvattaakseen vissin määrän lapsia, jotka korvaavat hänet työmarkkinoilla ja jatkavat työläisten rotua."

Työmiehen kunnossapitämiseen ja perheensä ylläpitämiseen tarvittavien tarvikkeiden — ravinnon, vaatteiden ja suojan — tuottamisessa käytetty työaikamäärä määrää työvoiman vaihtoarvon. Työvoiman vaihtoarvoa ei määrää yksilön ylläpitämiseksi tarvittavien tarvikkeiden tuottamiseen tarvittava työaikamäärä, vaan keskimäärä koko työväenluokan ylläpitämiseksi tarvittavien tarvikkeiden tuottamisessa käytetystä työaikamäärästä. Työkyvyttömäksi käyneen työläisen tilalle on jatkuvasti asetettava toinen ja työvoimavarasto on pidettävä yllä. Näin ollen täytyy työläisten saada keskimäärin tarpeellinen määrä tarvikkeita ylläpitämään heidät työläisinä ja kyetäkseen luomaan uusia työläisiä jotka ottavat heidän paikkansa. Tämä on työvoiman arvo; tämä on se minkä kapitalistit keskimäärin maksavat palkkatyöläisille.

Mutta koska työläisten elintaso on taas se joka määrää tarvitsemiensa tarvikkeiden määrän, on työläisten elintaso ymmärrettävä siksi joka määrää sen minkä verran työvoiman tuottamiseen tarvitaan työaikaa.

Kysymyksiä.

1. a) Mitä on vaihtoarvo ja b) käyttöarvo?
2. Mitä on "välttämätön yhteiskunnallinen työaikamäärä?"
3. Kuinka se lasketaan?
4. Mikä vaikutus uusien koneiden käytäntöönottamisella on?
5. Voitko selittää Mary Marcyn kuvauksen tuolista?
6. Käytä Mary Marcyn kuvausta kenkätehtaasta yhteen kenkäpariin nähden.
7. Miksi ammattitaitoinen työläinen (mekanikko) saa enemmän palkkaa kuin ammattitaidottomat työläiset?
8. Miksi työmies tavallisesti tarvitsee enemmän kuin juuri sen minkä tarvitsee omaan ylläpitoonsa?
9. Mitä tarkoitetaan "elintasolla?"
10. Näytteleekö työmiehen elintaso tärkeää osaa taloudellisessa elämässämme?

Selitä.

KOLMAS LUKU.

Yliarvo.

Kun työläinen on myynyt työvoimaansa työnantajalle, panee työnantaja hänet työskentelemään kymmenen tuntia varustamillaan välineillä ja tarpeilla. Mutta työpäivän ensimäisenä kolmena tuntina tuottaa työläinen niin paljon vaihtoarvoa, sanokaamme $3.00, että työnantaja kykenee maksamaan sillä työläiselle palkan koko päivän työstä. Mutta työskenneltyään kolme tuntia, työläinen ei lopeta työn tekoaan, sillä hän on sitoutunut työskentelemään kymmenen tuntia. Näin ollen jatkaa hän arvojen luomista jälellä olevat seitsemän tuntia. Tämä tahtoo sanoa, että seitsemän tuntia työpäivästään työläinen luo arvoja joista ei saa mitään korvausta, eli toisin sanoen, käyttää seitsemän tuntia työpäivästään arvojen luomiseen jotka menevät työnantajalle, mutta joista hän (työnantaja) ei kuitenkaan maksa työläiselle mitään. Työnantaja väittää maksavansa työläiselle kymmenestä tunnista ja voi vielä osoittaa ja

näyttää sitoumustakin todisteeksi siitä, että hän niin tekee. Tämä on se väite, jolla työläisen riistäminen kapitalistisen järjestelmän aikana on niin menestyksellisesti verhottu.

Marx antaa tästä seuraavan selostuksen (''Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto'', siv. 72): ''Mutta maksamalla kehrääjän työkyvyn päivittäisen tai viikottaisen vaihtoarvon, on kapitalisti hankkinut itselleen oikeuden käyttää tätä työkykyä *koko päivän tai viikon ajan.* Hän teettää hänellä sen vuoksi työtä esimerkiksi *kaksitoista tuntia* vuorokaudessa. Kuuden tunnin *lisäksi,* jotka vaaditaan korvaamaan hänen palkkansa tai hänen työkykynsä arvon, on hänen sen lisäksi työskenneltävä *kuusi tuntia,* jotka tahdon kutsua *ylityön* tunneiksi, joka ylityö muodostuu *yliarvoksi* ja *ylituotteeksi.*''

Maksettu ja maksamaton työaika.

Kahleorjan riistämisen ymmärtäminen on verrattain helppo. Orjayhteiskunnassa varustettiin orja orjan elintason mukaisilla tarpeilla ja työnsä tulokset kuuluivat omistajalle. Tapahtuneen riiston luonne ja määrä on helposti nähtävissä.

Henkiorjan riistäminen on silmäänpistävä. Henkiorja työskenteli suuremman osan vuodesta herransa maalla ja omalla tilkullaan lopun ajasta.

Mutta palkkatyöläiseen nähden *näyttää* siltä niinkuin hän saisi korvauksen koko ajasta, tosiasia kuitenkin ollen, että *hän saa korvauksen ainoastaan osasta aikaa.* Lopun ajasta (seitsemän tuntia) hän työskentelee saamatta mitään vastinetta. Näin ollen on työläisen aika jaettu kahteen eri aikajaksoon: aika, josta hän saa korvauksen ja aika, josta hän ei saa korvausta — *korvattu työaika* ja *korvaamatta jäävä työaika.*

Näin ollen tuotteet, jotka ovat työläisen työvoimansa käyttämisen tuloksia — kristalliseeraus siitä — sisältävät kahta lajia, maksettua ja maksamatta jäänyttä työtä.

Kun nämä tavarat vaihtuvat toinen toistensa kanssa, sen mukaan minkä verran niiden tuottaminen on kysynyt välttämätöntä yhteiskunnallista työtä, niin seuraa, että niiden vaihtoaika on maksetun ja maksamattoman työajan summa — niihin kumpaankin sisältyvä aikamäärä.

Sivulla 78, "Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto", sanoo Marx: "Tavaran arvon määrää siihen kiinnitetyn *työn kokonaismäärä.*

Mutta osa tästä työnpaljoudesta sisältyy arvoon, josta vastaava määrä on maksettu palkkojen muodossa, osa taasen arvoon, josta mitään vastaavaa *ei ole* maksettu. Osa tavaraan sisältyvästä työstä on *maksettua* työtä; osa *maksamatonta* työtä."

Siis työnantaja, ostaessaan työläiseltä työvoimaa, käyttää sitä arvojen saamiseen josta hän ei anna työläiselle vastineeksi mitään — käyttää sitä (työvoimaa) yliarvon saamiseksi. Tämä työläisen saaman palkan ja työnsä tuloksien arvon välinen eroavaisuus on se joka tekee kapitalistista rikkaan ja pitää työläisen köyhänä.

Kapitalismin vallitessa ei sitä kutsuta rosvoukseksi. Päinvastoin, sitä pidetään korkeasti kunnioitettavana ja moraalisena, se on laillistettua ja pyhitettyä; "parhaat kansalaiset" hyväksyvät sen; soinnukkaasti sitä kutsutaan *liikkeenharjoittamiseksi.*

Kysymyksiä.

1. Mitä tapahtuu työläisen myydessä työvoimaansa?
2. Kuinka työpäivä on jaettu sikäli kuin työläisen työaika on kysymyksessä?
3. Kuinka kahleorjaa riistettiin? Henkiorjaa?
4. Kuinka palkkatyöläistä riistetään?
5. Onko kahleorjan, henkiorjan ja palkkaorjan välillä mitään eroa? Selitä mikä se on.
6. Selitä yliarvo Marxin kuvauksella kehrääjästä. Käytä esimerkkinä farmilla työskentelevää palkkalaista.
7. Jos palkkatyöläinen myy työvoimaansa kymmeneksi tunniksi, niin kuinka työnantaja riistää häntä?
8. Kuinka nykyinen työläisten orjuus salataan heiltä?
9. Mihin kohtaan I. W. W:n esipuhetta tämä työväenluokan riistoprosessin selostaminen sisältyy?
10. Mikä on mielestäsi syynä siihen, etteivät työläiset huomaa tuotannossa tapahtuvaa ryöstämistään?

NELJÄS LUKU.

Mistä voitto saadaan?

Olemme ennen tuoneet esille sen puolen, että työläinen työpäivän kuluessa luo arvoja jotka menevät työnantajalle — arvoja, joista työnantaja ei anna työläiselle mitään vastinetta.

Kuten Marx sanoo ("Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto", sivu 81): "*Yliarvo,* eli sitä osaa tavaran kokonaisarvosta, johon työmiehen *ylityö* eli *maksamaton työ* on kiinnitetty, kutsun minä *voitoksi.*"

Tavallisesti luullaan, että voitot saadaan kiskomalla esineistä hinta, joka on yli niiden arvon; petoksella tai jollakin muulla kierällä tavalla, mutta mikään ei voi olla kauempana totuudesta kuin sellainen olettamus. Vaikka ryöstö tapahtuukin, niin ei se tapahdu tavaran kulkiessa myymäpöydän ylitse, vaan on se tapahtunut jo ennen sitä työmaalla, työläisen työskennellessä, esiintyen se tuotteissa kristallisoituneena maksamattomana työnä.

Voiton saanti ei tapahdu kiskomalla tuotteista enemmän kuin niiden arvo on, vaan myymällä (vaihtamalla) ne todellisen arvon perusteella. Lainatkaamme taas Marxia ("Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto", siv. 79—80): "Myymällä siten tavaran *oikeaan arvoonsa,* s. o. siihen kiinnitetyn *kokonaistyön* arvoon, täytyy kapitalistin välttämättömästi myydä se voitolla. Hän ei ainoastaan myy sellaista mikä hänelle on vastaavan maksanut, vaan myy hän myös sellaistakin, joka hänelle ei ole maksanut mitään, vaikka se on maksanut työmiehensä työn. Tavaran kustannukset kapitalistille (rahassa) ja niiden todelliset kustannukset (työ) ovat eri asioita. Toistan sen vuoksi, että normaaliset ja keskimääräiset voitot saadaan myymällä tavarat, ei yli niiden arvon, vaan *niiden todellisesta* arvosta."

Kun kapitalisti vie tavaransa markkinoille, vaihtaa hän ne muilla kapitalisteilla oleviin tavaroihin ja vaihdon tapahtuessa kapitalisteille, vaihtaessaan tavaransa niiden todellisen arvon perusteella, jää kaikille voittoa, sillä jokainen pistää taskuunsa sen osan joka ei maksanut heille mitään. Tätä Marx nimittää "normaaliseksi ja keskimääräiseksi

voitoksi". Tämä on kapitalistisen tuotannon kannustin. Jos voitonsaanti perustuisi petkutukselle, niin kapitalistien kesken ei olisi yhtenäisyyttä. Kapitalistien etujen mukaisesti, palkkatyön riistämisen jatkamiseksi, on välttämätöntä, että voitonsaanti tapahtuu laillisesti. Tämän toteuttamiseksi ovat he turvallisuudekseen laatineet lakeja (määräyksiä), omaksi edukseen tietysti.

Voittojärjestelmä.

Voitto on kapitalistisen järjestelmän johdonmukainen hedelmä. Se on eroittamaton osa kapitalistisesta tuotanto- ja jakotavasta. Oikeudenmukaisesti se onkin nimitetty "voittojärjestelmäksi". Sen vallitessa valmistetaan tavaroita ja tuottaminen tapahtuu vaihdon vuoksi, voiton saamiseksi.

Vaikka sen tuotteet ovat käyttöarvoja, niin tuotetaan ne ainoastaan vaihtoa silmällä pitäen — *esineitä jotka tekevät kauppansa.* On luonnollista, että ihmiset ostavat niitä tarkoituksella *käyttää* niitä. Kapitalisteille ne ovat esineitä joita ostetaan ja joista hän saa enemmän kuin niiden tuottaminen maksoi — ne muodostavat hänelle voittolähteen.

Jos työläinen ei ymmärrä voiton alkulähdettä, eikä sen luonnetta — ei ole selvillä siitä mistä palkkatyöläisiltä riistetty yliarvo muodostuu — niin on hän siinä luulossa että häntä riistetään tavaroita ostaessaan — kuluttajana. Tällä tavalla ajattelevat työläiset hakevat vastausta väärältä suunnalta, sillä niiden tavaroiden hinnan kohotessa joita hänen täytyy ostaa, tarkoittaa sitä, että työvoimansa luomiseen tarvittava työaika on lisääntynyt. Hänen täytyy ymmärtää tämä ja ymmärtäessään sen, yrittää hän saada työnantajaltaan enemmän palkkaa. Milloin ja mistä syystä hyvänsä palkan ostokyky laskee alapuolelle sen minkä työläinen tarvitsee sen elintason ylläpitämiseksi, jonka mukaan hän on elänyt, on palkkansa laskenut samassa määrässä. Johtui se sitten tavaroiden hinnan kohoamisesta tai kullan arvon laskemisesta, niin on se korvattavissa ainoastaan vastaavalla palkankorotuksella; työläisen täytyy yrittää saada korvaus siihen yliarvosta; hänen täytyy saada maksu enemmältä työajalta, saada enemmän palkkaa. Jos tämä ei tapahdu, niin työvoimastaan ei makseta sen arvoa.

Sillä jos kuluttajaa riistettäisiin ostaessaan tavaroita, niin

ei olisi tarpeellista riistää työläistä tuotannossa. Ei siinä kaikki, vaan koska yksilö-kapitalisti on suurempi kuluttaja kuin yksilö-työläinen, niin kohdistuisi riisto häneen suuremmassa määrässä. Jos näin olisi asianlaita, niin työläisen ja työnantajan edut olisivat yhtäläiset ja liittyisivät he yhteisen asian puolesta leipurin kanssa sekatavarakauppiasta ja lihakauppiasta vastaan. Sen jälkeen he voisivat tehdä liiton sekatavarakauppiaan ja lihakauppiaan kanssa leipuria vastaan ja niin aina loppumattomiin.

Työläinen kulkisi väärään suuntaan. Hän liikkuisi eduilleen vastakkaisessa ympyrässä ja tämän päätyttyä huomaisi, ettei asemansa olé yhtään parantunut siitä mitä se oli ennen ja tulisi huomaamaan, että saavuttaakseen entisen elintasonsa on hän pakoitettu vaatimaan korkeampaa palkkaa työnantajaltaan.

Sillä työläinen on jäsen työväenluokasta. Palkkatyöläisenä luo hän arvoja, joista ei saa mitään vastinetta. Hän ei tee tätä ehdoin tahdoin, vaan johtuu se luokkansa asemasta, josta hän on osa ja tämä pakoittaa hänet myymään työvoimaansa, varustaakseen itsensä ja perheensä elämän välttämättömyyksillä. *Kapitalistiluokka ottaa kaiken työväenluokan työstä johtuvan yliarvon,* pitäen sitä itselleen kuuluvana osana tuotannosta. Silloin kun työväenluokan elintasoa lasketaan, vähentyy työn arvo ja yliarvon määrä lisääntyy — voitto suurenee.

Luokkataistelu.

Näin ollen se on kapitalistien etujen mukaista, että sikäli kuin se on mahdollista, saada pakoitetuksi työläisten elintaso alas. Luonnollisesti se taas on työläisten etujen mukaista, että ei ainoastaan säilyttää vallitseva elintaso, vaan yrittää kohottaa sitä. *Tämä ristiriitaisuus on se jota kutsumme luokkataisteluksi.* — Luokkataistelu on elävä, inhimillinen ja yhteiskunnallinen kysymys, ollen se joka ohjaa ja määrää työväenluokan toiminnan. Työläisten pitäisi olla selvillä tästä, *sillä "vapaiden työläisten" joukkoon kuuluminen kapitalistisessa yhteiskunnassa merkitsee orjaluokkaan kuulumista.* Työläisyksilö voi jättää työpaikkansa koska haluaa, mutta hänen on viipymättä haettava toinen työnantaja. Kuten Marx ("Palkka, Työ ja Pääoma", siv. 19) sanoo:

"Mutta työläinen, jonka toimeentulo riippuu kokonaan työvoimansa myynnistä, ei *voi päästä kokonaan erilleen siitä luokasta joka työvoimaa ostaa,* s. t. s. kapitalistiluokasta, *hävittämättä itseään.* Hän ei kuulu erikoisesti tälle eikä tuolle työnantajalle, *vaan kuuluu kapitalistiluokalle.* Ja vielä enemmän: hänen tehtävänsä on löytää työnantaja; hänen täytyy kapitalistien keskuudessa löytää ostaja työvoimalleen."

Kapitalistinen orjuutus.

Orjuuttamalla työväenluokan, kykenevät kapitalistit anastamaan työntulokset. Sitä muutkin orjuusmuodot merkitsivät. Eroavaisuus on ainoastaan näennäinen; orjuus on yhtä täydellinen, oikeastaan vieläkin täydellisempi. Marx sanoo: "*Pääoma edellyttää palkkatyötä ja palkkatyö edellyttää pääomaa.*" Tämä tarkoittaa sitä, että kapitalisteja ei olisi jos ei olisi sellaista luokkaa jonka elämä riippuu elinvoiman myynnistä — jos ei olisi orjan asemassa olevaa luokkaa.

Työläisen riistäminen voi tapahtua ainoastaan silloin kun hän on työssä. Työläinen kun ei kerran omista muuta kuin voiman luoda rikkautta, niin häneltä ei voida ryöstää muuta kuin se mitä hänellä on. Työläisen riistäminen tapahtuu työmaalla. Muualla riisto ei voi tapahtua. Jos työläinen aikoo saada parannusta, niin muualta hänen ei kannata yrittää saada sitä. Käyttämällä tuotannollista voimaansa on ainoa josta voi odottaa tuloksia. Voimansa on myös merkityksetön jos ei järjestä sitä käytäntöä varten. Kapitalisteilta hänen ei kannata odottaa apua. Marx sanoo: "Pääoman edut ovat suoranaisesti vastakkaiset palkkatyöläisten etujen kanssa."

Pikkukauppiaan syyttäminen on ajan tuhlausta ja voiman väärin käyttöä, sillä hintojen määrittely on yläpuolella työläisten. Hintojen noustessa palkkojen pysyminen entisellään merkitsee palkanlaskua työläiselle. Hänen on yritettävä saada palkankorotusta; hänen on yritettävä lisätä korvattua työaikaansa; pakoittaa työnantajaa luovuttamaan yliarvoaan. *Työläistä ei riistetä myyntipöydän luona, vaan tuotannossa* ja tuotannossa hänen on myös saatava korvaus — hänen on saatava se työnantajalta.

Kysymyksiä.

1. Mitä Marx kutsuu voitoksi?
2. Saadaanko voitto tavallisuudessa korkeiden hintojen kiskonnalla?
3. Kuinka normaalinen eli keskimääräinen voitto saadaan?
4. Miksi kapitalismia kutsutaan "voittojärjestelmäksi"?
5. Mitä tapahtuu silloin kun hinnat nousevat, eivätkä palkat nouse suhteellisesti?
6. Tulisiko työläisten yrittää saada hintoja lasketuksi tai palkkoja korotetuksi? Miksi?
7. Miksi kapitalistit pyrkivät alentamaan työläisten elintasoa?
8. Mitä luokkataistelu on?
9. Mikä on vapaan työläisen asema kapitalistisessa yhteiskunnassa?
10. Mitä tarkoitetaan orjuudella?
11. Mitä tarkoitetaan sanomalla "pääoman edut ovat suoranaisesti vastakkaiset palkkatyöläisten etujen kanssa?

VIIDES LUKU.

Tavaroiden hinta.

Tavaran arvo — sen suhde muihin tuotteisiin — ei ole sama kuin sen hinta, se raha- eli kultamäärä, jolla se myydään markkinoilla, sillä tavaran arvon määrää se minkä verran sen valmistuksessa on kulutettu välttämätöntä yhteiskunnallista työaikaa, kun sen hinta taas voi vaihdella sitä mukaa minkälaiset markkinahinnat ovat silloin kun se asetetaan myytäväksi.

Minkä hyvänsä myytävänä olevan tavaran ja kysynnän välinen suhde on tärkeänä tekijänä sen hinnan määrittelyssä. Jos tarjonta (tavaramäärä) on suurempi kuin kysyntä, niin saattaa hinta laskea alapuolelle sen arvon, kun taas jos kysyntä on suurempi hankintaa, niin nousee tavaran hinta yläpuolelle sen arvon.

Palkat ja hinnat.

Yleisesti puhuen ovat arvo ja hinta yhtäläiset ja tavallisesti tavara, jonka valmistaminen maksoi kymmenen työtuntia, vaihdetaan kultamäärään, joka sisältää kymmenen tuntia yhteiskunnallista työtä.

Liian yleisenä käsityksenä on se, että työläisille maksetut palkat määräävät tavaroiden hinnat. Jo pitkän aikaa on kaikkia kapitalistisia propagandavälineitä käytetty tämän erheellisen ajatuksen edistämiseen ja on työläiset saatu hyväksymään tämä eduilleen vastakkainen ja vahingollinen oppi talousopillisena totuutena, josta on ollut seurauksena, että silloin kun he eivät ole vapaaehtoisesti alistuneet kapitalistien toimeenpanemalle palkanalennukselle, niin on vastustuksensa kuitenkin ollut laimea.

Sota-aikana, johon sisältyy myös joitakin vuosia sitä aikaa, jolloin avoimet vihollisuudet eivät olleet käynnissä, kohosi työläisten (raha) palkka verrattain korkealle, mutta vertaamalla kohonneita tavaroiden hintoja palkkoihin, olivat niiden hinnat kohonneet vieläkin korkeammalle. Väitetään, että työläisille sodan aikana ja sen jälkeen maksetut korkeammat palkat olivat syypäät hintojen kohoamiseen. Mutta koko tuona aikana, erikoisesti sen jälkeen kun Amerika yhtyi sotaan, muuttui tuotanto äärettömän suuressa määrässä tavallisten tuotteiden tuottamisesta kiihkeäksi sotatarpeiden tuottamiseksi. Vieläpä sellaisilla tuotantoaloilla, jotka palvelevat rauhallisia ja sotilaallisia tarkoitusperiä tasapuolisesti, asetettiin sotilaalliset huomattavassa määrässä etutilalle. Lukuisat rauhantarvetehtaat muutettiin jonkinlaisiksi sotatarvetehtaiksi. Tavaratuotanto kärsi.

Miljoonien miesten ottaminen pois teollisuudesta (armeijaan) sai aikaan sen, että työläisten kysyntä oli suurempi tarjontaa ja palkat kohosivat. Mutta jos työläisten kysyntä oli suurempi tarjontaa ,niin samoin oli tarvikkeiden kysyntä suurempi tarjontaa. Erikoisesti tämä pitää paikkansa kun otetaan huomioon lisäytynyt ostokyky.

Tuonti oli nimellinen ja ne maat joihin tästä maasta oli tavallisesti viety, kävivät sotaa ja edistääkseen omia sotilaallisia tarkoitusperiään, riitti niiltä vähän ulosvietäväksi ja meriliikennevaikeuden takia eivät olisi kyenneet vaikka olisivat halunneetkin. Kilpailu amerikalaisten tehtailijoiden

ja kauppiasten kesken hävisi melkein kokonaan. Tämä synnytti markkinatilanteen jossa tarjonta oli paljon pienempi kysyntää, aiheuttaen korkeat hinnat. Työmarkkinoilla oli kysyntä myös paljon suurempi tarjontaa ja (raha) palkka kohosi.

Tavaroiden korkeat hinnat eivät johtuneet työläisille maksetuista korkeista (raha) palkoista, vaan tavarankäsittelijöille suosiollisista markkinasuhteista.

Mikä kohottaa tavaroiden hinnat.

Palkkojen kohotessa heräsi työläisissä halu kohottaa elintasoaan, joka johti vilkkauteen välttämättömien, samoinkuin ennemmin ulottumattomissa olleiden tarvikkeiden tuotantoalalla, joka myös aiheutti suuressa määrässä tavarahintojen kohoamista. Sotavoittoilu kohotti myöskin ylellisyystavaroiden hintaa. Voittoilu, eli suoranainen (suojelustoimenpiteistä huolimatta) keinottelu, antoi voittoilijoille tilaisuuden tyydyttää ylellisyys- ja tuhlaushaluaan. Sota-aika oli porvariston kultaisen mahdollisuuden aika ja se löi jokaisen minuutin myntiksi.

Jos palkat eivät olisi kohonneet, niin kuka hyvänsä käsittää mikä vaikutus rajoitetulla tuotannolla ja siitä johtuvalla markkinatilanteella olisi ollut työläisiin ja heidän elintasoonsa nähden. Palkkojen täytyi kohota ja kohosivat *vasta sitten kun tavaroiden hinnat tekivät sen välttämättömäksi.* Milloin hyvänsä sodan aikana tehtiin palkankorotusvaatimus, *perustui se aina jollekin ennemmin tapahtuneelle nousulle tavaroiden hinnoissa, vuokrissa j. n. e.,* joka jo sinänsä *osoittaa, että korkeat palkat eivät aiheuttaneet korkeita hintoja,* vaan päinvastoin, *aiheutuivat korkeista hinnoista.*

Jos tämä aika olisi kestänyt kauemmin, niin olisi tapahtunut normaalihintoihin paluu, josta olisi seurannut se, että työläiset olisivat luoneet uuden ja parannetun elintason. Mutta kapitalistit päättivät ei ainoastaan ehkäistä vanhan, tavanmukaisen elintason kohoamista, vaan laskea sitä.

"Amerikalainen ohjelma."

Sillä jokainen parannus minkä työläiset saavat elintasoonsa, voimistuttaa työväenluokan asemaa ja heikontaa työnantajain. Kapitalistiluokka on täysin selvillä halvan työvoi-

man merkityksestä, sillä mitä alhaisempi elintaso sitä halvempi työvoima. Siksi toimivatkin kapitalistit yhdessä, tarkoituksella alentaa työläisten elintasoa. Tämä liike tunnetaan eri nimillä, sellaisilla kuin "amerikalaisuus", "amerikalainen ohjelma" ja "avoin työmaaliike". Se on hyvin järjestetty, hyvin rahastettu ja hyvin johdettu. Tämä liike on onnistunut jossakin määrässä, johtuen siitä, että työläiset ovat uskoneet siihen harhaoppiin, että korkeat hinnat johtuvat korkeista palkoista. Samassa määrässä kuin työläiset ovat uskoneet tähän harhaoppiin, ovat he kieltäytyneet vastustamasta elintasonsa alentamista hyväksymällä palkkojen alennukset. Mutta pääsyy on siinä, että lukuisat ammattiuniot ovat jakaneet heidät siinä määrässä, etteivät ole kyenneet välttämään keskinäistä kilpailua ja muodostamaan yhteistä rintamaa kapitalisteja vastaan.

"*Millä tuotteen hinnat määritellään?*" kysyy Marx kirjassaan "Palkka, Työ ja Pääoma", vastaten sitten omaan kysymykseensä seuraavasti:

"Myyjäin ja ostajain välisellä kilpailulla ja tarjonnan ja kysynnän kilpailulla. Ja tämä kilpailu, jolla tavaran hinta määritellään, on kolmijaksoinen.

"Useat myyjät tarjoavat samaa tuotetta. Se, joka tarjoaa ostajille edullisimmat ehdot, sysää toiset myyjät näyttämöltä, kyeten siten myymään enimmän. Näinollen taistelevat myyjät keskenään markkinoista ja siitä kuka saa myydyksi. Jokainen haluaa myydä, tehden parhaansa saadakseen myydyksi paljon ja jos mahdollista, päästä ainoaksi myyjäksi. Siis jokainen tarjoaa halvemmalla kuin toinen ja *myyjäin kesken syntyy kilpailu,* joka alentaa tarjoamiensa tavarain hintaa.

"Lopuksi, ostajien ja myyjäin kesken on kilpailu; yksi haluaa ostaa mahdollisimman halvalla ja toinen myydä mahdollisimman korkeasta hinnasta. Ostajain ja myyjäin välisen kilpailun lopputuloksen ratkaisee ne kaksi edellistä kilpailun muotoa, s. t. s. *kumpain kesken kilpailu on kiivaampi, ostajain vaiko myyjäin?* Täten kaupanteko tuo esiin kaksi vastakkaista armeijaa ja kummassakin on nähtävissä kilpailua omissa riveissä, omien sotilaiden keskuudessa. *Se armeija, jossa on vähemmän sisäistä taistelua saavuttaa voiton vastustajastaan.*"

Kysymyksiä.

1. Onko esineen arvon ja hinnan välillä eroa?
2. Mikä määrää tavaran hinnan?
3. Onko hintojen kohottava palkkojen kohotessa? Miksi?
4. Mikä oli perussyynä korkeille hinnoille sodan aikana ja heti sitä seuranneena aikana?
5. Mikä tarkoitus "avoin työmaataistelulla" on?
6. Avustavatko ammattiuniot avoimen työmaan puolesta taistelevia? Kuinka?
7. Osoita tavaran myyjäin kesken olevan kilpailun seuraus. Kohdista se työvoimaan.
8. Mitä "ostajan ja myyjän välisellä kilpailulla" tarkoitetaan?
9. Mitä "tarjonnalla ja kysynnällä" tarkoitetaan?
10. Voitko kohdistaa Marxin kuvauksen "vastakkaisista armeijoista" työläisiin? Kuinka?

KUUDES LUKU.

Hintojen määrääjä.

Työläisille maksettu palkka ei vaikuta tavaroiden hintoihin. Se tahtoo sanoa, että korkeat palkat eivät aiheuta korkeita hintoja, eivätkä alhaiset palkat taas alenna hintoja. Tarjonnan ja kysynnän suhde on tärkeänä tekijänä hintoihin nähden.

Jos markkinoilla olisi 100 tonnia hiiltä myytävänä ja 1,000 ihmistä, kukin haluten ostaa yhden tonnin, niin näiden tuhannen ihmisen keskinäinen kilpailu kohottaisi hiilen hintaa ja jos ilma olisi kylmä, niin hiilenmyyjät voisivat kiskoa paljon enemmän kuin jos ilma olisi lauhkea. Kylmä ilma lisäisi kilpailua, sillä jokainen olisi pakoitettu yrittämään enemmän saadakseen hiiltä. Mutta jos ilma olisi lauhkea, niin hiilentarve ei olisi niin suuri ja ne jotka tarvitsisivat sitä, voisivat lykätä oston päivän kaksi tuonnemmaksi siinä toivossa, että markkinasuhteet olisivat sitten suotuisammat — kilpailu ostajain kesken ei olisi niin suuri, joten hinnat eivät olisi niin korkeat.

Mutta jos markkinoilla löytyisi 1,000 tonnia hiiliä ja 100 ostajaa, niin kilpailu tapahtuisi hiilen myyjäin kesken ja hinnat laskisivat. Tässäkään ei hiilen arvossa ole tapahtunut muutosta, vaan ainoastaan markkinasuhteet ovat aikaansaaneet hinnanlaskun.

Jos hinnat pysyvät jonkun aikaa yläpuolella arvon, niin tulee aika joka korvaa sen, nimittäin että hinnat ovat alapuolella arvon. Mutta ottamalla huomioon hintojen vaihtelun ylä- ja alapuolella arvon ja keskimäärän, niin näemme tavarat myytävän arvoistaan — arvo ja hinnat ovat tavallisesti vastaavat.

Koska jokaisen kapitalistisen liikkeen tarkoituksena on tehdä voittoa, joka voidaan saada ainoastaan vaihdossa, niin täytyy olla arvon määrääjä jonka perusteella tavarat vaihdetaan. Tämän, kuten olemme maininneet, määrää se välttämättömän yhteiskunnallisen työajan määrä, joka on käytetty niiden valmistamiseen. Kuten olemme nähneet, jakautuu tämä työaika kahteen osaan — korvattu työaika ja korvaamatta jäänyt työaika.

Korkeat palkat eivät kohota hintoja.

Ottakaamme kuvio A esittämään päivän työaikaa. Jakakaamme se kymmeneen osaan, kukin osa esittäen yhtä työtuntia. B osoittaa niitä kolmea tuntia jonka olemme olettaneet tarvittavan sen arvomäärän tuottamiseen, joka vastaa työläisen päiväpalkkaa.

A

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
			B						

Jos työläisen yhden päivän työvoima vastaa sitä välttämätöntä yhteiskunnallista työaikamäärää, joka tarvitaan yhden tavaran valmistamiseen, niin tämä tavara vaihdetaan toisiin tavaroihin, jotka sisältävät saman määrän työaikaa. Osasta (3 tuntia) tätä työaikaa on maksettu ja osasta (7 tuntia) ei ole maksettu. Nyt, jos työläisen palkka kohotetaan kolmesta neljään dollariin päivältä, niin tarvitaan yksi tunti enemmän, eli neljä tuntia hänen työajasta uutta palkkaansa vastaavien arvojen tuottamiseen. Se tahtoo sanoa, että hänelle

maksetaan nyt neljästä tunnista ja maksamattoman työajan ollessa tunnin lyhemmän, jää työnantajalle se määrä vähemmän arvoja. Mutta tavaran tuottaminen vaatii edelleen kymmenen työtuntia ja markkinoilla se vaihdetaan ainoastaan sen perusteella. Työnantaja ei voi kohottaa sen hintaa, sillä markkinalaki pakoittaa hänet kuuliaisuuteen ja ne joilla on muita tavaroita, kieltäytyvät tekemästä kauppaa hänen kanssaan jos ei noudata vaihdon lakia. Mitään sellaista ei ole tapahtunut, joka olisi muuttanut tämän tavaran suhdetta muihin tavaroihin nähden. Se mikä on tapahtunut on, että maksettu työaika on lisääntynyt ja maksamaton työaika on vähentynyt. Työnantajan menettäessä sen minkä työläinen luo yhdessä tunnissa, niin on luonnollista, että hän koettaa saada työläisen siihen luuloon, että korkea palkka on paha asia; että se kohottaa tuotteiden hintaa. Mutta jos pysähdymme ajattelemaan asiaa, niin käy selville, että työnantaja ei vastustaisi korkean palkan maksamista muuta kuin yhdestä syystä ja se on, että se merkitsee hänelle pienempää voittoa. Jos hän voisi korvata itselleen korkean palkanmaksun kiskomalla korkeampaa hintaa tavaroista, niin ei hän taistelisi palkankorotusta vastaan, mutta kun hän ei voi tehdä sitä, niin siksi taistelee hän niin katkerasti palkankorotusta vastaan. *Korkeat palkat eivät aiheuta korkeita hintoja.* Kun kapitalistit sanovat että niin on asianlaita, niin se mitä he todellisuudessa tarkoittavat on, että *ne aiheuttavat pienempiä voittoja* ja siksi vastustavat niitä niin peräänantamattomasti.

Palkkojen alennus ei alenna hintoja.

Jos työläisen palkka lasketaan kolmesta kahteen dollariin, niin hinnat eivät laske siksi, että kuten edellisessäkin tapauksessa, tavaran tuottamiseen tarvittavassa aikamäärässä ei ole tapahtunut muutosta. Työläiselle maksetaan nyt ainoastaan kahdesta työtunnista ja tulokset kahdeksasta työtunnista menevät työnantajalle. Näin ollen työnantaja olisi entistä paremmassa asemassa ja hän asettaisi tuotteen markkinoille niinkuin ennenkin ja vaihtaisi hän sen enemmästä kuin mitä sen arvo on ja vähemmästä jos täytyy. Mutta työläisen palkalla ei ole sen enempää tekemistä hinnan kanssa kuin elohopealla on tekemistä ilman kanssa.

Jos tavara myydään kymmenellä dollarilla ja työläisen palkka kohoaa kolmesta neljään dollariin, niin jää työnantajalle yksi dollari vähemmän voittoa. Tavara myydään edelleen kymmenellä dollarilla, sillä siinä joka määrää sen arvon — työajassa — ei ole tapahtunut mitään muutosta. Mutta työnantaja ei pidä hintojen laskemisesta ja huutaa hän korkeista hinnoista niinkuin olisi joskus tyytynyt vähempään kuin mitä suinkin kykeni saamaan.

Se mitä työnantaja haluaisi tehdä, jos markkinat sallisivat, on se, että kohottaisi tavaran hintaa siinä määrässä, että saisi sen määrän voittoa kuin ennenkin. Kun hän ei voi tehdä tätä, niin koettaa hän seuraavaa käytettävissä olevaa keinoa — kehoittaa työläistä hyväksymään palkanalennuksen toisensa jälkeen, niin kauan kuin se on mahdollista. Katsokaapa avointyömaataistelua. Yliarvo on ainoa voitonlähde. Se on kapitalistin kaikkein pyhin. Yliarvoon koskemista pitää hän pyhänherjauksena. Hän taistelee katkerasti ja käyttää jokaisen voimahiukkasensa sen estämiseksi.

Kysynnän lisääntyminen kohottaa välillisesti hintoja.

Palkkojen kohotessa on työläisillä enemmän rahaa tuotteiden ostoon. Ensin ostavat he välttämättömät tarvikkeet ja sitten mitä haluavat. Täten muodostuneella lisääntyneellä kysynnällä on se vaikutus, että hinnat kohoavat väliaikaisesti. Väliaikaisesti näitä tavaroita myydään yli niiden hinnan. *Hintojen kohoaminen näyttää aiheutuneen kohonneista palkoista, vaikka se todellisuudessa johtuu lisääntyneestä kysynnästä, joka johtui työläisten lisääntyneestä ostokyvystä.* Hinnat eivät ole korkeat siksi, että palkat ovat kohonneet, vaan siksi, että työläiset ostavat enemmän. Korkeammat palkat kohottavat työläisen elintasoa. Jos tämä uusi taso säilyy pitemmän aikaa, niin muodostuu siitä vakiintunut taso. Mitä korkeampi työläisten elintaso, sitä kalliimpi työvoima ja pienempi voitto. Siinä syy miksi kapitalistiluokka vastustaa korkeita palkkoja.

Jo useiden vuosien aikana ennen sotaa olivat hinnat kohoamiseen päin, palkkojen pysyessä alhaisina. Joskin joidenkin tavaroiden hinnat, vaikkakaan ei kaikkien, kohosivat huomattavassa määrässä, niin kannattaa pitää mielessä, että tavaroiden keskinäinen suhde pysyi muuttumattomana —

hintojen kohoaminen oli melkein sama kaikkiin tavaroihin nähden. Niiden suhde kultaan oli muuttunut — tarvittiin enemmän kultaa vaihdettaessa niitä kultaan ja siis enemmän kultaa osoittamaan niiden suhdetta toisiinsa. Kullan arvo oli laskenut. Sillä välin kuin muita tavaroita vaihdettiin suurempaan kultamäärään, niin työvoima, johtuen työläisten välisestä kilpailusta, ei vaatinut arvoaan samassa määrässä ja työvoimaa muihin tavaroihin verrattuna myytiin alapuolella sen arvon — palkat olivat alhaiset. Hinnat kohosivat, mutta palkat kohosivat ainoastaan harvassa tapauksessa. *Korkeat palkat eivät kohottaneet näitä hintoja; kullan arvon aleneminen oli syypää hintojen nousuun.*

Mitä ovat "korkeat", "kohtuulliset" ja "alhaiset" palkat?

Kuulemme puhuttavan "korkeista", "kohtuullisista" ja "alhaisista" palkoista. Mitä niillä tarkoitetaan? Jotakin voidaan sanoa "korkeaksi", "kohtuulliseksi" ja "alhaiseksi" ainoastaan silloin kun sitä verrataan johonkin muuhun. Täytyy löytyä jokin jonka perusteella määrittely tehdään. Mikä se on joka määrää korkean palkan, kohtuullisen palkan ja alhaisen palkan? *Työläisten elintaso.*

Kun työläisen palkka edellyttää hänen elämään paremmin kuin vallitseva elintaso on, niin palkkaansa kutsutaan "korkeaksi". Kun työläisen saama palkka edellyttää hänelle elintason joka on suhteellinen vallitsevan elintason kanssa, niin kutsutaan sitä "kohtuulliseksi" palkaksi. Kun taas, jos saamansa palkka ei edellytä hänelle vallitsevaa elintasoa, niin kutsutaan sitä "alhaiseksi" palkaksi. Vallitseva elintaso on palkan mittaaja.

Palkalla on kolme ominaisuutta: *nimellispalkka, todellinen palkka ja suhteellispalkka.* Nimellispalkka on työvoimasta maksettu hinta joka määritellään rahassa, kuten $2.00, $5.00 tai $10.00 päivässä. *Todellinen* palkka edustaa sitä määrää tavaroita minkä työläinen kykenee ostamaan saamallaan nimellispalkalla. *Suhteellispalkka* edustaa työläisen saaman palkan suhdetta luomiinsa arvoihin; että jos hän luo työnantajalleen kymmenen dollarin edestä vaihto-

arvoa ja saa siitä kaksi dollaria, niin tarkoittaa se sitä, että hän saa palkaksi kaksikymmenettä osaa luomastaan kokonaisarvosta.

Kysymyksiä.

1. Määrääkö työläisen palkka hinnat? Selitä miksi.
2. Mikä on hintojen ja arvon välinen keskimääräinen suhde?
3. Voiko työnantaja korvata itselleen kohonneet palkat lisäämällä tämän määrän tavaran hintaan? Miksi?
4. Aiheuttaako lasku palkoissa laskun hinnoissa? Miksi?
5. Kuinka selostat kohonneista palkoista johtuneen väliaikaisen hintojen nousun?
6. Mitä tekemistä tarjonnalla ja kysynnällä on hintojen asetuksessa?
7. Kun tavarat säilyttävät keskinäiset suhteensa, mutta hinnat kohoavat siitä huolimatta, niin mitä on silloin tapahtunut?
8. Onko kulta arvon määrääjä vaiko sen ilmaisu?
9. Mitkä ovat palkan kolme eri ominaisuutta?
10. Milloin palkka on "korkea", "kohtuullinen" ja "alhainen"?
11. Mikä on nimellispalkka?
12. Mikä on todellinen palkka?
13. Mikä on suhteellispalkka?

SEITSEMÄS LUKU.

Elintaso.

Työvoiman vaihtoarvon määrääjänä ollessa työvoiman luomiseen tarvittava työaikamäärä, niin seuraa sitä, että itse tämän ajan määrää työläisen elintaso. Siksi, jos elintaso kohotetaan, niin tarvitaan enemmän aikaa sen vastikkeiden tuottamiseen ja jos elintasoa alennetaan, niin sitä tarvitaan vähemmän.

Sitä mukaa kuin tämä aika suurenee tai pienenee, niin sitä vastaavassa määrässä yliarvon määrä suurenee tai pie-

nenee. Tästä johtuu, että työläisten ja työnantajain välillä on jatkuva kamppailu. Työläisten pyrkimyksenä on saada elintasonsa kohotetuksi, kun työnantajain pyrkimys taas on päinvastainen — vastustaa työläisten elintason kohoamista ja silloin kun se vaan on mahdollista, saada se pakoitetuksi alemmalle tasolle. Sillä, kuten olemme nähneet, merkitsevät korkeammat palkat vähemmän voittoa työnantajalle — häviötä jossakin määrässä tarkoitusperälleen. Työnantaja harjoittaa liikettä voiton vuoksi ja niin kauan kuin se on mahdollista ei hän salli minkään ehkäistä itseään toteuttamasta tarkoitusperäänsä mahdollisimman täydellisesti.

Työläisen ja työnantajan välisessä suhteessa esiintyy kolme ilmiötä — palkka, työaika ja työsuhteet — ja oli mikä hyvänsä näistä kysymyksessä, niin työläisen ja työnantajan edut ovat jokaisessa tapauksessa täydellisesti vastakkaiset. Työnantaja puolustaa yliarvon määrää samoin kuin sen periaatetta. Hänen säilymisensä työnantajana riippuu siitä, että kykenee riistämään työtä menestyksellisesti. Yliarvo on korvaus kapitalistille omistuksestaan. Hänen menestyksensä mitataan sillä missä määrässä hän kykenee pakoittamaan työläiset kieltäytymään luomistaan arvoista — mitä suurempi yliarvon määrä sitä menestyksellisempi on työnantaja yrityksessään. Hän ei halua ainoastaan jotakin määrää voittoa, vaan niin paljon kuin suinkin voi saada.

Jos työläinen vaatii itselleen $2.00 palkankorotusta päivässä, niin työnantaja vastustaa vaatimusta. Työläinen taas seisoo vaatimuksensa takana. Siitä seuraa teollinen yhteentörmäys. Se puoli jolla on suurempi voima määrää lopulta josko vaatimus hyväksytään tai hyljätään. Jos työläiset ovat kyenneet liittämään voimansa yhteen niin voimakkaasti, että se vaikuttaa työnantajaan siinä määrässä, että hän näkee parhaaksi suostua tekemään myönnytyksen sensijaan että jatkaisi taistelua, niin tekee hän sen. Tässä ei ole kysymyksessä oikea ja väärä, vaan voima. Se puoli voittaa, jolla on voimakkaammat pataljoonat.

Jos taas työläiset eivät ole liittyneet yhteen siinä määrässä, että kykenisivät kontrolleeraamaan työvoimaansa, niin työnantaja voittaa. Viimeisen vuoden aikana ja ennemminkin ovat työläiset saaneet kärsiä tappion toisensa jälkeen, ollen nyt suuremmassa tai vähemmässä määrässä lyödyt ja

lannistetut. Ammattiuniot eivät ole kyenneet liittämään työläisiä yhteen riittävässä määrässä ja seurauksena siitä on ollut, että koko Amerikan työväenluokan elintasoa on alennettu. Tästä johtuu, että alkaa olla pyrkimystä laajakantoisempaan, teolliseen järjestäytymiseen.

Käyttäkäämme taas edellisessäkin luvussa käyttämäämme taulukkoa, osoittakaamme työläisen vaatiman $2.00 palkankorotusvaatimuksen merkitystä.

A

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
					B				

B-merkki, joka osoittaa tapahtuneen lisäyksen, tulisi siirretyksi 3 tunnin työtä osoittavasta merkistä 5:n merkkiin. Työläiselle maksettaisiin nyt $5.00 päivässä, jos oletamme edelleen, että työläisen työ luo $10.00 edestä arvoja kymmentuntisessa päivässä. Näin ollen saisi hän korvauksen 5:lle tunnille työajastaan, joten hän käyttäisi nyt ainoastaan 5 tuntia työpäivästään yliarvon luontiin työnantajalleen, jota vastoin hän ennen käytti 7 tuntia. Tämä tarkoittaisi sitä, että työnantaja menettäisi kahden tunnin arvot joka päivä jotka ennen menivät hänelle. Hän on taipuvainen taistelemaan. *Mutta hänen täytyy saada työläisiltä se voima jolla taistella.* Luonnollisesti hän tervehtii mielihyvällä hajaannusta työläisten riveissä ja *se on hänen etujensa mukaista, että työläiset pysyvät hajanaisina.* Huomattava erä hänen menoistaan menee juuri tällaisen tilanteen ylläpitämiseen työläisten keskuudessa. Jos hän ei kykene saamaan työläisiä pitämään laitostaan käynnissä tai viemään liikettä eteenpäin, niin hän itse ei kykenisi taistelemaan suurellakaan voitonmahdollisuudella. Hän luottaa siihen, että saa apunsa työväenluokassa tapahtuvasta kilpailusta, kyetäkseen sillä vastustamaan työläistensä, tai osan, asettamia palkka- tai muita vaatimuksia. Niin kauan kuin työläiset kilpailevat keskenään niistä työpaikoista joita hän (työnantaja) kontrolleeraa, on hän tyytyväinen. Hän ei salli tulevansa häiritykseksi sillä ajatuksella, että työläiset lakkaavat taistelemasta keskenään ja yhdistävät voimansa sysätäkseen hänet valtaistuimeltaan. Hän tietää, että työläisten on tultava tietoisiksi — *että ovat itse syypäät häviöihinsä.*

Koska työnantaja on kokonaan riippuvainen siitä, että työläisten rivit ovat hajanaiset, niin pyrkii hän ylläpitämään tätä tilannetta. Hän palkkaa ilmiantajia ja urkkijoita, avustaa uutistoimistoja, järjestää lakonrikkurijoukkoja, kasvattaa kansallis- ja rotukilpailua ja kaikkea joka vaan jakaa työläisten rivit.

Ehkä tämä avustaa meitä saamaan paremman käsityksen niistä unioista *jotka muodostavat* A. F. of L:n. Nämä uniot ovat pitäneet työläisten rivit hajanaisina ja tekevät sen edelleenkin. Kontrolleeraamalla näitä unioita ovat kapitalistit kerta toisensa jälkeen kyenneet lyömään takaisin työläiset. Nämä uniot ovat olleet suuremmasta merkityksestä kuin rikkuri- ja pyssyhurtta-armeijat. Nämä uniot ovat särkeneet lakon toisensa jälkeen ja ilman kustannuksia, lukuunottamatta (verrattain) pieniä eriä joita on viisaasti jaettu vaikutusvaltaisiin paikkoihin. Varmuudella voidaan sanoa, että mikäli palvelus kapitalistiluokalle tulee kysymykseen, niin on ammattiunionismi edellä kaikkia muita kapitalismin laitoksia. Järjestöinä muodostavat ne järjestetyn työväenluokan hajoitusvoiman. Niin kauan kuin ne ovat olemassa, on kilpailun poistaminen työläisten keskuudessa vaikuttavassa määrässä mahdottomuus. Ainoastaan työläiset kykenevät saattamaan lakossa olevat ryhmät häviöön ja ammattiuniot ovat aina valmiina joko varustamassa tahi avustamassa tätä toimintaa. *Milloin hyvänsä työläiset ovt lakonalaisessa laitoksessa, avustavat he kapitalistisia tarkoitusperiä.* Tältä kannalta katsoen voidaan sanoa ja todistaa, että ammattiunio on kapitalistinen laitos ja työväenluokan vihollinen.

Työaika.

Nyt, jos työläinen $2.00 palkankorotuksen asemasta koettaisi saada kahden tunnin lyhennyksen työpäiväänsä, niin taistelisi työnantaja tätä vastaan yhtä ankarasti kuin hän taisteli palkankorotusta vastaan ja samasta syystä — se vähentäisi yliarvon määrää. Jos käytämme samanlaista kuviota kuin olemme käyttäneet, niin esittää se kymmentuntista työpäivää.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		

Mutta uusi työpäivä on ainoastaan 8-tuntinen ja työläisen palkan ollessa sama kuin ennenkin, niin käyttää hän nyt 2 tuntia vähemmän työaikaa niiden arvojen luomiseen, joista ei saa korvausta — työantaja jää vaille näiden kahden tunnin hyötyä jotka ennen menivät hänelle yliarvon muodossa. Tätä hän ei hyväksy. Hän kutsuu työläisen saavutusta rosvoukseksi ja väittää maksavansa kymmenen tunnin palkan kahdeksan tunnin työstä. Työläinen on taipuvainen uskomaan, että tämä väite on oikea — että hän saa kymmenen tunnin palkan kahdeksan tunnin työstä. Hän saa suurempaa palkkaa nimellisesti ja suhteellisesti. Josko todellinen palkkansa on suurempi riippuu palkkansa ostokyvystä. Hän saa suuremman tuntipalkan ja on siis siinä määrässä parantanut asemaansa — hän on kohottanut tuntipalkkaansa 7 ja puoli senttiä tunnilta. Sen sijaan, että hän saisi kymmenen tunnin palkan kahdeksan tunnin työstä, saa hän nyt palkkaa kolmelta tunnilta kahdeksasta, jota vastoin hän ennen sai kolmelta kymmenestä. Työnantajalle taas jää nyt ainoastaan 5 tuntia kahdeksan tunnin päivästä, kun hän ennen sai 7 tuntia kymmenestä. Tämä on se muutos josta työnantaja ei pidä, eikä halua tottua siihen jos vaan suinkin voi välttää sen.

Työtuntien vähentäminen ei vaikuta palkkaan, sillä työvoiman (eli työläisen) tuottaminen 8-tuntista työpäivää varten maksaa yhtä paljon kuin 10-tuntistakin varten, joten työvoimansa vaihtoarvoon ei ole koskettu, vaan ainoastaan yliarvoon — voittomäärä on vähentynyt. Tämä on työ:läisen hyöty ja työnantajan häviö.

Työpäivän lyhentämisellä on myös se vaikutus, että useammalle työläiselle tulee tilaisuus saada työtä ja siinä määrässä kuin tätä tapahtuu, vähentyy heidän keskinäinen kilpailu. Tämäkin seuraus on epämieluinen työnantajalle, sillä se saattaa työläiset yhä edullisempaan asemaan, josta voivat tehdä uuden hyökkäyksen hänen (työnantajan) yliarvoa vastaan.

Parantaakseen työoloja, on työantajan myös luovuttava osasta yliarvoa, tai saatava se jostakin edullisemmasta kiinnityksestä. Tätä hän ei halua tehdä ja niin syntyy uusi yhteenotto työläisten ja hänen välillään. Sillä työnantaja

luopuu voitosta yhtä vastenmielisesti kuin oikeasta silmästään.

Työmaalla työnantajan ja työläisen edut ovat aina vastakkaiset. Heidän välillään ei voi olla rauhaa. Luokkataistelu jatkuu siksi kunnes joko työläiset ovat lannistetut tai työnantajat poistetut. Jokainen saavutus yhdelle merkitsee menetystä toiselle.

Työnantajain etu vaatii hajanaista työväenluokkaa — työläisten etu vaatii yhtenäistä työväenluokkaa. Työnantajat ja työläisten keskuudessa olevat työnantajain asiamiehet vihaavat I. W. W:tä. I. W. W. edustaa ja pyrkii toteuttamaan työväenluokan yhtenäisyyttä.

Kysymyksiä.

1. Mitkä ovat ne merkitykselliset seikat työläisen ja työnantajan välisissä suhteissa?
2. Ovatko heidän etunsa yhtäläiset näissä?
3. Mikä vaikutus palkankorotuksella on työnantajan voittoon?
4. Mikä vaikutus päivänlyhennyksellä on työnantajan voittoon?
5. Ratkaistaanko lakot oikeuskäsitteiden perusteella? Kuinka ne ratkaistaan?
6. Haluaako työnantaja että työläiset yhtyisivät? Miksi?
7. Mitä voisi tapahtua jos työläiset olisivat tiiviisti yhteenliittyneitä?
8. Saattaako työnantaja työläiset häviölle lakossa? Kutka tekevät sen?
9. Pyrkiikö työnantaja ylläpitämään hajaannusta työläisten keskuudessa? Mitkä ovat jotkut niistä menettelytavoista joita hän käyttää?
10. Jos työpäivää lyhennetään kymmentuntisesta kahdeksantuntiseksi eikä palkkaa alenneta, niin saako työläinen palkan kymmenestä tunnista? Selosta mitä tapahtuu.
11. Selosta työläisen elintason merkitystä.

KAHDEKSAS LUKU.

Urakka- (kappale-) työ.

Sen lisäksi, että kapitalisti palkkaa työläisen tunti-, päivä- tai viikkopalkalla, palkkaa hän hänet myöskin urakka- (kappale-) työhön. Urakkatyöjärjestelmän mukaan maksetaan työläisille vissi rahapalkka vissin tehtävän suorituksesta: tukkien sahuusta, halkojen hakkuusta, niittaamisesta, ojankaivamisesta, jonkun kappaleen valamisesta j. n. e. — samalla kun vaaditaan, että työn täytyy olla määrätynlaista laadultaan, s. t. s., että kaivaustyön täytyy olla niin suuri kuin ehdoissa määrättiin, valauksen täytyy olla kelpoinen j. n. e. Työnantaja ei maksa huonosta työstä, joten työläisen täytyy tehdä sellaista työtä että se kelpaa. Jäävätystä työstä työläinen ei saa maksua ja "ala-arvoisesta" hän saa vähemmän kuin sen mikä sopimuksessa määrättiin. Siksi yrittää hän tehdä "hyvää työtä." Aikatyöläisen ja urakkatyöntekijän välinen ero on siinä, että *ensinmainittu saa palkan siitä ajasta jonka hän kuluttaa työssä, kun taas jälkimäinen saa paikan siitä määrästä työtä minkä hän suorittaa,* jonka täytyy laatuunsa nähden täyttää etukäteen sovitut ehdot.

Sanokaamme, että John Smith menee luomaan ojaa saaden $3 kahdeksantuntisesta päivästä. Hän luo keskimäärin kaksi 10-jalan mittaista kappaletta, eli 20 jalkaa päivässä.

Jos työnantaja sanoo hänelle: "John, tästälähtien maksan sinulle 15 senttiä jalalta tästä ojan kaivamisesta" ja Smith hyväksyy tarjouksen. Tästä lähtien saamme kuulla Smithin, jos hän ei ole tavallisuuden yläpuolella, tuumailevan tähän tapaan: "Nyt teen työtä itselleni. Mitä enemmän teen, sitä enemmän ansaitsen. Ja niin John Smith, nyt sitä aletaan tekemään parempaa palkkaa." Sinä iltana John mittaa luomansa ojan ja huomaa kaivneensa 30 jalkaa, joten hän on ansainnut $4.50. Hän tuntee itsensä ylpeäksi, sillä onhan hän ansainnut $1.50 enemmän kuin ennen. Hän päättää ponnistaa vieläkin enemmän. Työnantaja, joka on alkujaan ottanut ojan kaivamisen 30:llä sentillä jalalta, on lisännyt tulojaan Smithin työstä samassa määrässä kuin Smithkin — hän saa nyt Smithin päivätyöstä $4.50, kuin

hän silloin sai ainoastaan $3.00 kun Smith teki työtä päiväpalkalla, kaivaen ainoastaan 20 jalkaa päivässä.

Mutta Smith ponnistaa edelleen, kunnes hän viimein kaivaa 40 jalkaa päivässä, josta saa $6.00, lisäten työnantajan tuloa suhteellisesti. Smith tuumailee tekevänsä hyvin ja työnantajan pitäisi ajatella samoin. Mutta näin ei kuitenkaan ole asianlaita. Vaikka voittonsa onkin kaksinkertaistunut, niin tuntuu työnantajasta siltä, että Smith, joka "ansaitsee kaksi kertaa sen määrän mikä on tavallinen ojankaivajan palkka", saa liian paljon. Ja niin hän menee Smithin luokse ja sanoo ei voivansa enää maksaa 15 senttiä jalalta. Hän tarjoaa 10 senttiä jalalta, "parhaansa mitä voi maksaa". Hän puhelee Smithille, että sellainen hyvä ojankaivaja kuin hän on, voi ansaita hyvin tälläkin hinnalla. Smith suostuu alennukseen ja alkaa lisätyllä nopeudella yrittämään ansaita suunnilleen yhtä paljon kuin ansaitsi saadessaan korkeamman hinnan jalalta. Hän kaivoi 50 jalkaa päivässä. Äärimmäisillä ponnistuksillaan ansaitsee hän $5.00 päivässä. Kun työnantaja esittää uutta palkanalennusta, niin on Smith lomanottotuulella. Työnantaja palkkaa Jonesin kaivamaan ojaa "tavallisella ojankaivajan palkalla", mutta vaatii, että Jonesin on kaivettava keskimäärin 35 jalkaa ojaa päivässä. Työnantaja ajattelee, että Jonesin pitäisi kyetä kaivamaan tämä määrä, koska Smith kykeni kaivamaan 50 jalkaa päivässä. Tällä tavalla käytetään urakkatyötä nopeuden määrääjänä teollisuudessa.

Marx sanoo urakkatyöstä: "Urakkapalkalla kykenee työnantaja mittaamaan työnopeuden täsmälleen", sekä jatkaa: "koska itse palkka kontrolleeraa työn laadun ja nopeuden, niin käy peräänkatsominen suurelta osalta tarpeettomaksi."

Kun Smith loi ojaa urakka- (jalka-) maksulla, niin ei hän tarvinnut peräänkatsojaa ohjaamassa ja kiihoittamassa. Hän asetti itse määränsä sen mukaan minkä verran hän suunnitteli tehdä—hän oli itse kiihoittajana.

Urakkatyöläinen ei kiinnitä huomiotaan lyhempään tai pitempään työpäivään, sillä työnsä määrä, eikä päivän pituus, on määrääjänä palkalleen. Tunti eli pari enemmän taikka vähemmän on merkityksestä ainoastaan siihen määrään nähden minkä hän on asettanut itselleen päivän urakaksi. Pitkä päivä tai lyhyt päivä on merkityksellinen siinä

tapauksessa jos hän on kyennyt toteuttamaan tämän tai ei. Lainatkaamme taas Marxia: "Kun työ annetaan työläiselle urakalla, *niin on se luonnollisesti työläisen henkilökohtaiseksi eduksi ponnistaa mahdollisimman paljon; tämä edellyttää kapitalistin kohottamaan keskimääräistä työnopeutta paljon helpommin.* Edelleen on se työläisen *henkilökohtaisen edun mukaista pidentää työpäivää,* koska hän sillä lisää päivä- tai viikkopalkkaansa."

Urakkatyöjärjestelmä saa aikaan työkiihkon työmaalla. Kuten Marx eräässä toisessa paikassa sanoo, se "on kapitalistisen tuotantojärjestelmän kanssa parhaiten sopusoinnussa oleva palkkaustapa."

Usein kapitalistit panevat urakkatyön voimaan joillakin työaloilla, joten työläiset kiirehtimällä ansaitsevat paljon suurempaa palkkaa (suhteellisesti) kuin päiväpalkalla työskentelevät työläiset saavat samasta työajasta. Tarkkojen laskelmien perusteella vissiltä ajalta asetetaan sille sellainen keskimäärä joka näillä työaloilla työskentelevien työläisten on saavutettava. Urakkatyö on menetelmä jonka avulla kapitalistit kykenevät määräämään kyvykkäimpien työläisten äärimmäisen tuottavaisuuden; asettamaan määrän kaikille, joka on vähän vähempi ja saamaan selville kykeneväisyyden.

Palkkio- (bonus-) järjestelmä.

On olmeassa eräs toisenlainenkin urakkatyöjärjestelmänmuoto, eli oikeammin lisäke sille, nimittäin palkkio- (bonus-) järjestelmä. Tavallisesti sitä harjoitetaan sillä tavalla, että työläisille maksetaan "palkkio" siitä minkä he tekevät yli sen määrän mikä on asetettu päivän, viikon tai kuukauden työksi, jonka avulla työläisiä kiihoitetaan ponnistamaan entistä enemmän. Olettakaamme, että esimerkiksi kaivosmiehen kuukautiseksi työksi asetetaan joku vissi määrä. Jos hän kaivaa yli tämän määrän, niin hänelle maksetaan joku summa jokaiselta jalalta minkä hän on kaivanut yli tämän asetetun määrän. Jos kaivosmiehet saadaan noudattamaan tätä, niin huomaavat he pian, että ovat lisänneet sitä työmäärää joka heidän on suoritettava kuukaudessa. Se ei ole muuta kuin yritys saada heidät lisäämään työnopeuttaan. Jos työläiset "lankeevat" tälle syötille, niin on

heidän työskenneltävä kovemmin kuin ennen säilyttääkseen työnsä.

Voitonjako; osakkeiden osto.

Voitonjako ja osakkeiden osto ovat myös keinoja joilla yritetään saada työläiset uutterammiksi ja huolellisemmiksi työmaalla. Tavallisesti näihin sisältyy lupaus jatkuvasta työstä. Senlisäksi, että näillä keinoilla yritetään saada työkiihkoa lisätyksi, on niiden tarkoitus samalla ehkäistä työrettelöitä. Kapitalistit ovat tulleet näkemään, että työrettelöt ovat kalliimpia eriä teollisuuksien käynnissäpidossa. Pankaa merkille, että *työvoimasta osankin vaihtuminen on huomattavin menoerä suurteollisuuden käynnissäpidossa.* On tärkeää saada työläiset käsittämään, että uuden ajan teollisuuden työvoiman *keskinäinen riippuvaisuus on kapitalistien heikoin kohta.* Kapitalistien täytyy aina pyrkiä pitämään työläisensä hajanaisina. Jos he onnistuvat tässä, niin ovat turvatut. Milloin vaan eivät kykene tekemään sitä, ovat he häviöllä. Jos uuden ajan teollisuuden työvoima olisi siinä määrässä järjestynyt, että kykenisi toimimaan yhtenäisesti ja lopettamaan työnsä, niin olisi mahdottomuus korvata sitä. Se ottaisi vuosia. Tässä ammattiuniot osoittavat erikoisesti käytännöllisyytensä kapitalisteille. Ne ehkäisevät tämän.

Perhe.

Voitonjaon ja osakkeiden myynnin lisäksi käyttävät kapitalistit myöskin sitä keinoa, että panevat perheellisiä miehiä tärkeimpiin tehtäviin. Suurissa teollisuuslaitoksissa alkaa tulla yleiseksi säännöksi, että otetaan työhön mahdollisimman paljon perheellisiä miehiä, joiden vastuunalainen asema tekee heidät alistuvaisiksi ja joiden yksilöllinen vastustuskyky on vähäisempi kuin perheettömäin miesten. Voitonjaon, osakkeiden myynnin, kotien rakentamisen ja kaikkien muiden keinojen tarkoituksena on sitoa työläiset työmaahan, erikoisesti ne jotka ovat tärkeimmissä tehtävissä. Kuviltelkaa Standard öljy-yhtiön puhdistuslaitoksella Whitingissä, Indianassa työskentelevää työläistä, jonka on "palkkioksi uskollisesta palveluksesta" "sallittu" ostaa osake tai pari, kuvittelevan itseään yhtä kiinnitetyksi ja samassa määrässä hyötyväksi Standard öljy-yhtiöstä kuin John D. Rocke-

fellerkin. Tällaiset työläiset ovat kapitalisteille samasta merkityksestä kuin uhkapelurien petettäväksi antautuneet. He pettävät työläistovereitaan, hyötymättä itse pettämisestään.

Todellinen työväenliike selostaa jäsenistölleen mitkä tarkoitusperät kannustavat kapitalisteja esittämään näitä työläisten pettämiskeinoja ja pyrkii siihen yhtenäisyyteen joka tekee työläisille mahdolliseksi ratkaista ne kysymykset jotka työläiset ainoastaan kykenevät ratkaisemaan, senjälkeen kun ovat ensin saavuttaneet solidarisuuden työläisinä — työväenluokan uniossa.

Kysymyksiä.

1. Mikä eroitus on urakkatyöllä ja päivätyöllä?
2. Kumpaa työnantaja paremmin haluaa?
3. Pyrkiikö urakkatyöläinen lyhentämään työpäivää? Miksi?
4. Työskenteleekö urakkatyöläinen kovemmin kuin päivätyöläinen? Miksi?
5. Mitä on palkkio- (bonus-) järjestelmä? Mikä vaikutus sillä on työläiseen?
6. Millä tavalla työnantaja hyötyy urakkatyöstä?
7. Mikä tarkoitus voitonjakamisella, osakemyynnillä ja kodinrakentamisella on?
8. Miksi perheelliset miehet asetetaan etutilalle suurissa teollisuuksissa?
9. Missä työnantaja on heikoin?
10. Siksikö hän pelkää teollisuusunionismia? Selitä.
11. Mikä tulee kalleimmaksi uudenajan teollisuudessa? Selitä.

YHDEKSÄS LUKU.

Uuden pääoman synty.

Kuinka uusi pääoma syntyy? Tämä kysymys on koko tärkeästä merkityksestä ja vaatii siis selitystä. Olemme nähneet, että työläisten ja työnantajain välinen suhde edellyttää työnantajalle oikeuden työn tuloksiin. Nämä sisältä-

vät yliarvoa. Tämä yliarvo on se josta uusi pääoma saa alkunsa.

Kun joku kapitalisti aikoo perustaa teollisuuslaitoksen, niin kutsuu hän luokseen jonkun joka on tuttu sillä alalla jolle hän haluaa antautua, sillä kapitalistin ei tarvitse välttämättömästi tietää hituistakaan siitä. Kaikki, liikkeenhoitajasta aina lattianlakaisijaan saakka, ovat palkkalaisia. Asiantuntijan johdon alaisena rakennetaan rakennus ja tarpeelliset koneet asetetaan paikoilleen. Samoin tuodaan öljyä, trasselia, ruuviavaimia, pultteja, muttereita y. m. s. koneiston kunnossapitämistä varten. Raaka-aineita tuodaan myös. Ainoa mitä laitoksessa enää tarvitaan on työvoima. Johtaja menee työmarkkinoille, tavallisesti asettamalla ilmoituksen "Työläisiä halutaan". Tavallisesti hän saakin niitä vaikeuksitta, laatu merkittynä ja kantaen hintalappua. Hän valikoi lupaavimmilta näyttävät tarvitsemistaan lajeista ja ryhtyy kokoamaan ja järjestämään työvoiman. Alkuvalmistus on suoritettu. Laitos voidaan nyt panna käyntiin.

Olemme jo osoittaneet miten yliarvon saanti tapahtuu ja että normaalivoitto saadaan vaihdossa. Olemme myöskin oppineet sen, että aika on perustana vaihdolle. Mutta kapitalistille "aika on rahaa", joten, ennenkuin menee markkinoille, laskee kapitalisti minkä verran tavara on tullut maksamaan.

Siis huomaamme, että työnantaja laskee hyvin tarkkaan minkä verran kone keskimäärin kuluu jokaista kappaletta kohti; minkä verran polttoaine eli voima tulee maksamaan; minkäverran öljy; minkä verran menee hukkaan j. n. e. samoinkuin työpalkan. Hän tietää sentin murto-osalle minkäverran jokaisen esineen tuottaminen on tullut maksamaan. Tämän hän asettaa perustaksi laskelmilleen. Olemassaolonsa säilyttäminen työnantajana vaatii, että hänen on myytävä yläpuolella tuotantokustannuksien.

Olettakaamme, että kapitalisti on laskenut tavaran tuottohinnaksi $5.00, muodostuen seuraavasti:

Yleiset menot	$1.50
Raaka-aineisiin	1.50
Palkkaan	2.00
	$5.00

Jos hän myy tavaran viidellä dollarilla, niin hän ei saa voittoa. Jos hän myy sen alle viiden dollarin, niin kärsii hän tappiota, eikä hän harjoita liikettä tappiokseen tai saadakseen juuri sen minkä on itse joutunut maksamaan. Näinollen tulee hän pidättämään tavaraansa niin kauan kuin suinkin voi ennenkuin myy halvemmalla tai sillä minkä se tuli hänelle maksamaan. Tavallisesti hänen ei tarvitse tehdä sitä, sillä hän saa siitä suunnilleen sen minkä arvoinen se on. Hän myy sen noin kymmenellä dollarilla ja saa siitä viisi dollaria enemmän kuin mitä sen tuottaminen tuli rahassa maksamaan. Yleiset menot on laskettu tarkalleen ja raaka-aineen hinnan määrää se minkä verran se määrä maksaa joka käytetään. Nämä yhteensä tekevät $3.00 ja siinä on kaikki siitä kymmenestä dollarista mitä niihin voidaan laskea menevän. Näin on työläisen työstä saatu $5.00 voittoa. Sitä ei voida saada mistään muusta. Työ on ainoa voiton lähde. Mutta koska tehtaassa valmistetaan monta kappaletta tavaraa päivässä, niin $5.00 kerrattuna sillä kuinka monta kappaletta tavaraa valmistetaan, osoittaa voiton määrän. Senjälkeen kun kapitalisti on varannut itselleen ja perheelleen sen mukaan mikä sopii hänen asemassaan olevalle, on vieläkin ylijäämä. Tästä ylijäämästä tehdään uutta pääomaa, jolla kapitalisti taas lisää ylijäämäänsä, josta sitte taas tehdään uutta pääomaa j. n. e.

Kuten Marx sattuvasti sanoo: "Vissillä työvoiman riistotehoisuudella tuotetun yliarvomäärän määrää se kuinka monta työläistä on samaan aikaan riistetty ja tämä taas riippuu, vaikkakin eriävällä suhteellisuudella, pääoman suuruudesta. Siis, mitä enemmän jatkuva kasaantuminen lisää pääomaa, sitä enemmän sen arvo lisääntyy."

Pääoman kasaantuminen.

Työläisen palkan eri ominaisuudet vaikuttavat uuden pääoman kasaantumiseen. Jos nimellis-, suhteellis- ja todellinen palkka nousee yhtaikaa, niin laskee yleinen voitto ja samassa määrässä kuin tämä tapahtuu vähenee se yliarvon määrä josta uusi pääoma muodostuu.

Mutta voi käydä siten että nimellis- (raha-) palkka ja todellinen (tarvike-) palkka kohoaisivat, mutta suhteellispalkka laskee samalla kertaa. Marx sanoo: "Jos kaupan ol-

lessa hyvän, palkat kohoaisivat viisi prosenttia ja voitot kohoaisivat kolmekymmentä prosenttia, niin suhteellispalkka ei ole kohonnut, vaan laskeutunut."

Jos esimerkiksi tavara, jonka hinta on ollut $10 ja josta on saatu $5 voittoa, myydään 30 prosentin korotetulla voitolla, niin tulisi sen hinta tällä uudella voitolla olemaan $11.50. Palkka, joka oli $2, tulisi viiden prosentin korotuksella olemaan $2.10. Tavara tulisi maksamaan $5.10, mutta voitto olisi $6.40. Suhteellispalkka, joka ennen oli 2-5, olisi nyt ainoastaan 1-3, eli 5-6 siitä mitä se oli.

Marx sanoo: "Tärkeänä tekijänä pääoman kasaantumisessa on yhteiskunnallisen työn tehoisuus.

"Työn tuottavaisuuden lisääntyessä lisääntyy tavaroiden määrä, jotka sisältävät arvoa ja siis yliarvoa. Niihin sisältyy vissi määrä yliarvoa. Yliarvon pysyessä ennallaan ja vaikka se laskisikin, jos se ei laske nopeammin kuin työn tuottavaisuus lisääntyy, niin ylituotanto lisääntyy Mutta työn halpenemisen käydessä käsi kädessä työn tuottavaisuuden lisääntymisen kanssa merkitsee suurempaa yliarvomäärää, silloinkin kun todellinen palkka kohoaa. Viimemainittu ei koskaan kohoa suhteellisesti työläisten tuottavaisuuden kanssa."

Todistuksen Marxin lausunnon paikkansapitäväisyydelle antaa se seikka, että siitä huolimatta vaikka työläisyksilöiden ja siis koko työväenluokan tuottavaisuus lisääntyy, johtuen lisääntyvästä tehoisampain koneiden käytäntöön ottamisesta, niin asemansa on silti yhteiskunnalliselta näkökannalta katsottuna suhteellisesti huonompi kuin silloin kun työnsä oli vähemmän tuottavaa. Työn tuottavaisuuden lisääntyessä vähenevät työnsaanti-mahdollisuudet.

Liikkuva työläinen.

Ottakaamme farmityöläinen. Hänen asemansa on omiaan kuvaamaan työväenluokan asemaa. Silloin kun maanviljelyksessä käytetyt työkalut olivat vähemmän tehoisat, sai farmityöläinen työtä vuoden ympäri, kykeni menemään avioliittoon ja nauttimaan jossakin määrässä kotielämän tapaisesta. Hänen ei tarvinnut muutella niinkuin tänäpäivänä, sillä työnsä oli vakinaisempaa. Tänäpäivänä hän on liikkuva työläinen, joka työskentelee ainoastaan aika-ajoittain

maanviljelyksessä ja muina aikoina muissa teollisuuksissa, tavallisesti yksinäinen ja koditon. Siitä huolimatta on tämä tämänpäivän farmityöläinen paljon tuottavaisempi kuin oli sen ajan farmityöläinen, jolloin käytettiin ainoastaan kokoilijalla varustettua viikatetta ja sidottiin käsin; jolloin puinnissa käytettiin varstoja ja puimakoneet käytettiin hevosvoimalla. Vaikka hän kyntää voimakoneen vetämällä auralla 25 tai 30 eekkeriä päivässä, niin on asemansa epävarmempi kuin silloin kuin hän kynti yksisiipisellä auralla kaksi ja puoli eekkeriä. Farmityöläisen suhteellispalkka on laskenut huomattavasti. Tehdastyöläisen suhteellispalkka on laskenut vieläkin enemmän, sillä konekehitys tehdasteollisuudessa on paljon edellä konekehityksestä maanviljelyksessä.

Silloin kun verrataan tämänpäivän nimellispalkkaa vuosikymmeniä sitten maksettuun nimellispalkkaan ja yritetään osoittaa, että työläiselle maksetaan paremmin kuin silloin, niin jätetään huomioonottamatta ne yhteiskunnalliset edellytykset jotka ovat seuranneet työläisten lisääntyneestä tuottavaisuudesta, josta työläiset eivät ole hyötyneet, ainakaan suhteellisesti. Vaikka tämänpäivän todellinen palkka olisi kohonnut suhteellisesti nimellispalkan kanssa, niin suhteellispalkka olisi silti laskenut, sillä pääoman kasvaessa täytyy yliarvon lisääntyä ja yliarvon lisääntyessä kasvaa työläisten ostokyvyn ja tuotteiden ylijäämän välinen eroavaisuus. *Työväenluokka kykenee ostamaan takaisin ainoastaan osan siitä mitä se tuottaa.*

Pääoma ja sijoitus.

Joutilaana on pääoma kuollutta. Se on saatava sijoitetuksi. Sen omistajat hakevat sille sijoituspaikkoja. Tämä pääoman kiihotin antaa uudenajan kapitalistisille hallituksille imperialistisen luonteen. Silloin kun huomaamme Yhdysvaltain hallituksen tekevän jonkun muutoksen jossakin kohdassa ulkomaapolitiikkaansa, jos haluamme päästä selville aiheuttavista syistä, niin huomaamme sen johtuvan kapitalistiluokkamme tarpeesta saada alue johon voi kiinnittää joutilasta pääomaa. Tämä antaa selityksen valtiodepartementin muuttuneeseen ulkomaapolitiikkaan; miksi hallitus koettaa saada Kiinalle "kohtuullista kohtelua" ja mik-

si se sekaantuu muiden maiden asioihin. Amerikan yliarvon määrä on kasvanut niin suureksi, että Yhdysvalloista on tullut ensimäisellä tilalla oleva velkoja-maa maailmassa. Sen merkitys on kohonnut Amerikan työläismiesten ja -naisten työstä. Sanoa kapitalisteistamme sitä, että ne ovat ovelampia kuin muiden maiden, on heidän kiittämistään jostakin sellaisesta josta eivät ansaitse kiitosta. Ne riistävät Amerikan työväenluokkaa enemmän kuin minkään muun maan kapitalistit riistävät maidensa työläisiä. On pidettävä mielessä, ettei tässä maassa, sen enempää kuin koko maailmassa, ole mitään merkityksestä olevaa paitsi se minkä työläiset ovat luoneet. *Se osa Amerikan työläisten tuottamista tuotteista josta Amerikan kapitalistit eivät antaneet työläisille minkäänlaista vastinetta on suurempi kuin missään muussa maassa.*

Amerikan työläiset huonoimmin palkittu.

Amerikan työläinen on alhaisinta suhteellispalkkaa nauttiva työläinen maailmassa. Tässä maassa, jossa maksetaan korkeampaa nimellis- ja todellista palkkaa kuin missään muualla, maksetaan pienempää suhteellispalkkaa kuin missään muussa maassa koko maapallolla. — Siksipä kapitalistiluokan Amerikan osa on maailman rikkain. Se on nyt niin rikas, että se suunnittelee koko maailman työläisten alistamista riistettäväkseen. Jos Yhdysvaltain ja Japanin välillä puhkeaa sota, niin ei se aiheudu siitä, että Californiassa on japanilaisia, vaan Japanin kiinnityksistä Kiinassa, Koreassa, Siperiassa tai jossakin muualla missä ne tulevat vastakkain Yhdysvaltain kapitalistien kiinnitysten kanssa.

Sellainen ajatus, että tämän maan kapitalistit tekisivät voittoa toinen toisiltaan, tai kilpailussa muiden maiden kapitalistien kanssa, on harhaluulo. Voitto saadaan ainoastaan palkkatyöstä.

Olettakaamme, että viisi henkilöä, jokaisella ollen $10,000 istuu korttipöytään. Pelattuaan yön, on yksi mies "puhdistanut" toiset neljä. Neljä miestä on rahattomana ja yhdellä on $50,000, mutta rahamäärä ei ole yön pelaamisen jälkeen lisääntynyt yhdelläkään dollarilla. Mutta jos nämä pelurit olisivat olleet yövuoron työssä teollisuudessa, niin olisivat he yön kuluessa lisänneet rikkautta ja siis myös voittoa.

Tässä ei ole kysymyksessä se josko kapitalisti tuhlaa, menettää tai kiinnittää yliarvonsa uudeksi pääomaksi, vaan siitä, *että voittoa saadaan ainoastaan palkkatyöstä riistetystä yliarvosta. Uudenajan uusi pääoma saadaan yliarvosta.*

Amalgamated kupariyhtiötä perustettaessa kerrottiin tehdyn $36,000,000 voitto "yhdessä yössä". Mitä todellisuudessa tapahtui oli se, että ne jotka rahastivat tämän yrityksen, ajattelivat saavansa tästä kiinnityksestä enemmän voittoa kuin muissa kiinnityksissä — että kuparikiinnitykset tekisivät mahdolliseksi riistää palkkatyöläisiä tässä määrässä. Se $36,000,000 ei ollut voittoa; *se oli osa siitä hinnasta joka maksettiin oikeudesta riistää niitä orjia jotka työskentelivät niillä kiinnityksillä, joihin tämä summa kiinnitettiin.* Don Ryan ja Con Kelly ja kaltaisensa ovat siitä saakka yrittäneet menestyä samalla tavalla ja tässä yrityksessä aiheuttaneet kaksi kallista kapinaa.

Mitä on pääoma?

Pääoma on missä muodossa hyvänsä olevaa rikkautta jota käytetään työn riistämiseen. Pääoma saadaan siitä työstä jota sen palveluksessa käytetään. Pääoma — yliarvo, lisää pääomaa, lisää yliarvoa j. n. e. Tämä on se riistoympyrä jossa työläinen käy heikommaksi ja avuttomammaksi.

Kysymyksiä.

1. Mistä uusi pääoma saadaan?
2. Missä suhteessa suhteellispalkka on uuteen pääomaan?
3. Selitä kuinka nimellis- ja todellinen palkka voivat nousta samalla kertaa kuin suhteellispalkka laskee.
4. Mikä on lisääntyneen tuottavaisuuden ja palkkatyöläisten aseman välinen suhde?
5. Selitä edellinen kysymys ottamalla esimerkiksi farmityöläinen tai joku muu työläinen.
6. Jos työläisen palkka vuonna 1914 oli $3 ja nyt $4, niin onko palkkansa kohonnut? Miksi?
7. Mikä on Amerikan työläisen palkan suhde muiden maiden työläisten palkkaan, (a) nimellis, (b) todelliseen ja (c) suhteellispalkkaan?
8. Mitä uudella pääomalla on tekemistä hallituksen ulkomaapolitiikan kanssa?

9. Voivatko kapitalistit saada voittoa toinen toisiltaan? Miksi ei?

10. Mikä seuraus siitä olisi työläisille jos uuden pääoman — yliarvon — saantilähde supistuisi?

KYMMENES LUKU.

Markkinalaki.

Hyvin laajalle levinneenä käsityksenä on se, että n. k. monopolit voivat asettaa ja kohottaa tavaroiden hintoja mielivaltaisesti; että esim. John D. Rockefeller korvaa lahjoituksensa johonkin hyväntekeväisyystarkoitukseen kohottamalla paloöljyn tai gasoliinin hintaa. Jos pysähdymme ajattelemaan sitä, niin näemme, että se olisi parempi Rockefellerille ettei hän tekisi lahjoitusta ennenkuin on kantanut tämän korvauksen johon hänellä sanotaan olevan valtaa. Tosiasia on ettei Rockefellerin ihmisystävällisyyden ja Standard öljy-yhtiön tuotteiden hintojen kohoamisella tarvitse olla muuta yhteyttä kuin kuvaava yhteensattuma.

Paniikit.

On totta, että Rockefellerin valta on suuri, liian suuri, mutta se ei ole niin suuri, että hän kykenisi syrjäyttämään markkinalait. ... Vaikka Standard öljy-yhtiö pyrkii saamaan täydellisen monopolin, niin ei sillä sitä vielä läheskään ole. Monopolia ei ole vielä millään alalla. Sellaisia suuria pääomayhtymiä kuin Standard öljy-yhtiö, ei ole saatu muodostetuksi markkinalakien vastustamisella, vaan niiden tiukalla noudattamisella ja niiden hallinnon alaisena.

Sellaisella olettamuksella tai väitteellä, että korporatsionien tahto on yläpuolella markkinalakien, että ne kykenevät määräämään tavaroiden hinnat, ei ole minkäänlaista pohjaa. Mitkään markkinoille menevät korporatsionit eivät määrää hintoja, vaan ovat markkinoiden määrättävissä. Korporatsionit ovat johdonmukaisia tuloksia kapitalistien kokemuksista markkinoilla, ollen muodostetut niiden lakien mukaisesti eikä vastoin niitä.

Kapitalistisen järjestelmän alkuaikoina, jolloin rajaton kilpailu oli vallalla ja ennen kuin vielä oli huomattu markkinoiden valtaamisen merkitys ja kehitetty keinot sitä varten, pyrki jokainen liike valtaamaan mahdollisimman suuren alan markkinoilla. Jokainen tehtailija harjoitti tuotantoa ottamatta huomioon muita samalla alalla olevia — kaikki ollen saman vaikuttimen kannustamina. Siitä oli seurauksena, että markkinat tulivat aika-ajoittain niin ahdetuiksi, että tehtailijat olivat pakoitetut vähentämään tuotantoa tai sulkemaan laitoksensa kokonaan.

Moni ei kyennyt odottamaan siksi kunnes tilanne markkinoilla olisi palautunut normaaliin ja kuluttanut tuotteitaan. He olivat yksilöllisten ja välittömäin tarpeiden puristamina, sillä he toimivat hyvin vähäisellä juoksevalla pääomalla ja joillakin ei ollut sitä ollenkaan, vaan olivat pakoitetut luottamaan tuotantoon vaikka kohta se merkitsi heille suurta vahinkoakin. "Välttämättömyys ei tunne lakia", ei edes markkinalakia. Tätä seuranneessa kilpailussa saada kipeästi tarvittuja varoja ei kiinnitetty huomiota arvoihin eikä yliarvoihin ja tavaroiden hintoja laskettiin paljon alapuolelle sen mitä ne tulivat maksamaan kapitalisteille. Ne olivat todella "alennusmyyntien" aikoja. Moni kapitalisti teki vararikon ja joutui palkkatyöläisten luokkaan.

Läksy.

Jokainen näistä pulakausista oli hyvänä läksynä jäljelle-jääneille kapitalisteille. He tulivat näkemään että kilpailu ei ollut kapitalistisen liike-elämän henki, vaan vaarallinen ja kuolemaa tuottava tilanne, joka on paras korjata. He eivät olleet huomioonottamatta näitä kokemuksia. He ryhtyivät poistamaan keskinäistä kilpailua niin paljon kuin se suinkin oli mahdollista. Näitä aikoja seurasi uudelleenjärjestely, joka teki mahdolliseksi uudemmille ja voimakkaammille kapitalistisille yhtymille paremmin kestää täyttyneistä markkinoista johtuvien pulakausien vaikeudet, joita tulee esille niin kauan kuin yliarvoa riistetään palkkatyöläisluokan työstä. Lisäksi nämä tehokkaammat ryhmät kykenivät pulakausien aikana hyötymään heikommista kapitalisteista.

Näiden omaisuusyhtymien kasvaessa huomattiin edulli-

seksi jakaa hallinto. Otettiin käytäntöön departementtihallintojärjestelmät, joiden hallintojen tehtävänä oli hoitaa läheisissä suhteissa olevia prosesseja ja muiden muassa muodostettiin yksi sellainen jonka tehtäväksi tuli pitää silmällä maailman kauppasuhteita ja siis hankkia sellaisia tietoja joita liike tarvitsee, että niitä tavaroita joita se tuottaa on aina käsillä suunnilleen se määrä kuin on kysyntää. Tällainen menettely tarkoittaa saada hankinta vastaamaan kysyntää.

Tämä suurempain kapitalistien menettely oli esimerkiksi pienemmille kapitalisteille, mutta kun yksilöinä tällaisiin toimenpiteisiin ryhtyminen olisi ollut liian suuri yritys, niin antoivat he määräyksensä kansalliselle hallitukselleen ja niin syntyi Yhdysvaltain konsulijärjestelmä.

Konsulijärjestelmän merkitys.

Hallituksen konsulijärjestelmän kautta saavat tehtailijamme tietoja siitä missä maailmanosassa sitä tai tätä lajia tavaraa tarvitaan ja kuinka paljon. He saavat myös tietää mitä muiden maiden kapitalistit toimivat ulkomaiden ja kotimaisiin markkinoihin nähden, joten ovat paljon edullisemmassa asemassa maailman kauppaan nähden kuin mitä varhaisempain aikain kapitalistit olivat. Tämänpäivän tehtailijat kykenevät paljon paremmin arvioimaan kysynnän ja säännöstelemään tuotannon sen mukaan. Tämä edellyttää heidät myymään tavaransa todellisesta arvosta, tai läheltä sitä.

Jos Standard öljy-yhtiön, tai jonkun muun kapitalistisen yhtymän tahto kykenisi syrjäyttämään markkinalait, niin hävittäisi se automaattisesti markkinat — markkinoita ei olisi. Vallankumoustilanne olisi luotu. Muuta ratkaisumahdollisuutta ei olisi, sillä olisi olemassa vastustamaton voima. Se harvainvalta, johon kapitalismi pyrkii olisi silloin toteutettu. Tällainen ei ole tilanne eikä tule koskaan olemaan. Yhteiskunnallisen lain säännöt ovat muuttamattomat, ehkäisten tämän täytäntöönpanon.

Yksi säännöstelijä.

Mutta olettakaamme, että Rockefeller päättäisi kohottaa öljyn hintaa mielivaltaisesti, voisiko hän tehdä sen? Rocke-

feller harjoittaa liikettä voiton vuoksi. Hänen voittomääränsä riippuu siitä minkäverran saa myydyksi. Jos hän kohottaa öljyn tai gasoliinin hintaa yläpuolelle näiden arvon, niin myynti laskee. Kun öljy on halpaa, niin ne jotka käyttävät öljyä, alkavat aamulla tai illalla tulen öljyllä; he eivät ole niin tarkkoja vaikka polttavat öljyä tunnin enemmän illalla. Mutta jos sen hinta kohoaa, niin alkavat he käyttämään sitä säästäväisemmin. Kun otamme huomioon sen määrän joka polttaa öljyä, niin vähäinenkin säästäminen jokaisen taholta tekee yhteensä paljon, vähentäen tuntuvasti Rockefellerin myyntiä. Jos Rockefeller huomaamattaan kohottaisi hintaa vieläkin korkeammalle, niin sensijaan, että polttaisivat öljyä, alkaisi moni polttamaan jotakin muuta, esimerkiksi kynttilöitä. Rockefeller tietää, ettei hän voi hyötyä vähentämällä ostajamäärää, vaan lisäämällä sitä. Jos hän kohottaa gasoliinin hintaa, niin ne joilla on auto käyttäisivät sitä vähemmän ja jos sen hinta kohoaisi liian korkealle, niin he pitäisivät autonsa vajassa ja kävelisivät tai käyttäisivät katuvaunua. Tällainen ei ole hyvä liikemenettelytapa ja hyvät liikemiehet kuten Rockefeller, eivät tee sitä.

Sitte löytyy aina joutilasta pääomaa jota pyritään sijoittamaan. Tilaisuuden salliessa on se valmis ryhtymään kilpailuun kiinnitetyn pääoman kanssa, ollen sellaisena ehkäisijänä ja pakoittaen kaikkia noudattamaan markkinalakia. Se ei tee sitä siksi, että haluaisi markkinalakia noudatettavan, vaan siksi että se pyrkii itse sijoittautumaan edullisesti.

Työläisten läksy.

Mikä näissä korporatsioneissa pitäisi olla erikoisen mielenkiintoista meille työläisille, ovat ne muutokset mitä ne ovat aikaansaaneet teollisuudessa ja järjestymisen tarve joka näihin muutoksiin sisältyy, suojellaksemme etujamme työläisinä.

Nämä korporatsionit ovat järjestäneet teollisuuden sillä tavalla, että tuottaminen tapahtuu mahdollisimman vähällä inhimillisellä voiman käytöllä. Se edistys minkä parannetut koneet ovat aikaansaattaneet teollisuudessa on vahingoksi meille ainoastaan siksi, ettemme ole järjestyneet

käyttääksemme hyväksemme tätä edistystä. Inhimillisen työvoiman tarpeen vähentyessä tuotannossa, vähentyy työläisten tarve, sillä järjestymättöminä olemme kykenemättömät vaatimaan itsellemme minkäänlaista osaa niistä edellytyksistä jotka olivat mahdottomia ilman meitä. Tulokset parannetuista työvälineistä ja aikaasäästävistä menettelytavoista menevät kokonaan työnantajille ja samassa mitassa kuin hyötynsä lisääntyy, lisääntyy meidän kurjuutemme. Sensijaan, että olisimme järjestyneet hyötyäksemme koneista, olemme pysyneet järjestymättöminä. Sensijaan että työskentelisimme lyhempiä päiviä ja eläisimme mukavammissa olosuhteissa, työskentelemme pitempiä päiviä silloin kun olemme työssä, eli se osa luokastamme joka on työssä, niiden lisääntyessä jotka ovat jatkuvasti tuomitut olemaan joutilaina ja puutteessa.

Lyhempi työpäivä.

Tärkeintä työläisille on saada lyhennetyksi työpäivä ja siten kohotetuksi joutilaisuuden rämeiköstä ne miljoonat jotka ovat jatkuvasti työttöminä ja antaa heille tilaisuus elämän välttämättömyyksien hankintaan. Työläisten olisi koko maata käsittävästi ryhdyttävä toimintaan kahdeksantuntisen työpäivän voimaanasettamiseksi.

Jos kahdeksantuntinen päivä ei tuota varmuutta kaikille työläisille, niin on jatkettava työajan rajoittamista. Meidän ei tarvitse pyytää anteeksi kapitalisteilta sen enempää kuin muiltakaan vaatiessamme, että niiden toimeentulo ja varmuus jotka ovat teollisuuksien käynnissäpitämiselle välttämättömät, ovat asetettava ensi tilalle.

I. W. W.

Kapitalistisen järjestelmän tilalle on asetettava sellainen järjestelmä jonka vallitessa teollisuuksia pidetään käynnissä yhteiskunnallisten tarpeiden ja mukavuuksien tyydyttämiseksi. Tämän toteuttaminen on työväenluokan historiallinen tehtävä. Tämä ajatus oli vallitsevana eräässä amerikalaisten työläisten kokouksessa Chicagossa vuonna 1905. Nämä miehet ja naiset eivät olleet ainoastaan teollisuudessa työskenteleviä, vaan samalla kertaa työväen historian tutkijoita. He hyväksyivät periaatejulistuksen ja pe-

rustivat järjestön jonka tarkoituksena tulisi olemaan sellaisen yhteiskuntajärjestelmän muodostaminen jonka vallitessa työläiset tulisivat johtamaan yhteiskunnalliset asiat. Se järjestö jonka he perustivat ja täyttivät työväenluokan hengellä, vastaa kapitalistista teollisuuksien järjestelyä.

Tämä järjestö on Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.) Se on kehoittanut työläisiä kiinnittämään huomion puoleensa ja saanut osakseen kapitalistien vihan, samoin kuin jokaisen kapitalismin elättinä olevan lakeijan ja hännystelijän, tuomari Garysta viimeisimpään ammattiunion pihisevään pikkuvirkailijaan, joka esiintyy työväen nimessä ainoastaan pettääkseen työläisiä.

Tuhansia I. W. W:n jäseniä on vangittu ja saatettu kuolemaan, laillisesti ja muuten siksi, että ovat julistaneet työläisille oppia pelastuksesta. Tämä järjestö on pelätyin ja vihatuin järjestö maailmassa. Tämä onkin suurin takaus järjestöstä Amerikan työläisille. Ne jotka ovat uhmanneet I .W. W:hen kohdistettua vainoa, ovat esittäneet syyn miksi työläisten pitäisi tarkastaa I. W. W:n edustamaa asiaa ja sitä filosofiaa joka antaa voimaa sen jäsenistölle.

Tässä on sen periaatejulistus:

Työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla ei ole mitään yhteistä. Mitään rauhaa ei voi olla niin kauan kuin nälkää ja puutetta on olemassa miljoonilla työläisillä ja niillä harvoilla, jotka muodostavat työnantajain luokan, ovat kaikki elämän hyvyydet.

Näiden kahden luokan välillä täytyy taistelun jatkua niin kauan kunnes maailman työläiset järjestyvät luokkana, ottavat haltuunsa maan ja tuotantokoneiston ja poistavat palkkajärjestelmän.

Me huomaamme, että teollisuuksien johdon keskittyminen yhä harvempiin ja harvempiin käsiin tekee ammattiyhdistykset kykenemättömiksi pitämään puoliaan työnantajain luokan alati kasvavaa valtaa vastaan. Ammattiyhdistykset pitävät yllä sellaista asiantilaa, että se katkeroittaa yhden työläisjoukon toista vastaan ja siten auttaa työläisiä tuhoamaan toinen toisensa palkkataistelussa. Tämän lisäksi ammattiyhdistykset auttavat työnantajain luokkaa johtamaan työläisiä siihen harhaluuloon, että työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla on yhteisiä etuja.

Tämä asiantila voidaan muuttaa ja työväenluokan edut säilyttää ainoastaan siten muodostetun järjestön avulla, että kaikki työläiset yhdellä teollisuusalalla, tai kaikilla aloilla, jos välttämätöntä lakkaavat työstä milloin lakko tai työnsulku on julistettu jossakin järjestön osassa, siten tehden loukkauksen yhtä vastaan loukkaukseksi kaikkia vastaan.

Vanhoillisen mielilauseen: "Tyydyttävä päiväpalkka tyydyttävästä päivätyöstä" asemasta meidän on kirjoitettava sotalippuumme vallankumoukselliset tunnussanat: "Palkkajärjestelmän poistaminen."

Työväenluokan historiallinen tehtävä on kapitalismin kukistaminen. Tuotannon armeija on järjestettävä ei ainoastaan jokapäiväistä taistelua varten kapitalisteja vastaan, vaan myöskin jatkamaan tuotantoa sitten kun kapitalismi on voitettu. Järjestymällä teollisuuksittain me muodostamme uutta yhteiskunta-rakennetta vanhan kuoren sisällä.

Kysymyksiä.

1. Voiko Standard öljy-yhtiö määrätä öljyn hinnan?
2. Miten täyteenahdetut markkinat vaikuttavat hintoihin?
3. Mitä kapitalistit oppivat paniikeista?
4. Minkälaisessa yhteydessä konsulijärjestelmä on Yhdysvaltain teollisuuden kanssa?
5. Miksi markkinat tulisivat tuhotuiksi jos kapitalistit voisivat mielivaltaisesti määritellä hinnat?
6. Tiedätkö mitään tekijää joka voi vaikuttaa hintoihin?
7. Mikä vaikutus ostamisesta kieltäytymisellä tai ostamisen entisestä vähentämisellä on hintoihin? Miksi?
8. Millä tavalla joutilas pääoma vaikuttaa hintoihin?
9. Mikä on se erikoinen läksy jonka trustiutunut omaisuus on antanut työläisille?
10. Milloin I. W. W. perustettiin?
11. Mitkä ovat I. W. W:n periaatteet?
12. Miksi I. W. W:tä vihataan?

YHDESTOISTA LUKU.

Lopuksi.

Tässä lyhyessä työläisten taloudellisten kysymysten tutkielmassa olemme yrittäneet todistaa, että työväen- ja kapitalistiluokan välinen taistelu tapahtuu tuotannossa, eikä *missään muualla;* että se aiheutuu yliarvosta, eikä mistään muusta; että kapitalistien etujen mukaista on lisätä yliarvon määrää ja työläisten etujen mukaista on vähentää yliarvon määrää siinä määrässä, ettei lopulta ole mitään yliarvoa saatavissa. Toisin sanoen, kapitalistit käyvät taistelua säilyttääkseen työvoiman tavarana ja työläiset taas käyvät taistelua hävittääkseen työvoiman tavaraluonteen. Kapitalistit haluavat säilyttää palkkajärjestelmän ja työläisten on poistettava se.

Benjamin Franklinin väitetään joskus sanoneen, että "historia voitaisiin kirjoittaa paljon todenmukaisemmin jos se kirjoitettaisiin kunkin aikakauden tuotannollisia olosuhteita selostamalla, kuin muuten." Josko Franklin on näin sanonut, tai ei, niin siitä huolimatta pitää se paikkansa. Jos Franklin on niin sanonut, niin oli hän vuosia edellä Marxista historian materialistisuuden ymmärtämisessä. Ainoastaan työkalujen keksiminen on tehnyt ihmiskunnan säilymisen mahdolliseksi. Ihmiskunnan säilyminen ja edistyminen on riippunut työkalujen käytöstä — lopullisesti tietysti niiden käyttäjistä — työläisistä.

Pääoman luonne kehityksen tulos.

Uudenajan tuotantovälineitä kutsutaan pääomaksi, joka tarkoittaa sitä, että niiden *omistus edellyttää niiden omistajalle tilaisuuden riistää työtä. Alkujaan, pääasiallisesti ja aina ovat ne tuotantovälineitä.* Tämä on niiden oleellinen ominaisuus. *Pääomaluonteensa ovat ne saaneet kehityksen kautta.* Ottakaamme mikä hyvänsä teollisuuslaitos. Silloin kun sen pääomamäärä ilmoitetaan, niin tarkoittaa se sitä, että keskimääräisen prosenttimäärän mukaan voidaan sillä riistää voittoa niin paljon kuin pääomamäärä osoittaa. Jos ei löytyisi palkkatyöläisiä, niin biljoonan dollarin sijoitus

ei olisi kymmenen sentin arvoinen ja jos se ostettaisiin sillä hinnalla, niin ostaja menettäisi kymmenen senttiä. Niin kauan kuin kapitalistisessa teollisuudessa tänäpäivänä työskentelevät työläiset suostuvat luomaan yliarvoa, kannustavat he kapitalisteja pitämään itseään (työläisinä) siinä asemassa, että ovat pakoitettuja luomaan sitä.

Ne, jotka kulloinkin voimassaolleen yhteiskuntajärjestelmän aikana ovat hyötyneet siitä, ovat pyrkineet osoittamaan sen olleen korkeimman asteen mihin ihmiskunta voi kehittyä. He ovat aina koettaneet osoittaa olevansa tärkein aines.

Paljon käytetty väite kapitalismin puolustukseksi on, että "työ tarvitsee pääomaa ja pääoma työtä." Asia ei ole niin, sillä edellälainatussa lauseessa on pääoma (kapitaali) kapitalistien naamarina. Mitä työ tarvitsee ja jotka sillä lopulta tulee olemaankin, on *tuotantovälineet ilman, että niihin sisältyisi pääoman luonne.* Työläiset tulevat hävittämään tämän, tuotantovälineisiin sisällytetyn luonteen, loukkaamatta niitä, raapimatta edes niiden maalia. Ainoastaan tuotantovälineet, ilman kapitalistista omistusta, ovat välttämättömät työlle.

Työväen tarkoitusperä.

Tämä on ollut työväenliikkeen tarkoitusperä koko olemassaolonsa aikana kapitalistisessa järjestelmässä. Jo ensimäisellä uniolla jonka työläiset muodostivat, oli tarkoitus vastustaa työnantajan mielivaltaa, joka oli sitä ennen vallinnut teollisuudessa. Vaikkakaan ei tietoisesti, niin oli se kuitenkin ensimäinen askel kohti vallankumouksellista päämäärää. Sillä työnantajan kontrollin vastustaminen ja sen kieltäminen kokonaan tarkoittavat samaa, eroavaisuus ollen ainoastaan astekysymys.

Ammattiuniot pyrkivät saamaan työläisille suuremman osuuden työnsä tuloksista ja enemmän mukavuuksia kapitalistisen järjestelmän puitteissa. Niiden vaatimukset ja se kiivaus, jolla ne taistelivat osoittaa niiden syntyneen jostakin välillisten parannusten ulkopuolella olevasta. Kestetyt kärsimykset, tehdyt uhraukset ja se into jonka valtaamina on menty vankilaan, se lannistumattomuus, jolla miehet ja naiset ovat katsoneet silmiin kuolemaa kuulalla, pistimellä,

hirsipuulla ja sähkötuolilla osoittaa heidän edustaneen jotakin suurempaa kuin muutaman sentin palkankorotusta ja muutaman minuutin vähentämistä työajasta. Menetyksensä palkassa olivat suuremmat kuin se mitä vaativat ja jonka puolesta taistelivat, jos vaatimustensa rahallinen puoli olisi ollut urhoollisten uhraustensa kannustaja. Mutta se ei ollut. He taistelivat ja kuolivat oikeuskäsitteen puolesta jonka katsoivat tulleen loukatuksi siinä, kun heidän vaatimattomat vaatimuksensa tulivat hyljätyiksi. Protestinsa vakavaluontoisuus johtui yhteiskunnallisista vaikuttimista, eivätkä siis koskaan johtuneet paljaasta itsekkäisyydestä. Ylevä rohkeutensa ei kyennyt viemään heitä suoraa päätä voittoon, sillä he taistelivat usein taloudellisilla keinoilla jotka olivat uloskuluneet ja melkein arvottomat. Kapitalistisen teollisuuden kehitys teki unionsa tehottomaksi ja häviöidensä lukumäärän paljon suuremmaksi kuin voittojensa. Tappioista huolimatta menee työväenliike jatkuvasti eteenpäin.

Työväen Luokkaunionismi.

Velvollisuudesta itseämme ja tulevaisuutta kohtaan on meidän opittava edeltäjiemme ja omista kokemuksista. Meidän täytyy rakentaa niin avara järjestö kuin työväenluokkakin on. Tämän täytyy vastata teollisia suhteita ja kaikkien teollisuuksissa työskentelevien työväen ryhmien vaihtelevia vaatimuksia ja tarkoitusperän täytyy olla yhtä suppea ja rajoitettu kuin työväenluokan edut. Tuotannossa työläiset pitävät käsissään yhteiskunnan elämänohjaksia. Tämä voima voidaan käyttää yhteiskunnan hyväksi ainoastaan siten, että kaikki työläiset kaikissa työpaikoissa järjestetään. Kapitalistit käyttävät kontrolliaan teollisuudessa yhteiskunnan hävittämiseksi sodilla, työttömyydellä ja riittämättömällä elintasolla. Teollisuuksien täytyy palvella inhimillisiä tarpeita, eikä muutamien etuja. Tämän toteuttaminen on työväenluokan tehtävä ja I. W. W. on se väline, jolla työläiset voivat tämän toteuttaa.

Joka päivä, siellä ja täällä tapahtuu työn rintamalla yhteenottoja työväen ja kapitalistien kannattajien välillä. Tulokset riippuvat siitä missä määrässä kulloinkin kysymyksessä olevat työläiset kykenevät menestyksellisesti saattamaan kysymyksessä olevat työnantajat sellaiseen asemaan,

että ovat pakoitetut luopumaan osasta yliarvoa. Mutta koska työläisten saavutus jossakin teollisuudessa, sitä kontrolleeraavien kapitalistien kustannuksella, uhkaa toisten kapitalistien etuja, innostamalla toisissa teollisuuksissa työskenteleviä työläisiä tekemään samallaisia yrityksiä, siten heikentäen kapitalistien valtaa teollisuudessa, niin siksi ovat nämä toiset kapitalistit aina valmiit antamaan apuaan kiristyksen alaisina oleville kumppaneilleen. Työläiset näkevät myös välttämättömäksi toimia siten, että kykenevät avustamaan teollisessa yhteenotossa olevia työläistovereitaan. Tämän toteuttamiseksi alkavat työläiset nähdä olevan välttämätöntä poistaa kaikki luokkayhtenäisyyden tiellä olevat esteet. Ammattiunionismi on tunnettu perusteeltaan rappeutuneeksi ja käytännössä hajoittavaksi, eikä yhteenliittäväksi voimaksi.

Teollisuusyhtymän perusta.

Työläiset on saatava näkemään, että taloudellisten järjestöjensä täytyy vastata teollisia suhteita — että järjestäytymisen täytyy tapahtua teollisissa puitteissa, ennenkuin työväenluokka voi missään määrässä toivoa menestystä jokapäiväisissä taisteluissaan. Lisääntyvässä määrässä alkavat työläiset nähdä taistelun luokkaluonteen ja sen, että teollisuuksissa työskentelevien työläisten on järjestyttävä luokkapohjalle. Työläisillä täytyy olla yksi, puhtaasti taloudellisessa tarkoituksessa toimiva unio.

Sellainen järjestö on Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.). Niitä jotka ovat lukeneet tämän kirjasen kehoitetaan tutustumaan I. W. W:n periaatteisiin, rakenteeseen, menettelytapoihin ja päämäärään.

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I.

Mitä sinä myyt työnantajalle.

Jos olet työläismies tai -nainen, huolimatta siitä mitä teet tehtaassa tai kaivoksessa, tai jos työskentelet maanviljelyksessä, niin tiedät, että työmaallasi käytetään **kahdenlaista** voimaa: **ihmistyövoimaa** ja hevos-, höyry-, vesi-, tai jotakin muuta voimaa.

Erään uuden tynnyritehtaan omistaja Indianassa laski tulevan halvemmaksi ostaa tehtaan käynnissäpitämiseksi tarvittava **voima** joltakin toiselta yhtiöltä kuin pystyttää voimalaitos itse, ja niin hän käski kaupungin kolmen voimalaitoksen lähettämään edustajansa luokseen.

Ensimäiseksi tuli sen yhtiön edustaja, joka lupautui käyttämään tehtaan koneet höyryllä; toiseksi tuli sen yhtiön edustaja, joka tarjosi gasoliinikonetta, ja kolmanneksi tuli suuren vesivoimayhtiön edustaja. Tämä kolmas esitti ehdot, joilla tehtaan koneiden käynnissäpitäminen tulisi halvemmaksi kuin edellisten tarjoamilla ehdoilla. Luonnollisesti tehtailija teki sopimuksen tämän kanssa.

Tehdas oli melkein valmis käyntiinpantavaksi. Tehtailijalla oli tukkeja (raaka-aineita); hänellä oli koneet ja voimaa millä panna koneet käyntiin. Ainoastaan yhtä puuttui tehtaan käyntiinpanemiseksi ja tynnyrilautojen ja vanteiden valmistamiseksi. Tämä on se **tavara,** jota työläisillä on tarjottavana. Se on **ihmisvoima, työvoima.**

Sata vuotta sitten tuotettiin melkein kaikki ihmistyövoiman avulla. Työvoimaa säästäviä työvälineitä on

kuitenkin jatkuvasti parannettu niin, että tänäpäivänä on käytettävissämme suuria höyry-, vesi- ja muilla voimilla käypiä koneita, jotka suorittavat suuremman osan raskaasta ja vaikeasta työstä. Mutta myllyn, tehtaan tai kaivoksen omistaja, farmari tai vuokraviljelijä, tarvitsee yhtä muuta lajia **tavaraa** ohjaamaan, johtamaan tai syöttämään koneita. Hän tarvitsee **sinun työvoimaasi.**

Indianan tynnyritehtailija sanoi tarvitsevansa "käsiä." Hän tarkoitti **käsiä tekemään jotakin.** Hän tarkoitti **työvoimaa.** Niin hän pani lehteen ilmoituksen "Työläisiä Halutaan." Luonnollisesti ei hän halunnut ostaa ihmisiä kokonaisuudessaan, niinkuin kahleorjia tavattiin ostaa. Hän palkkasi joitakin työläisiä työskentelemään itselleen. Hän osti omaamanne voiman tehdä työtä, **työvoimanne.**

Ja te myitte hänelle työvoimaanne aivan samalla tavalla kuin hevoskauppias myy hevosia, tai leipuri leipää. Te menette työnantajan luokse **myydäksenne** jotakin. Työnantaja on markkinoilla **ostamassa työvoimaa,** ja jos hintanne on kylliksi pieni, niin mahdollisesti saatte työn.

Jotkut meistä työskentelevät useita vuosia ennenkuin huomaavat, että meillä palkkatyöläisilläkin on **yhtä lajia tavaraa** myytävänä. Niin kauan kun kykenemme tekemään työtä, koetamme saada **ostajan työvoimallemme.** Me haemme työmaata ja työnantajaa, jotka ovat yhdessä.

Miesten ja naisten, joilla ei ole muuta elinkeinoa, ovat **pakoitetut myymään työvoimaansa** palkasta.

Tavara on jotakin, jolla tyydytetään jokin inhimillinen tarve; jotakin jonka **työvoima** on luonut myytäväksi eli vaihdettavaksi. Jos nainen tekee itselleen leningin, niin ei se ole tavara. Myytäväksi tehty leninki on tavara, sillä se ei olé tehty omaa käyttöä, vaan kauppaa varten.

Lammas on tavara, samoin kengät, talot, käsineet, vehnä, maissi, leipä, höyry- ja vesivoima, silloin kun niitä ei ole valmistettu omaa tarvetta, vaan kauppaa varten. Samoin sinun luova voimasi (eli, kuten Marx

sanoo, **työvoimasi)** on myös tavara, myydessäsi sitä palkan edestä työnantajalle.

Tiedäthän, että kun joku myy jotakin toiselle, niin pyytää hän siitä mahdollisimman korkeaa hintaa. Kotisi lähellä oleva sekatavarakauppias, myydessään sinulle voita, ottaa siitä mahdollisimman paljon. Hiilikauppiaat kohottavat hiilen hintaa silloin kun vaan voivat. Ja kysyessäsi työnantajalta työtä, pyydät niin paljon palkkaa kuin suinkin luulet saavasi.

Palkkatyöläiset haluavat korkeaa hintaa **työvoimastaan.** Työnantajat haluavat saada **työvoiman halvalla.**

Ovatko etunne yhtäläiset?

Mitä tapahtuu silloin kun kymmenen miestä kilpailee tilaisuudesta **myydä työvoimaansa?** Kuka saa **työn?**

Mitä tapahtuu silloin kun tarvittaisiin kymmenen työläistä ja löytyy ainoastaan yksi työläinen? Saako tämä yksi työläinen **suurempaa** vai **pienempää palkkaa?** Saako hän hyvän hinnan työvoimastaan?

Kun työläisistä on puute ja tehtailijat ovat pakoitetut maksamaan korkeampaa hintaa **työvoimasta** (suurempaa palkkaa) jollakin paikkakunnalla, niin kestääkö työläisten puute kauan? Jos ei, niin miksi ei?

Kun työläiset hakevat työtä, niin mihin kaupunkeihin he menevät? Miksi?

Onko **tarjonnalla** ja **kysynnällä** mitään tekemistä sen hinnan kanssa millä myyt **työvoimaasi?**

Miksi terästrusti rakentaa viidenkymmenenmiljoonan dollarin teräsmyllyä Kiinaan? Tuleeko se saamaan suurempia voittoja teräksen valmistamisesta siellä kuin Amerikassa? Miksi?

Miksi kiinalaiset työläiset tulevat Amerikaan myymään työvoimaansa?

Karl Marx on kirjoittanut paljon **tavaroista** — niiden **arvoista** ja **hinnoista,** ja ennenkuin voimme ymmärtää hänen opetuksiaan, täytyy meidän ensin käsittää, että me olemme **työvoimaksi** kutsutun **tavaran** myyjiä.

Seuraavassa luvussa käsittelemme sitä, mikä määrää **työvoimasi,** samoin kuin muiden tavaroiden **arvon.**

Miksi farmarit ottavat mieluummin järjestymättömiä työläisiä työhön kuin I. W. W:n jäseniä?

Järjestyvätkö työläiset teollisesti saadakseen paremman hinnan (palkan) työvoimastaan?

Merkitseekö huono palkka maanviljelystyöläisille suurempaa voittoa farmareille?

II.

Tavaran arvo.

Edellisessä luvussa näimme, että työläinen on tavaran myyjä. Työskentelet sitte kaivoksessa, myllyssä, tehtaassa, farmilla tai missä hyvänsä vaan saat työn, niin myyt **työvoimaasi** työnantajalle.

Tiedämme, että **työvoima** on tavara, samoin kuin kengät, hattu, uuni, tai vehnä.

Kaikki tavarat ovat työn tuloksia, s. t. s., ei minkäänlaista tavaraa ole olemassa, joka ei ole työläisten ruumiillisten ja henkisten ponnistelujen tulos. Työläiset valmistavat kenkiä; leipurit ovat työläisiä; talot, katuvaunut, rautatievaunut, vehnä, palatsit, sillat, uunit — kaikki ovat työläisten valmistamia. **Kaikki** ovat työn tuloksia.

Yhdessä suhteessa on kaikilla tavaroilla yhteistä. Tämä on se, että ne kaikki sisältävät työtä. Tavaralla on arvoa (vaihtoarvoa) siksi, että se sisältää **työtä.**

Hevonen on tavara, lehmä on tavara, kulta on tavara. Näiden tuottamiseen on kulutettu **ihmistyövoimaa.** Työvoima on tavara, menneisyydessä suoritetun työn tulos.

Työläiset tekivät **työtä** meidän, sinun ja minun, tuottamiseksi. Joku valmisti **meille** leipää, rakensi taloja, valmisti vaatteita ja kenkiä. Kaikki mitä olemme syöneet ja juoneet, käyttäneet ja kuluttaneet, ovat työläisten valmistamia. Työnsä oli **välttämätöntä** työtä. Ilman sitä emme olisi kasvaneet niin vanhoiksi ja voimakkaiksi, että kykenemme myymään **työvoimaa. Kasvattamisessamme** niin vanhoiksi, että kykenemme tekemään työtä, on kulutettu työvoimaa.

Tavaran arvon määrää sen tuottamisessa tarvittava yhteiskunnallisen työajan määrä. Kirjassa "Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto", siv. 55, sanoo Marx:

"Voisi näyttää siltä, että jos jonkun tavaran arvo määrätään sen tuottamiseen käytetyn työn paljouden mukaan, joten, mitä laiskempi tai kömpelömpi joku mies on, sitä arvokkaampi on hänen tuottamansa tavara, koska häneltä on kulunut kauemman aikaa tavaran valmistukseen. Tämä olisi kuitenkin surullinen erehdys. Teidän on muistettava, että minä käytin sanaa '**yhteiskunnallinen** työ' ja määrittelyyn 'yhteiskunnallinen' sisältyy monia seikkoja.

"Sanoessamme, että tavaran arvon määrää siihen kiinnitetyn tai kristalloidun työn paljous, me tarkoitamme työn paljoutta, joka on välttämätön sen tuottamiseen määrätyllä yhteiskunta-kehitysasteella, visseissä tuotannon keskimääräisissä yhteiskunnallisissa olosuhteissa, vissillä keskimääräisellä yhteiskunnallisella ponnistuksella ja keskimääräisellä käytetyn työn taidolla."

Jos alat kynäveitsellä tekemään tukista tuolia ja kulutat siihen kolme kuukautta, niin saadessasi sen valmiiksi se ei ole sen arvokkaampi kuin tuoli, joka on tehty tehtaassa, jossa suuri määrä työläisiä työskentelee suurilla koneilla, valmistaen suuren määrän tuoleja päivässä.

Luonnollisesti jokainen uudistus koneissa vähentää tavaroiden valmistukseen tarvittavaa työaikaa. Öljy on vähempiarvoista nyt kuin kymmenen vuotta sitten, sillä sen tuottamiseen tarvittavan työvoiman määrä on pienempi. Samoin on teräksen laita, sillä uusien koneiden avulla sen valmistaminen on mahdollinen **vähemmällä** työvoiman määrällä.

Aina silloin kun keksitään joku uusi kone, joka vähentää johonkin tavaraan sisältyvän työvoiman määrää, vähenee tämän tavaran arvo, sillä siinä esiintyy pienempi määrä työvoimaa.

Olettakaamme, että kaikki maan kenkätehtaat olisivat täydessä käynnissä tyydyttääkseen kenkien kysyntää. Vanhanaikaisia koneita käyttävät tehtaat kuluttaisivat enemmän työvoimaa jokaiseen kenkäpariin kuin ne tehtaat, joissa käytetään uudempia koneita, kun taas suuret, uusimmanaikaiset tehtaat, joissa käytetään

uusimmanaikaisia koneita, tarvitsisivat verrattain vähän ihmistyövoimaa kenkien valmistuksessa.

Kenkien arvon määräisi niiden valmistuksessa tarvittava **keskimääräinen** (yhteiskunnallinen) työajan määrä, eli kaikkiin kenkiin sisältyvän yhteiskunnallisen työvoiman kulutuksen määrä. Sama pitää paikkansa maataloustuotteisiin nähden.

Kullan ja hopean arvo määritellään samalla tavalla. Kullan tuottamiseen tarvittavan välttämättömän yhteiskunnallisen työn määrä antaa sille sen arvon mikä sillä on. Kullan arvo nousee ja laskee samassa määrässä kuin muiden tavaroiden arvo nousee ja laskee. Tänäpäivänä kullan arvo on paljon pienempi kuin kaksikymmentä vuotta sitten, sillä uudet tuotantomuodot ovat vähentäneet kullan kaivamisessa tarvittavan yhteiskunnallisen työn määrää noin puolella. Jos sinulla on kaksikymmentä dollaria kullassa, niin on sen arvo ainoastaan puoli siitä mitä se oli kaksikymmentä vuotta sitten. Siihen sisältyy ainoastaan puoli siitä työmäärästä mitä siihen sisältyi kaksikymmentä vuotta sitten.

Samalla tavalla voimme määritellä työvoiman arvon. "Kuten kaikkien muiden tavaroiden, määrätään työvoimankin arvo sen tuottamiseen tarvittavan työpaljouden mukaan.

"Miehen työkyky tavataan ainoastaan hänen elävässä olennossaan. Miehen täytyy nauttia vissi määrä tarvikkeita kasvaakseen ja säilyttääkseen henkensä. Mutta mies, samoin kuin konekin, kuluu ja on hän korvattava toisella miehellä. Paitsi vissiä määrää tarvikkeita, joita vaaditaan hänen omaksi ylöspidokseen, tarvitsee hän toisen määrän tarvikkeita kasvattaakseen vissin määrän lapsia, jotka korvaavat hänet työmarkkinoilla ja jatkavat työläisten rotua. Edelläolevan perusteella nähdään, että työkyvyn arvo määrätään tarvikkeiden arvon mukaan, joita vaaditaan tuottamaan, kehittämään ja jatkamaan työkykyä." ("Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto," siv. 67-68-69.)

Työläisen työvoiman arvon määrää sen tuottamiseen tarvittavan välttämättömän yhteiskunnallisen työn määrä, sanoo Marx. Tämä tarkoittaa ravintoa, vaatetta ja

suojaa (elämän välttämättömyyksiä), ja sitte vielä se määrä mikä tarvitaan pojan tai tytön kasvattamiseen, joka tulee ottamaan paikkasi työmaalla sitte kun tulet niin vanhaksi, ettet kykene työskentelemään niin nopeasti kuin työnantaja vaatii.

Jos olemme palkkatyöläisiä, niin työvoimamme arvo on se määrä, jonka tarvitsemme eläksemme ja kasvattaaksemme työläisiä ottamaan paikkamme.

Kysymyksiä.

Mikä on tavara? Mitä palkkatyöläinen myy työnantajalle?

Mikä määrää tavaran arvon?

Mitä ymmärretään YHTEISKUNNALLISELLA työvoimalla?

Onko tulitikkujen arvo pienempi nyt kuin kymmenen vuotta sitten? Miksi?

Onko tavaroiden arvo yleensä laskenut parannetun konetuotannon aikana viimeisten kymmenen vuoden aikana? Miksi?

Nimitä tavaroita, joiden arvo on laskenut. Onko kumin arvo kohonnut? Miksi?

Kysyykö kankaan kutominen, sementin valmistaminen tai sikojen teurastus vähemmän työvoimaa nyt kuin kaksikymmentä vuotta sitten? Miksi?

Pidä mielessäsi, että jonkun tavaran VÄHYYS voi saada aikaan sen, että se vaihdetaan (myydään) enemmästä kuin arvostaan, mutta ettei tämä lisää sen arvoa. Marx sanoo, että arvo on ihmistyötä (yleisesti sanoen).

Onko vehnän arvo pienempi nyt kuin kymmenen vuotta sitten. Miksi?

Jos kullan arvo laskisi 50% kymmenessä vuodessa ja vehnän arvo laskisi myös 50%, niin tulisiko hinnassa olemaan mitään muutosta, jos näitä kumpaakin vaihdettaisiin arvostaan?

III.

Hinnat.

Tavaran arvon määrää sen tuottamiseen tarvittavan välttämättömän yhteiskunnallisen työn määrä. Jos joku sanoisi minulle, että päällystakin arvo on sama kuin puvun arvo, niin tietäisin, että päällystakin ja puvun arvo on sama siksi, että ne sisältävät saman määrän työtä.

Yleisesti puhuen on neljän housuparin arvo sama kuin yhden takin. Miksi takki on arvokkaampi kuin housut? Mikä määrää arvon tuotteiden vaihdossa?

Sinä myyt työvoimasi työnantajalle ja saat vastineeksi mahdollisesti $4.00 päivässä kullassa. Sitte vaihdat tämän kullan elintarpeisiin — ravintoon, vaatteisiin ja suojaan. Miksi näitä tavaroita voidaan vaihtaa toinen toisiinsa?

Ennemmin tulimme näkemään, että **työ** on arvon mitta. Edellämainittu takki voidaan vaihtaa neljään housupariin siksi, että takkiin sisältyy **neljä** sitä määrää välttämätöntä yhteiskunnallista työtä kuin yhteen housupariin.

Tavaraan (kenkiin, vehnään, maissiin, takkiin, kultaan, **työvoimaasi,** tai mitä tahansa se sitte on) sisältyvä välttämättömän yhteiskunnallisen työn määrä määrää sen vaihtoarvon. Tavallisesti tavaroita vaihdetaan saman arvomäärän sisältäviin tavaroihin.

Esimerkiksi: kymmenessä yhteiskunnallisessa työtunnissa tuotettu vehnä vaihdetaan samassa välttämättömässä yhteiskunnallisessa työajassa tuotettuun määrään kangasta, kenkiä, tuoleja, kultaa, tai jotakin muuta tuotetta.

Samassa määrässä kuin tavaroiden tuottamisessa tarvittavan välttämättömän yhteiskunnallisen työn määrä muuttuu, muuttuu myös se arvo mistä tavaroita vaihdetaan. Viime kuussa luimme uudesta valukoneesta, jolla poikanen voi valaa yhtä paljon päivässä kuin neljä miestä valoi ennen. Näiden valauksien arvo on nyt laskenut huomattavasti (siinä laitoksessa missä tätä uutta konetta käytetään), mutta valauksien arvo yleensä on

laskenut ainoastaan **vähäisessä** määrässä. Valauksien valmistuksessa tarvittavan työn **keskimäärä** on ainoastaan vähän pienempi kuin ennen. Sitte kun tämä uusi valauksien valmistustapa tulee yleiseksi, ja tarpeellisen työn keskimäärä on vähentynyt suuressa määrässä, niin tulee valauksien arvo laskemaan suuressa määrässä.

"Jos me ajattelemme tavaroita arvoina, ajattelemme me niitä yksinomaan todellisen, määrätyn, tai jos haluatte sanoa kristalloidun yhteiskunnallisen työn valossa. Tässä suhteessa voivat ne erota ainoastaan edustamalla suurempaa tai pienempää työmäärää, kuten esi merkiksi suurempi työmäärä voidaan kuluttaa silkkisen nenäliinan kuin tiilikiven valmistukseen.

"Tavaralla on arvoa, koska se on yhteiskunnallisen työn tulos. Sen arvon suuruus tai sen suhteellinen arvo riippuu suuremmasta tai vähäisemmästä määrästä tätä yhteiskunnallista olemusta, jonka se sisältää." ("Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto", siv. 50-51.)

"Laskiessamme jonkun tavaran vaihtoarvoa on meidän lisättävä viimeksi käytetyn työn määrään ennemmin käytetty työmäärä valmistaessa tavaran raaka-aineita ja työkaluja, koneita sekä rakennuksia, joiden avulla työ saadaan suoritetuksi." ("Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto", siv. 54.)

Esimerkiksi tynnyrien arvon määrää se, minkä verran tynnyrilautojen ja vanteiden valmistuksessa on käytetty yhteiskunnallista (tehdas-) työtä, ja minkä verran näiden valmistuksessa kuluneiden koneiden valmistamiseen, puiden kaatamisessa, tukkien katkaisemisessa ja niiden kuljettamisessa myllylle, on käytetty työvoimaa.

Joka kerta kun tavaroiden — kenkien, hattujen, käsineiden, vehnän, uunien, sikaarien, tai minkä hyvänsä tavaran — valmistuksessa tarvitaan **lisää** työvoimaa, **lisätään** niiden arvoa. Aina silloin kun välttämättömän yhteiskunnallisen työn määrä vähenee tuotteiden tuottamisessa, **laskee** tuotteiden arvo.

Melkein kaikkien huonekalujen arvo on laskenut huomattavasti viimeisten vuosien aikana, johtuen niiden valmistuksessa käytetyistä parannetuista koneista ja niihin sisältyvästä vähentyneestä työvoiman määrästä.

Kullan arvo on laskenut jatkuvasti viimeisten kymmenen vuoden aikana, johtuen kullan tuottamisessa käytetyistä parannetuista tuotantotavoista ja siihen sisältyvästä vähemmästä työvoiman määrästä.

Kumi käy jakuvasti arvokkaammaksi, sillä maailman kumivarasto on tullut melkein loppuunkäytetyksi ja kumipuiden hakeminen, istuttaminen ja hoitaminen kysyy enemmän aikaa — yhteen paunaan kumia sisältyy nyt enemmän työtä kuin joitakin vuosia sitten.

Me näemme kuinka jättiläismäiset koneet teollisuuksissa ottavat pienempien paikan, ja parannettuja koneita otettaessa käytäntöön, vähenee tavaroihin sisältyvän ihmistyön määrä jatkuvasti. Tavaroiden arvo laskee sitä mukaa kuin niihin sisältyvän työvoiman määrä vähenee.

Hinta.

Hinta on nimitys sille rahamäärälle, josta tavara vaihdetaan. Me olemme tottuneet laskemaan hinnan kullan perusteella. Kaikissa pankkiosoituksissa pitäisi seisoa "lunastetaan — niin paljosta — kullassa." Mutta kulta on tavaraa samoin kuin leipä tai päällystakki, puku tai auto. Tavarat vaihdetaan tavallisesti kultamäärästä, joka sisältää saman verran työtä kuin tavarat. Se tahtoo sanoa, jos kymmenen dollaria kullassa sisältää 40 työtuntia, niin voidaan tämä kultamäärä vaihtaa (eli sillä voidaan ostaa) niin moneen kenkäpariin kuin 40:ssä yhteiskunnallisessa työtunnissa voidaan valmistaa.

Yleisesti puhuen tavara, joka sisältää 10 työtuntia, voidaan vaihtaa kultaan tai johonkin muuhun joka sisältää **10 työtuntia.**

Tämä pitää paikkansa hintojen ja arvojen ollessa samallaiset. Mutta kysyntä ja tarjonta aiheuttavat sen, että tavaroita vaihdetaan (eli myydään) yli ja alle niiden arvon, tilapäisesti. Kun tuottajat myyvät ostajamonopolille, niin joutuvat he tavallisesti myymään heillä myytävänä olevan tavaran alle sen arvon.

Satunnainen hiilenpuute — jolloin tarjonta ei vastaa kysyntää — voi edellyttää, että hiilikauppiaat voivat jonkun aikaa vaihtaa hiilen **enemmästä** kuin mitä sen

arvo on. Ylituotanto autoalalla voi saada autotehtailijat tarjoamaan autoja **alle** niiden arvon — jonkun aikaa.

Hinnat ovat usein vähän ala- tai yläpuolella tavaroiden arvon, mutta on niillä aina taipumus pysytellä lähellä arvoa.

(Pitäkää mielessänne, ettemme puhu tässä monopolihinnoista. Tulemme käsittelemään niitä myöhäisemmässä luvussa.)

"Jos kysyntä ja tarjonta tasaavat toisensa, vastaavat tavaroiden markkinahinnat niiden luonnollisia hintoja, s. t. s., niiden arvoja, kuten ne ovat määrätyt niiden tuotantoon tarvittavan työmäärän mukaan ... Jos jokapäiväisten epävakaisuuksien asemasta otatte huomioon markkinahintojen vaihtelut pitempänä ajanjaksona te tulette huomaamaan, että markkinahintojen vaihtelut, niiden poikkeamiset arvoista, niiden nousut ja laskut, lamaavat ja korvaavat toinen toisensa; niin että, lukuunottamatta monopoleja ja muita poikkeuksia, jotka minun on nyt pakko sivuuttaa, kaikenlaatuiset tavarat, ylimalkaisesti, myydään todellisista arvoistaan eli luonnollisilla hinnoilla.

"Jos sitten laveammin puhuen ja sulkien piiriinsä jonkun verran pitemmät ajanjaksot, kaikenlaatuiset tavarat myydään oikeihin arvoihinsa, on järjetöntä, että voitto, ei yksityisissä tapauksissa, vaan tuo ainainen ja tavallinen eri ammattien voitto, johtuisi tavaroiden hinnoista tai siitä, että niitä myydään niiden arvoa korkeammilla hinnoilla.

"Selittääksemme senvuoksi voittojen yleistä luonnetta on meidän lähdettävä päätelmästä, että keskimääräisesti **tavaroita myydään niiden todellisesta arvosta** ja että voitot saadaan myymällä tavarat arvoistaan, s. t. s. suhteellisesti niihin kiinnitettyyn työhön.

"Ellette voi **selittää voittoa** tämän otaksuman nojalla, niin ette voi selittää sitä ensinkään." ("Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto", siv. 61-62-63.)

Kysymyksiä.

Miksi ammattitaitoiset työläiset saavat työvoimastaan enemmän kuin ammattitaidottomat? Onko sillä seikalla, että ammattitaitoisen työläisen tuottaminen kysyy enemmän **työtä,** että ammattitaitoisen työläisen ravitsemiseen, vaatetukseen ja suojaamiseen täytyy kuluttaa useampia vuosia kuin ammattitaidottoman, mitään tekemistä hänen työvoimansa **arvon** kanssa?

Kaivosekspertit sanovat nyt tarvittavan paljon vähemmän työvoimaa kullan tuottamisessa kuin joitakin vuosia sitten. Oletko huomannut, että saat rahallasi vähemmän tavaroita nyt kuin joitakin vuosia sitten?

Vehnää tuotetaan maailman markkinoita varten. Luuletko vehnän laskeneen paljon arvossaan viimeisten kymmenen vuoden aikana, verrattuna teräksen arvoon (eli siihen sisältyvään yhteiskunnallisen työn määrään)?

Jos kummankin tavaran **arvo** olisi pysynyt samana, eikä mikään monopoli olisi kontrolleerannut maailman vehnä- ja kultavarastoa, niin vaihdettaisiin niitä samoin kuin ennenkin, s. t. s. samalla määrällä kultaa voitaisiin ostaa sama määrä vehnää kuin ennenkin.

Onko kullan arvon laskemisesta ollut seurauksena, että farmari saa vastineeksi korkeamman hinnan (eli enemmän kultaa) vehnäsadostaan?

(Älkäämme unohtako, kuten Marx sanoo, että jos emme voi selittää voittoa sen nojalla, että kaikki tavarat vaihdetaan arvoonsa, niin emme voi selittää sitä ensinkään.)

Seuraavassa käsittelemme yliarvoa, jossa käy selville kuinka kapitalistit saavat voittoa siitä huolimatta vaikka tavarat vaihdetaankin arvoihinsa.

Pitäkäämme mielessä, ettemme myy työtämme, vaan työvoimaamme. Työ on työvoiman kulutusta. Kysyessämme työtä, emme tarjoa **työ-**

tämme myytäväksi, vaan **työvoimaamme.** Valmistamamme tavarat ovat tuloksia työskentelystämme, mutta työnantajalle me myymme työvoimaamme.

IV.

Voittojen saanti.

Moni meistä on tottunut ajattelemaan, että voitot saadaan kiskomisella, erikoisoikeuksilla tai monopolilla. Olemme puhuneet niin paljon kapitalistien harjoittamasta varastamisesta, että olemme kokonaan jättäneet huomioonottamatta sen suuren, pääasiallisen tavan, millä voitto saadaan.

Kuten Marx sanoo, että jos emme voi selittää voittoa sen nojalla, että kaikki tavarat vaihdetaan arvoihinsa, niin emme voi selittää sitä ensinkään.

Ja niin teemme sen johtopäätöksen (kuten asianlaita todellisuudessa on), että tavarat tavallisesti vaihdetaan arvoihinsa.

Olettakaamme, että työläisen elintarpeiden tuottamiseen tarvitaan kaksi tuntia, toisin sanoen, että **työvoiman** luomiseen tarvitaan kaksi tuntia päivässä.

Olettakaamme myös (joka on hyvin todennäköistä), että $4.00 kullassa vastaa kahta työtuntia. Työvoiman (jonka työläinen myy) arvon määrää se, minkä verran siihen sisältyy yhteiskunnallista työtä (joka määrää kaikkien tavaroiden arvon). Se ilmenee elintarpeiden muodossa, joiden tuottamiseen on käytetty kaksi työtuntia päivässä.

Jos työläinen myy työvoimansa sen **arvosta,** niin saa hän vastineeksi tavaraa, johon sisältyy kaksi tuntia yhteiskunnallista työtä. Edellämainitussa tapauksessa saisi hän siis $4.00 päivässä.

Toisin sanoen, päivän työvoima edustaa kahta työtuntia, joka sisältyy siihen määrään ravintoa, vaatteita ja suojaa, joka tarvitaan sen tuottamisessa, aivan samoin kuin neljä dollaria kullassa edustaa kahta työtuntia. Työvoima vastaa arvossa neljää dollaria kullassa. Työläinen on myynyt työvoimansa sen arvosta.

Työläinen saa riittävästi ($4.00) palkkaa syödäk-

seen, juodakseen, pukeakseen ja levähtääkseen — niin paljon, että kykenee luomaan **uutta työvoimaa.** Hän saa työvoimastaan sen arvon.

Mutta palkkatyöläiset myyvät työvoimaansa työnantajalle päivä- tai viikkokaupalla, työtuntien lukumäärän riippuessa sopimuksesta. Kapitalisti tai farmari ostaa tavaran (työvoiman), maksaen siitä sen arvon. Jos palkkatyöläinen on kaivosmies, niin kaivaa hän **kahdessa tunnissa** niin paljon hiiltä, että se vastaa hänen neljän dollarin päiväpalkkaansa. Kaivamansa hiili sisältää kaksi työtuntia, samoin kuin saamansa neljä dollaria kullassa sisältää kaksi työtuntia ja ne tarvikkeet, joihin hän vaihtaa neljä dollariansa, sisältävät kaksi työtuntia.

Toisin sanoen, kahdessa työtunnissa tuottaa kaivosmies niin paljon hiiltä, tai maanviljelystyöläinen niin paljon vehnää, että sen arvo vastaa hänen palkkansa arvoa (eli työvoimaansa). Mutta hän myy työvoimaansa päivä- tai viikkokaupalla, joten työnantaja koettaa saada hänet työskentelemään mahdollisimman monta tuntia päivässä.

Kaivos- tai maanviljelystyöläinen on kuitenkin luonut kahdessa tunnissa niin paljon arvoa, että se vastaa hänen palkkaansa, mutta työnantaja, ostamalla työvoimaa päiväkaupalla, voi saada palkkatyöläisen työskentelemään 10 tuntia päivässä. Kaivos- tai maanviljelystyöläisen tarvitsee työskennellä ainoastaan kaksi tuntia tuottaakseen neljän dollarin arvosta, eli oman työvoimansa uudelleenluomiseksi tarvittavan määrän arvoa. Kuten Marx sanoisi:

Hänen täytyy päivittäin luoda $4.00 arvo (jonka hän tekee kahdessa tunnissa), uudelleenluodakseen työvoimansa päivittäin.

Mutta myydessään työvoimansa työnantajalle, vaatii tämä (työnantaja) itselleen oikeuden käyttää sitä koko päivän — niin monta tuntia kuin työläisen ruumiillinen kestävyys sallii.

Jos kaivostyöläinen työskentelee 10 tuntia päivässä, niin työskentelee hän 8 tuntia yli sen määrän mikä on tarpeellista oman palkkansa (eli työvoimansa) korvaa-

miseksi. Tämä 8 tunnin ylityö ilmenee yliarvona, eli tuoteylijäämänä.

Kaivosmies tuottaa kahdessa tunnissa työvoimansa korvaamiseksi tarvittavan määrän arvoa, mutta kahdeksana sitä seuraavana tuntina tuottaa hän $16 arvosta hiiltä, jonka kapitalisti pidättää itselleen.

Koska kaivosmies myi työvoimansa kapitalistille, niin kaivosmiehen tuottama hiili eli arvo kuuluu kapitalistille.

Kapitalisti kuluttaa $4.00 (eli kaksi työtuntia) päivässä, saaden hiiltä tai muita tavaroita $20.00 (eli 10 työtunnin) arvosta. Tällä tavalla voitto saadaan.

Vuosi vuoden jälkeen kapitalistit ostavat työvoimaa, maksaen siitä sen arvon (kuten kaivosmiehelle $4.00 päivässä). Kapitalistit omistavat työläisen tuottamat tavarat — jotka vastaavat kymmentä työtuntia. He vaihtavat kaksi työtuntia sisältävän tavaran (kultaa eli rahaa) työvoimaan (joka sisältää kaksi työtuntia — ilmeten tarvikkeiden muodossa). Mutta kaivosmiehen mennessä illalla kotiin, **omistavat** kapitalistit hänen kaivamansa hiilen, joka sisältää **10 työtuntia.**

10 työtuntia sisältävä hiilimäärä voidaan vaihtaa 10 työtuntia sisältävään kulta- (eli raha-) määrään, tässä tapauksessa $20.00. Kaivosmies on tuottanut $20.00:n arvosta hiiltä. Vastineeksi sai hän $4.00.

8 tunnin arvo, eli $16.00 arvosta hiiltä, jonka kapitalistit pidättävät, on **yliarvoa,** josta eivät anna mitään vastineeksi.

"Juuri tämänlaatuiselle vaihtokaupalle pääoman ja työn välillä perustuu kapitalistinen tuotanto, eli palkkajärjestelmä, ja tulee se aina uusimaan työmiehen työmiehenä ja kapitalistin kapitalistina.

"Yliarvon määrä, kaikki muut olosuhteet ennallaan pysyen, riippuu siitä suhteesta, missä suhteessa se osa työpäivästä, joka tarvitaan tuottamaan työkyvyn arvon, ja yliaika eli ylityö, joka työskennellään kapitalistin hyväksi, ovat toisiinsa. Se riippuu siten siitä suhteesta, missä työpäivää on pidennetty yli sen määrän, jonka aikaa työskentelemällä työmies tuottaisi ainoastaan työ-

kykynsä arvon eli korvaisi palkkansa.'' (''Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto'', siv. 73-74.)

Kapitalisti tai farmari omistaa palkkatyöläisensä tuottamat tuotteet. Myydessään nämä tuotteet, myy hän samalla sellaista, joka ei ole maksanut hänelle kerrassaan mitään, vaikka ne ovat maksaneet työläiselle työtä.

On helppo nähdä miten kaivosmies sai **arvon** työvoimastaan; $4.00 rahassa sisältää 2 työtuntia; $4.00:lla voidaan ostaa niin paljon tarvikkeita (jotka on luotu kahdessa työtunnissa), että kaivosmies kykenee tuottamaan **lisää työvoimaa** seuraavan päivän työtä varten.

Tässä tapauksessa kaivosmiehen työ, se määrä hiiltä minkä hän kaivaa päivässä, sisältää viisi kertaa sen määrän työtä mikä tarvitaan elintarpeiden tuottamiseen, jotka häneen nähden tuottavat uutta työvoimaa. Sillä se määrä minkä hän saa työvoimastaan, sisältää ainoastaan kaksi työtuntia, kun taas se määrä minkä hän tuottaa ja jonka kapitalisti tai farmari pidättää itselleen, sisältää **10 työtuntia.**

Kaivosmies myy työvoimaansa, ja on luonnollista, että kapitalisti yrittää käyttää sitä itselleen mahdollisimman edullisella tavalla. Jos palkkatyöläinen vaatisi antamistaan tuotteista vastaavan määrän tavaroita, niin ei hän olisi enää palkkatyöläinen, sillä kapitalisti ei palkkaisi häntä enempää. Kapitalistille ei jäisi mitään **yliarvoa.**

Mutta miehillä ja naisilla, joilla ei ole mitään muuta myytävää kuin työvoimansa, ei ole valinnan varaa. He ovat pakoitetut myymään työvoimaansa saadakseen palkkaa, jolla elää. Kapitalistit taas palkkaavat heitä ainoastaan saadakseen voittoa. Kapitalistit ovat pakoitetut antamaan työväenluokalle niin paljon, että se voi elää ja työskennellä, mutta yrittävät kaikella muotoa venyttää työpäivää 10- jopa 12-tuntiseksi, saadakseen itselleen mahdollisimman paljon ylijäämää eli yliarvoa.

Mutta tietoiset työläiset eivät tyydy siihen, että saavat myydä työvoimansa sen arvosta. He alkavat entistä suuremmassa määrässä vaatia työnsä tuloksia. Me alamme väsyä työvoimamme myyntiin palkasta, tavalli-

sen "markkinahinnan mukaan." Alamme väsyä siihen, että saamme kaksi työtuntia sisältävän tavaramäärän vastineeksi tavaroista, jotka sisältävät 10 tuntia työvoimaamme. Olemme väsyneet elämään kurjalla palkalla, kasatessamme miljoonia kapitalistiluokalle.

Tämä on vallankumouksellisen teollisuusunionismin päävaatimus; että työläismiehet ja -naiset lakkaavat myymästä itseään eli työvoimaansa **tavarana**. Edustamme **omistusta** tuottamiimme tuotteisiin nähden ja välttämätöntä yhteiskunnallista työtä sisältävien tuotteiden vaihtamista keskenään arvostaan.

Sinä ja minä työskentelemme työnantajalle siksi, että hän **omistaa** tehtaan, myllyn, kaivoksen tai farmin. Tuotanto- ja jakovälineiden (tehtaiden, maan, kaivoksien, myllyjen) **omistus** tekee kapitalisteista herroja ja sinusta ja minusta palkkatyöläisiä.

Edustamme maailman työläisten yhteistä omistusta kaivoksiin, myllyihin, tehtaisiin, maahan — kaikkiin tuotantoaloihin nähden.

Silloin kun sinä ja minä ja työläistoverimme **omistamme** tehtaat, joissa työskentelemme, tai maan, jota viljelemme, niin ei meidän tarvitse enää luovuttaa tuottamiamme tuotteita kellekään. Tulemme silloin olemaan yhteisiä omistajia yhteiskunnallisesti tuotettuihin esineisiin nähden. Tulemme vaatimaan työtä vastineeksi tuotteista. Tämä on I. W. W:n tarkoitusperä. Sen pyrkimyksenä on tehdä meistä miehiä ja naisia sensijaan, kun me tänäpäivänä olemme **tavaraa**, jota voidaan myydä ja ostaa markkinoilla halvimmasta hinnasta, samoin kuin kenkiä ja lehmiä ostetaan.

Kysymyksiä.

Voiko kaivosomistaja, kuten edelläolevassa on käytetty esimerkkinä, maksaa kaivostyöläisille täyden arvon heidän työstään ja silti tehdä voittoa? Voiko kaivosomistaja myydä hiilen arvostaan ja maksaa kaivostyöläisille täyden arvon heidän työstään ja silti tehdä voittoa?

Voisivatko kaivosomistajat maksaa kaivostyöläisille **enemmän** kuin mitä heidän työvoi-

mansa arvo on ja myydä hiilen vähemmästä kuin sen arvo on ja silti tehdä voittoa? Selosta miksi tämä olisi mahdollista?

Jos palkkatyöläiset kävisivät niin voimakkaiksi, että kykenisivät vaatimaan täyden arvon työstään, niin mitä tapahtuisi? Jäisikö kapitalistiluokalle mitään ylijäämää? Selosta miksi ei.

Mitä tapahtuu työvoimasi arvon ja tehtaassa tai kaivoksessa tuottamiesi tavaroiden arvon väliselle eroavaisuudelle?

Olettakaamme, että työskentelet kaivoksessa Californiassa $5.00 päiväpalkalla, jolla kykenet ostamaan riittävästi ravintoa, vaatetta ja suojaa **Californiassa** luodaksesi uutta työvoimaa. Olettakaamme, että työnantajasi haluaa lähettää sinut ja 200 työläistoveriasi työskentelemään kaivoksessa Alaskassa. Tarvikkeiden hinnat Alaskassa ovat paljon korkeammat kuin Californiassa. Sanokaamme, että Alaskassa tarvitaan $10.00 päivässä ravinnon, vaatteiden ja suojan ostamiseen — **työvoiman** luomiseen.

Kykenetkö säästämään enemmän rahaa Alaskassa $10.00 päiväpalkalla kuin Californiassa $5.00 päiväpalkalla? Miksi et? Kuka maksaa korkeissa hinnoissa olevan eroavaisuuden — **sinä,** vaiko **työnantajasi?** (Emme tarkoita tässä yksityistapauksia, vaan ravinnosta, vaatteista ja suojasta yleisesti otettuja korkeita hintoja.)

Tiedämme, että työväenluokka tuottaa kaiken vaihtoarvon. Me valmistamme kaikki tuotteet, mutta myydessämme työvoimaamme työnantajalle, kuuluvat kaikki tuotteet **hänelle.** Näinollen maksaa työnantaja melkein kaikesta, sillä hän on pidättänyt itselleen valmistamamme tuotteet.

Kun elintarpeiden arvo **kohoaa,** maksaako työväen- vaiko kapitalistiluokka laskun? Jos käytämme edellämainittua esimerkkiä kaivostyöstämme Alaskassa, niin maksammeko $10.00

ravinnosta, vaatteista ja asunnosta, tai lankeaako $5.00:n lisäys elinkustannuksiimme **kapitalistiluokan maksettavaksi?**

V.

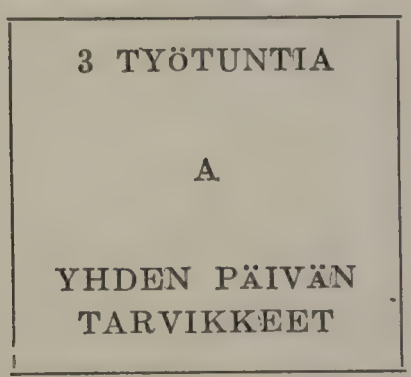
Alhaiset hinnat ja lisää voitoista.

Me tiedämme, että työvoima on tavaraa. Tavaran arvon määrää siihen sisältyvän välttämättömän yhteiskunnallisen työajan määrä.

Jos yhden päivän elintarpeittesi tuottamiseen käytetään kolme tuntia välttämätöntä yhteiskunnallista työtä, niin on yhden päivän työvoimasi arvo kolme tuntia välttämätöntä yhteiskunnallista työtä.

A-kuvio osoittaa työvoimasi arvon, sillä yhdessä päivässä tarvitsemiisi tarvikkeisiin sisältyy 3 tuntia yhteiskunnallista työtä.

TYÖVOIMAN ARVO



Antakaamme C-kuvion edustaa päivän tuotettasi. Se sisältää 9 työtuntia. Kapitalistin tai farmarin, jolle työskentelet, täytyy palauttaa sinulle niin paljon, että kykenet maksamaan A:sta (elinkustannuksistasi).

B-kuvio on samallainen kuin A-kuviokin, sillä se sisältää 3 työtuntia. Se edustaa sitä arvoa, minkä työnantaja palauttaa sinulle palkan muodossa.

Me tiedämme, että A on yhtä suuri kuin B. Ja me tiedämme, että C sisältää kolme kertaa niin paljon arvoa kuin A ja B. Me tiedämme myös, että kapitalisti

tai farmari yrittää jatkuvasti pidentää C:n **kymmeneksi** tai **yhdeksitoista tunniksi**, ja että kapitalistit laskevat

PALKKA

3 TYÖTUNTIA
B
KULTAA ELI RAHAA

palkkoja milloin ja missä hyvänsä se vaan on mahdollista. Ainoastaan jatkuvalla taistelulla on työväenluokka kyennyt säilyttämään asemansa ja saamaan, mahdollisesti normaalisia palkankorotuksia ja työpäivänlyhennyksiä.

PÄIVÄN TYÖN TULOKSET.

9 TYÖTUNTIA	PALKAN MUODOSSA SAAMASI ARVON MÄÄRÄ
C	3 TYÖTUNTIA

On itsestään selvää, että jos saat lisäyksen palkkaasi (B), niin tulee kapitalistille jäävä osa (C) vähenemään, aivan samoin kuin palkanalennus lisää hänelle yliarvoa.

Työpäiväsi (C) pidennys 10-tuntiseksi jättää työnantajalle 7 tuntia maksamatonta työtä kuuden sijaan. Lyhempi työpäivä vähentää kapitalistille lankeavan yliarvon määrää.

Reformistit ja jotkut palkkatyöläiset ovat siinä uskossa, että jos kykenisimme halventamaan elinkustannuksia, niin parantaisimme olosuhteitamme. He ajatte-

levat, että jos A:ta (elinkustannuksia) laskettaisiin, niin voisimme säästää osan palkastamme (B). Elintarpeiden arvon laskiessa laskee työvoimamme arvo, mutta he kuvittelevat, että voisimme alentaa elinkustannuksia ilman, että joutuisimme kärsimään suhteellista palkanalennusta.

Omalta kohdaltasi tiedät, että jos vuokraasi laskettaisi puolella ensi kuussa, niin olisi sinulla niin paljon enemmän käytettävänäsi muuhun. Tiedät myös, että jos veljesi lupautuu pitämään sinut ruoassa puolella tavallisesta maksusta, niin olisi sinulla niin paljon enemmän käytettävänäsi muuhun. Tämä pitää paikkansa yksityistapauksissa.

Mutta emme puhu tässä yksityistapauksista, vaikka käytämmekin oloperäisiä esimerkkejä asioiden selvityksessä. Me kysymme josko **alhaiset hinnat** hyödyttävät palkkatyöväen luokkaa.

Käytämme esimerkkiä selostuksemme valaisemiseksi. Olettakaamme, että Chicagon kaupunki ostaisi kaikki talot ja asunnot, joita vuokrataan **työläisille,** ja olettakaamme, että vuokria laskettaisi puolella. Olettakaamme, että Chicagossa vallitsisi kunnallinen omistus, ja että kaupunki kykenisi laskemaan elintarpeiden hintaa puolella. Haluamme tietää, että hyödyttäisikö tämä alennus työväenluokkaa, tai sitä osaa **kapitalistiluokasta,** joka ei toimi suoranaisesti elintarpeiden tuottamisen alalla?

Kun elinkustannukset laskevat huomattavasti jossakin kaupungissa, niin ryntäävät työläismiehet ja -naiset sinne myymään työvoimaansa. He luulevat, että jos voivat saada työtä siellä, missä **elinkustannukset** ovat alhaiset, niin kykenevät he säästämään rahaa ja mahdollisesti lopulta itsekin kiipeämään kapitalistiluokkaan.

Mutta katsokaamme mitä tapahtuu. Työläisiä ryntää kaupunkiin, jossa hinnat ovat halvat. **Työläisten kesken syntyy heti kiihkeä kilpailu työpaikoista,** ollen se aina kiihkeä. Kapitalistit ostavat työvoimaa alhaisimmalla hinnalla. Miehet ja naiset tarjoavat työvoimaansa halvemmalla ja halvemmalla, kunnes palkat ovat laske-

neet elintason tasalle. Nämä työläiset huomaavat hyvin lyhyessä ajassa, etteivät he ole hyötyneet yhtään.

Ottakaamme esimerkit A, B ja C. Kun elinkustannuksia (A) lasketaan puolella, niin alentaa työvoiman myyjäin keskinäinen kilpailu palkat (B) samassa suhteessa. Jos työnantajasi on terästehtailija, niin tuleeko hän saamaan **enemmän** vai **vähemmän** tuottamiesi tuotteiden arvosta?

Kapitalistit perustavat hyvin vähäisessä määrässä teollisuuslaitoksia Alaskaan, sillä elinkustannukset (eli työvoiman arvo) on niin äärettömän korkea kaukaisessa pohjoisessa, että heille jäisi hyvin vähän yliarvoa.

Tavaran arvon määrää siihen sisältyvä yhteiskunnallisen työn keskimäärä. Alaskan terästehtailijat olisivat pakoitetut kilpailemaan maailman markkinoilla aivan samalla tavalla kuin Bethlehemin ja Garyn teräsmyllyt kilpailevat, ja ainoastaan välttämätön yhteiskunnallinen työ luo arvoa.

Guatemalasta saapuvat tiedot kertovat, että puuvillatehtailijat aikovat rakentaa sinne kutomatehtaita. Keski-Amerikan alkuasukkaat voivat elää hyvin pienellä palkalla. Melkein kaikki Guatemalan alkuasukkaat rakentavat ja omistavat kaislakojun. Ilmanala on leuto, joten siellä ei tarvita keinotekoista lämmitystä. Puuvillakankaasta tehty paita ja housut riittävät pukineiksi, joten elinkustannukset ovat mitättömät. Leipäpuut ja bananit kasvavat villeinä. 10—12 senttiä riittää alkuasukkaan päivittäisiin mukavuuksiin. Eräässä aikakausijulkaisussa kerrottiin hiljakkoin pääoman etuisuuksista Keski-Amerikassa. Siinä sanottiin Guatemalan alkuasukkaiden saavan 9, 10 ja 12 senttiä päivässä.

Jos Keski-Amerikan alkuasukkaita pakotettaisiin tekemään työtä niin kovin kuin meitä Yhdysvalloissa, niin Guatemala olisi taivas kapitalisteille. Mutta heillä on vielä mahdollisuus elää vähällä työllä. Kuitenkin, kun kapitalistit saavuttavat kontrollin Guatemalassa ja alkuasukkaat voidaan pakoittaa myymään **työvoimaansa eläkseen,** niin tulee entistä suurempi riistäjäin määrä kääntymään siihen maahan, missä elinkustannukset ovat alhaiset (työvoiman arvo vähäinen), ja jossa siis kyke-

nevät saamaan entistä suuremman määrän ilmaista työtä.

Katsomme asiaa miltä kannalta hyvänsä, niin emme voi nähdä alhaisten hintojen hyödyttävän **työväenluokkaa** mainitsemisen arvoista aikaa, sillä taistelu työpaikoista laskee palkat pian sille tasolle, että niillä juuri voi elää.

Kysymyksiä.

Belgian työläiset ovat toimineet pitkän aikaa laskeakseen Belgian elinkustannuksia. He ovat muodostaneet osuusliikkeitä, ja sikäli kuin olemme kuulleet, ovat he todella kyenneet alentamaan elintarpeiden hintoja. Jos meillä olisi lista sekatavarain hinnoista Belgiassa, niin hämmästyisimme sen ja tämän maan hintojen eroavaisuudesta. Ja silti eräs belgialainen sosialisti kirjoitti hiljakkoin, että Belgia on edelleen kapitalistien taivas ja työläisten helvetti.

Ovatko palkat Belgiassa yhtä korkeat kuin Coloradossa tai Ohiossa? Miksi eivät? Ovatko Belgian työläiset paremmassa asemassa kuin me?

Jos jokainen työläinen Salt Lake Cityssä omistaisi itse kodin, niin aiheuttaisiko se palkkojen nousua vaiko laskua siellä? Selitä miksi?

Miksi tehtailijat tavallisesti rakentavat tehtaansa pienempiin kaupunkeihin?

Riistetäänkö palkkatyöläiseltä tuotteet työmaalla, vai petkutetaanko ne häneltä kun hän ostaa palkallaan elintarpeita?

Ennenkuin vastaat edelläolevan kysymykseen, niin vastaa seuraavaan:

Mikä määrää työvoimasi arvon? Mikä määrää kaikkien tavaroiden arvon?

Onko A:lla (elinkustannuksilla) mitään tekemistä B:n (palkan) kanssa, jonka tulet saamaan?

Jos B:n (palkan) arvo ei vastaa A:n (elinkustannusten) arvoa, niin tarkoittaako tämä,

ettet ole saanut täyttä arvoa työvoimastasi, tai tarkoittaako se sitä, että sekatavara-, liha- ja vaatekauppias petkuttavat sinua?

Jos palkkaasi (B:tä) lasketaan, niin onko siitä seurauksena enemmän yliarvoa työnantajallesi?

Parannetuista tuotantotavoista johtuu, että elintarpeiden arvo laskee hiljalleen. A sisältää vähemmän työtä; sen arvo on pienempi. Kullan arvo laskee myös; se sisältää vähemmän yhteiskunnallista työtä. Mikä olisi luonnollinen selitys sille, että kultaa voi vaihtaa vähempään tuotemäärään kuin 5 vuotta sitten? Kumman luulet laskeneen enemmän arvossa — kullan vaiko elintarpeiden?

Jos elintarpeiden arvo laskisi nopeammin kuin kullan, niin laskisivatko elintarpeiden hinnat? Tässä tapauksessa A:n arvo olisi suurempi kuin B:n. Voisiko tämä jatkua kauan?

Hyödyttäisikö osuustoiminta elinkustannusten alentamiseksi Yhdysvaltain työväenluokkaa, vai aiheuttaisiko se palkkojen alenemista? Miksi?

Onko meidän ehkäistävä Keski-Amerikan alkuasukkaiden pääsy Yhdysvaltoihin, estääksemme heitä kilpailemasta kanssamme työvoiman myynnissä? Tai ovatko he nyt jo vallanneet Yhdysvaltain työläisiltä työmahdollisuuksia työskentelemällä Guatemalassa? Selitä.

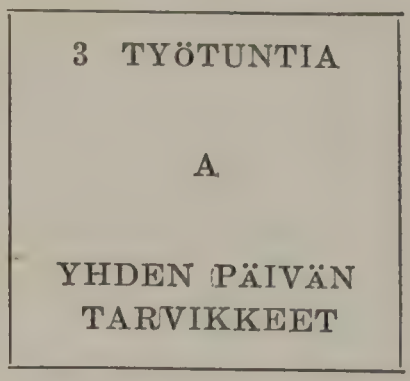
VI.

Korkeat hinnat ja monopolihinnat.

Olemme käsitelleet alhaisia hintoja ja niiden vaikutusta työväenluokkaan. Me huomasimme, että työläisten keskinäinen kilpailu työpaikoista aiheuttaa palkkojen alennuksen (hintojen laskiessa) paljaan toimeentulon tasolle. Käsitellessämme alhaisia hintoja, tulimme näkemään mitä tapahuisi B:lle (palkoille).

Käsittelemme edelleen tavaroita, joita vaihdetaan niiden arvoihin.

TYÖVOIMAN ARVO.

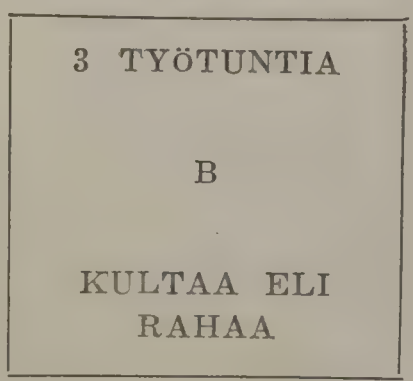


Jos A (eli elintarpeiden arvo) **kaksinkertaistuu,** niin kaksinkertaistuu **työvoimasi arvo** myös. Olettakaamme, että A kaksinkertaistuu ilman, että B suurenisi samassa määrässä, niin elintarpeiden hinta olisi kaksinkertaistunut, palkan pysyessä ennallaan.

Reformistit sanovat sekatavara-, liha- ja vaatekauppiaan ja talonomistajan riistävän sinua. He sanovat, että työnantajasi riistää sinua, mutta että mennessäsi palkkoinesi ostoksille, nämä toiset pettävät tai rosvoavat sinua.

Mutta jos palkka (B) ei kohoa samassa määrässä kuin elinkustannukset (A), niin tarkoittaa tämä yksinkertaisesti sitä, ettei työnantajasi maksa sinulle **työvoimastasi** sen **arvoa.** Elintarpeiden arvo **määrää** työvoimasi arvon.

PALKKA



Älä ole siinä käsityksessä, että kun vuokrat ovat "korkeat", tai ruoka kallista, niin sinua riistetään maksaessasi näistä. A:n arvon kohotessa kohoaa myöskin työvoimasi arvo. Ja ainoastaan silloin kun palkkasi vastaa elinkustannuksia saat työvoimastasi sen arvon.

Työläisten vähyys voi aikaansaada sen, että työvoimasta maksetaan väliaikaisesti enemmän kuin sen arvo on. Jos mitä hyvänsä tavaraa ei ole niin paljon kuin sillä on kysyntää, niin maksetaan siitä enemmän kuin sen arvo on. Jos taas sitä on enemmän kuin kysyntää, niin käy päinvastoin. Tämä voi kuitenkin tapahtua ainoastaan vähän aikaa. Monopolilla yksistään voidaan tavara vaihtaa yli sen arvon määräämättömän ajan. Toistaaksemme:

Reformisti sanoo: Palkkatyöläinen saa palkkansa; työnantajansa riistää häntä. Mutta kun hän menee ostamaan kenkiä, ruokaa, lihaa tai vaatetta, niin huomaa hän näiden tavaroiden omistajan myyvän niitä korkeammasta hinnasta kuin hän (työläinen) voi maksaa. Sitte nämä reformistit lopettavat sanomalla, että nämä kauppiaat riistävät **myös** työläisiä. He eivät käsitä, että A:n (elintarpeiden) arvo **määrää palkan.**

Kaikki työläiset eivät saa työvoimastaan sen arvoa. Jotkut taas saavat vähän enemmän kuin sen arvo on. Tunnemme erään nuoren tytön, joka työskentelee departementtikaupassa $10.00 viikkopalkalla. Hän ei voi ostaa ruokaa, vaatetta ja suojaa tällä palkalla. Hänen veljensä saa $20.00 viikossa. Hän ei tarvitse tätä kaikkea ylöspitoonsa. Hän avustaa siskoaan. Tällä tavalla kumpikin saa työvoimastaan sen arvon.

Työläiset eivät voi työskennellä kauaa vähemmällä kuin työvoimansa arvolla. Heidän täytyy saada ulkopuolista apua. Onnelliset perheenjäsenet avustavat niitä, jotka eivät saa riittävää palkkaa tullakseen toimeen. Tuhannet perheet saavat aika-ajoittaista avustusta hyväntekeväisyysyhdistyksiltä, niin että työväenluokka yleisesti saa työvoimastaan juuri sen arvon. Toisin sanoen, työväen armeija saa niin paljon, että kykenee luomaan työläisiä tulevaisuutta varten. **Työpaikoista**

kilpailevat työläiset pakoittavat palkat pelkän toimeentulon tasolle.

Me näemme miten A:n arvon lisääntyminen aiheuttaa työvoiman arvon lisääntymisen. Älkäämme siis soimatko sekatavara- tai lihakauppiasta tai talonomistajaamme kun työnantajamme ei maksa meille työvoimastamme sen arvoa. Elääksemme olemme pakoitetut vaatimaan palkankorotusta.

Mutta korkeat hinnat eivät ehdottomasti tarkoita, että elintarpeiden arvo on **lisääntynyt.** Se voi tarkoittaa, että kullan — vaihtovälikappaleen — arvo on **laskenut.**

Melkein kaikilla tavaroilla on taipumusta laskea arvossa, sillä uudenaikainen tuotantotapa vähentää niihin sisältyvän työn määrää. Kullan arvo voi laskea nopeammin kuin lihan, kenkäin, vehnän, leivän, tai vaatteiden arvo.

A kutistuu, mutta B (palkka) kutistuu arvossa nopeammin. Koska kullan arvo (eli palkka) laskee nopeammin kuin elintarpeiden, niin tarkoittaa se sitä, että se voidaan vaihtaa vähempään määrään elintarpeita. Yhdellä dollarilla voi tänäpäivänä ostaa vähemmän lihaa kuin viisi vuotta sitten.

Reformistit vaativat alempia hintoja, mutta vallankumoukselliset työläiset vaativat korkeampaa palkaa (työvoimansa arvoa). He toimivat myös palkkajärjestelmän poistamiseksi. Kaikkialla näemme palkkojen kohoavan hiljalleen, vastatakseen kohonneita elinkustannuksia.

Olemme vaikeroineet korkeista hinnoista, vaikka hinnat ovat ainoastaan nimellisesti korkeammat kuin viisi vuotta sitten. Kulta (eli palkka) on laskenut arvossa huomattavasti, ja kun tavaroille on oleellista tulla vaihdetuksi arvoihinsa, saadaan rahalla vähemmän tavaroita.

Me voimme saada saman määrän dollareita kuin ennen, mutta näiden dollarien arvo on laskenut. **Todellisuudessa** on palkkamme laskenut. Jos emme kykene palkallamme ostamaan elintarpeita, niin emme saa työnantajaltamme työvoimastamme sen arvoa.

1. Elintarpeiden hintojen kohoaminen voi johtua niiden **arvon** lisääntymisestä. Meidän täytyy saada suhteellinen lisäys palkkaamme saadaksemme työvoimastamme sen arvon.

2. Palkan (eli rahan) arvo voi laskea kunnes sillä ei voida enää lunastaa A:ta. Ellemme saa suhteellista **lisäystä** palkkaamme, niin saamme työvoimastamme vähemmän kuin sen arvon.

Monopolihinnat.

Lukiessaan edelläolevia lukuja, voin kuvitella reformistien sanovan: "Entä **monopolihinnat?**"

Ensiksi, ei ole vielä koskaan ollut täydellistä, jatkuvaa monopolia. Kiinassa, Japanissa, Meksikossa, Englannissa ja Saksassa löytyy teräsmyllyjä, jotka tyydyttävät Yhdysvaltain markkinat, jos voivat myydä halvemmalla kuin täkäläiset teräsyhtiöt. Kiinasta lähetetään nykyään ratakiskja Californiaan halvemmalla kuin tämän maan terästehtaista.

Monessa maassa löytyy vielä useita öljy-yhtiöitä. Autoliikenne, sähköraitiotiet, ilmalaivat, vesitiet y. m. s. vähentävät rautatieyhtiöiden tuloja. Milloin hyvänsä rautatiemaksut käyvät liian korkeiksi, muuttaa tehtailija toiseen kaupunkiin.

Jotkut voivat toivoa jatkuvaa, täydellistä monopolia, mutta siinä on aina se vaara, että joku astuu näyttämölle kilpailijana.

Kukaan ei ole koskaan kyennyt mielivaltaisesti kohottamaan jonkun tavaran yleistä hintaa ja **saanut** tätä hintaa. Jos joku olisi omannut sellaisen vallan, niin olisi hän kiskonut rajattoman hinnan tavarastaan, saavuttaen viipymättä maailman diktatuurin.

John D. Rockefeller voi kohottaa öljyn hintaa jollakin paikkakunnalla, mutta hän ei voi pakoittaa ketään maksamaan tätä hintaa. Niinkutsutut monopolistit ovat taloudellisen lain alaisia samoin kuin palkkatyöläiset. Ei yksikään monopolisti ole koskaan ollut niin ihmisystävällinen, ettei hän olisi aina kiskonut mahdollisimman korkeaa hintaa.

Siis näemme, etteivät he kykene kohottamaan hintoja mielivaltaisesti.

Jos joku on ollut saavuttamaisillaan monopolin, niin ovat toiset kapitalistit, joilla on ollut rahaa sijoitettavana, odottaneet tilaisuutta ryhtyä tuottamaan sijaistavaraa, joka jättäisi kilpailijan tavaran varjoon.

Yhdysvalloissa löytyy liikeyrityksiä, jotka ovat lähellä monopolia. Nämä kykenevät epäilemättä myymään tavaransa **enemmästä** kuin niiden arvo on. Jotkut näistä toimivat ravinnon ja vaatteiden tuoton, ja rakennusalalla.

Tämä ei tarkoita sitä, että vaikka monopolistilla on väliaikainen kontrolli johonkin tavaraan nähden, että hän tulee kohottamaan tämän tavaran hintaa. Hän tulee varmasti yrittämään laskea sen arvoa sulkemalla tarpeettomat tehtaat ja ottamalla käytäntöön parempia koneita, jotka vähentävät siihen sisältyvän työvoiman määrää. Useita "monopolistien" laitoksissa tuotettuja tavaroita myydään **halvemmalla** kuin ennen monopolituotantoa.

Jos monopolin, uuden tuotantotavan mukaan tuotettu tavara vaihdetaan arvoonsa, niin olisi sen hinta alhaisempi. Minulle kerrotaan, että **öljy** on paljon halvempaa nyt kuin pari- kolmekymmentä vuotta sitten, ennenkuin Rockefeller alkoi muodostamaan hirviötään. Jos monopolisti jatkaa tavaran myyntiä samalla hinnalla kuin mihin se vaihdettiin ennen, niin jää hänelle paljon suurempi voitto, sillä sen arvo on **laskenut** — ehkä 50:llä prosentilla.

Mutta otamme äärimmäisen tapauksen kuvaamaan kuka maksaa hinnan sellaisessa tapauksessa kun jokin mielikuvituksellinen hirviö **kaksinkertaistuttaa** elintarpeiden **hintoja.** "

Olettakaamme, että 500 Alaskan kuvarikaivoksessa työskentelevää kaivosmiestä saa $10.00 päivässä. $10.00 antaa heille juuri siedettävän toimeentulon Alaskassa. Sillä miehellä, joka omistaa ruoka- ja vaatevaraston Alaskassa, on väliaikainen monopoli — ehdoton, väliaikainen monopoli näihin tarvikkeisiin nähden.

Hän voi todellisuudessa kiskoa näistä tarvikkeista

kaksinkertaisen hinnan yhden sesongin ajan. Alaskan elinkustannukset kohoavat $20.00:iin päivässä.

Työnantajan täytyy **kaksinkertaistuttaa** kaivosmiesten palkka ennenkuin nämä saavat työvoimastaan sen arvon, kuten ennen. Hänen on maksettava $20.00 päivässä, jos aikoo saada heidät työhön seuraavana päivänä.

YHDEN PÄIVÄN TYÖN TULOKSET.

9 TYÖTUNTIA	PALKAN MUODOSSA SAAMASI ARVON MÄÄRÄ
C	3 TYÖTUNTIA

Jos kaivosomistaja huomaa, ettei hänelle jää mitään voittoa maksaessaan työläisilleen $20.00 päivässä, niin kieltäytyy hän maksamasta sitä ja pysähdyttää kaivoksensa; kaivosmiehet lähtevät pois Alaskasta ja monopolisti menettää markkinansa. Jokaisen "monopolistin" on otettava huomioon tällaisen tapahtumisen mahdollisuus. Sitä voi tappaa kultamunia munivan hanhen.

Tästä näemme, että jos A **kaksinkertaistuu,** niin täytyy palkalle tapahtua samoin, ja kun B (palkka) kohoaa, niin jää työnantajalle vähemmän yliarvoa.

Monopolisti, joka tässä tapauksessa kykeni **kaksinkertaistuttamaan** elintarpeiden hinnat, samoin kuin palkkamme, on pakoittanut kaivosomistaja-työnantajamme luovuttamaan yliarvoaan hänelle.

Ota huomioon C-kuvio. Jos meille palkan muodossa palautettu osa kaksinkertaistuu, niin jää työnantajalle juuri se määrä vähemmän. **Meille** maksettu ylimääräinen osa menee monopolistille.

Monopoli yleensä tarkoittaa sitä, että monopolisti on kyllin voimakas pakoittamaan muut työnantajat **jakamaan** hänen kanssaan osan tuotteidemme arvosta, jonka olivat ennemmin pidättäneet itselleen.

Todellinen taistelu tapahtuu **monopolistin** ja **kaivosomistaja-työnantajan** välillä, joka tekee kaikkensa "trustien murskaamiseksi."

Tässä tapauksessa voi kaivosomistaja tarjota meille $18.00 päivässä, ja me voimme yrittää joitakin viikkoja tulla toimeen tällä palkalla. Tämä ei kuitenkaan käy päinsä, sillä saamme vähemmän kuin sen, mikä työvoimamme arvo on.

Kysymyksiä.

Riistävätkö trustit palkkatyöläisiä myydessään heille trustin valmistamia tavaroita?

Voiko monopoli myydä tavaraansa samalla hinnalla kuin yksityinen liike, ja saada yhä paljon voittoa. Miksi?

Mitkä ovat hintojen kohoamisen kolme syytä? Selitä.

Useampi tehdas tuottaa tänä vuonna tynnyreitä kuin viime vuonna. Omistajat kilpailevat keskenään siitä, kuka voisi myydä enemmän tynnyrilautoja ja vanteita. Mutta tynnyrilautojen ja vanteiden hinnat ovat kohonneet kaikkialla. Miksi? Onko arvo laskenut? Tynnyrilautojen ja vanteiden valmistuksessa käytetään samallaista tuotantotapaa kuin ennenkin.

Työläisten palkat sadoissa pienissä tehtaissa kautta Yhdysvaltain ovat kohonneet vuoden parin aikana. Työttömiä miehiä ja naisia on paljon, mutta he (työläiset) eivät ole laskeneet palkkoja näissä keskuksissa kilpailemalla työpaikoista, vaikka ovatkin aina markkinoilla tarjoamassa työvoimaansa. Vieläpä työttöminä olevat työläisetkin vaativat työvoimastaan **enemmän** kuin joitakin vuosia sitten.

Miksi palkat kohoavat näissä keskuksissa ja yleensä kaikkialla? Miksi työttöminä olevat työläisetkin vaativat enemmän työvoimastaan?

Kiinassa ei ole trusteja — vielä. Elintarpeiden hinnat Kiinassa ovat äärettömän alhaiset.

Jos hinnat jossakin maassa ovat "alhaiset", niin tarkoittaako se sitä, että työväenluokan asema siinä maassa on parempi kuin sellaisissa maissa, joissa hinnat ovat "korkeat?"

Olettakaamme, että yksi mies omistaa kaikki työläisille vuokrattavat asunnot jossakin kaupungissa. Olettakaamme, että nämä työläiset työskentelevät jossakin tehtaassa siinä kaupungissa. Olettakaamme, että asuntojen omistaja kohottaa niiden vuokraa 20:sta $50:een dollariin. Jos työläiset ovat saaneet juuri sen mikä työvoimansa arvo on, niin mitä tapahtuisi vuokrien kohotessa? Kuka todellisuudessa joutuisi maksamaan vuokran korotuksen?

VII.

Palkka.

Löytyy useita keinoja, joilla työläiset voivat yrittää parantaa asemaansa. Viidennessä luvussa käsittelimme alhaisia hintoja ja niiden vaikutusta työläisten elämään. Me huomasimme, että elintarvehintojen laskiessa laskevat palkat samassa määrässä, johtuen työläisten keskinäisestä kilpailusta työpaikoista.

Työnantajan on yhtä mahdoton laskea palkkaa mielivaltaisesti kuin kohottaa tavaran hintaa. Olosuhteiden täytyy olla suotuisat hintojen kohoamiselle ja laskemiselle. Se on työttömäin työläisten armeija, joka pakoittaa palkat (eli työvoiman hinnan) alas, elinkustannusten laskiessa. Emme nähneet, että alhaiset hinnat hyödyttäisivät työväenluokkaa.

Käsitellessämme hintoja kahdessa edelläolevassa luvussa, emme käsitelleet suurestikaan **palkkoja**, eli työvoiman hintaa. Työvoima on tavara aivan samoin kuin uuni, vehnä, takki tai kone. Ja työvoiman arvon eli hinnan määrittely tapahtuu aivan samalla tavalla kuin minkä hyvänsä muun tavaran arvon.

Palkkatyöläisten pyrkimyksenä on aina saada korkeampaa palkkaa, eli parempi hinta työvoimastaan.

On helppo ymmärtää, että kultakaivostyöläinen, jo-

ka saa palkkansa korotetuksi neljästä dollarista kuuteen päivässä, jättää vähemmän yliarvoa kaivosomistajalle. Hän saa takaisin enemmän työstään. Ja vallankumouksellisten työläisten tarkoituksena on tulla koko työnsä tuloksien omistajiksi.

Taloustieteilijöinä pidetyt ovat jatkuvasti väittäneet, ettei palkankorotus hyödytä palkkatyöväestöä. He väittävät, että kapitalistit kohottavat elintarpeiden hintoja, joten työläiset tulevat olemaan samassa asemassa kuin ennenkin.

Mutta kirjassaan "Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto", luku 2, siv. 14-15, sanoo Marx: "Miten voi tämä palkkojen korotus vaikuttaa tavaroiden hintaan? Vaikuttamalla ainoastaan näiden tavaroiden kysynnän ja tarjonnan väliseen varsinaiseen suhteeseen.

"Täysin totta on, että kokonaisuudessaan otettuna työväenluokka kuluttaa ja on pakoitettu kuluttamaan tulonsa tarvikkeisiin. Yleinen korotus palkkatasossa tulisi senvuoksi aiheuttamaan lisäyksen tarvikkeiden kysynnässä ja siten niiden markkinahinnoissa.

"Kapitalistit, jotka tuottavat näitä tarvikkeita, saisivat korvauksensa korotetuista palkoista tavaroiden kohonneiden markkinahintojen kautta."

Huomaa. — Marx sanoo, että tarvikkeiden hinnat voisivat kohota **väliaikaisesti**, johtuen ravinnon, vaatteiden ja asuntojen **lisääntyneestä kysynnästä**; ei siksi, että kapitalisti oli päättänyt kohottaa hintoja. Ja ottakaa huomioon mikä on viipymätön seuraus:

"Millainen sitten tulisi olemaan niiden kapitalistien asema, jotka eivät tuota tarvikkeita? Sillä voittomäärän vähenemistä, joka olisi seurauksena palkkojen yleisestä kohoamisesta, eivät he voisi korvata itselleen tavaroidensa hinnan kohoamisella, koska näiden kysyntä ei olisi lisääntynyt. ...

"Seurauksena tästä vähentyneestä kysynnästä olisi heidän tavaroidensa hintojen aleneminen. Näillä teollisuusaloilla tulisi voittomäärä siten laskemaan.

"Mikä tulisi olemaan seurauksena tästä voittomäärien erilaisuudesta eri teollisuudenhaaroihin sijoitettuihin pääomiin nähden? Sama seuraus, mikä yleensä il-

menee silloin kun jostain syystä **keskimääräinen voittomäärä** muuttuu erilaiseksi eri tuotannon piireissä.

"Pääoma ja työ siirrettäisiin vähemmän tuottavilta aloilta paremmin tuottaville; ja tätä siirtämismenoa tulisi jatkumaan, kunnes tuotanto yhdessä teollisuuden osastossa olisi kasvanut suhteelliseksi lisääntyneen kysynnän kanssa ja vähentynyt toisissa suhteelliseksi vähentyneen kysynnän kanssa.

"Kun tämä muutos olisi saatu aikaan, tulisi yleinen **voittomäärä** jälleen olemaan **yhdenmukainen** eri teollisuuden haaroilla. Kun koko epäjärjestys alkujaan oli syntynyt paljaasta muutoksesta eri tavaroiden kysynnän ja tarjonnan suhteessa, niin syyn lakatessa tulisi seurauskin lakkaamaan ja hinnat palaamaan entiseen tasoonsa ja tasapainoonsa.

"**Yleinen** palkkatason **korotus** tulisi siten **hetkellisen markkinahintojen häiriön** jälkeen aiheuttamaan ainoastaan **yleisen voittomäärän alenemisen** ilman **pysyväistä muutosta tavaroiden hinnoissa.**" ("Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto", siv. 16, 17, 18.)

Käytämme oloperäistä esimerkkiä selostaaksemme Marxin esittämää asiaa. Kaivosmiehet eräässä kaivoskaupungissa saivat palkkansa korotetuksi 4:stä 6:een dollariin päivältä. Kaupungin ainoan ruokalan omistaja ajatteli voivansa kohottaa viikon ruoan hintaa 8:sta 10:een dollariin. Viikon, pari kaivosmiehet maksoivat korotettua hintaa, mutta kolmannella viikolla eräs mies, joka oli kuullut kaupungissa vallitsevasta "kukoistavasta ajasta", avasi ruokalan, ja kolmen kuukauden kuluessa kaupunkiin oli ilmestynyt **neljä** ruokalaa, kilpailemaan "kultaisesta mahdollisuudesta." Tämä ruokalain omistajain keskinäinen kilpailu pakoitti ruoan hinnan 6:een dollariin viikolta. Jotkut näistä muuttivat pois, kunnes ruoan hinta tuli **sille tasolle,** millä se oli yleensä siinä valtiossa.

Hintojen ollessa hyvät, tulvivat liikemiehet kaivoskylään, mutta kun ne laskivat alapuolelle tavallisten hintojen, niin lähtivät he pois.

Marx sanoo, että kun työläiset saavat korkeampaa palkkaa, niin kuluttavat he sen parempaan ruokaan,

vaatteisiin ja parempiin asuntoihin. Tämä lisää ravinnon, vaatteiden ja asuntojen kysyntää. Useampi kapitalisti ryhtyy ravinnon ja vaatteiden tuottamiseen ja asuntojen rakentamiseen. Kapitalistien keskinäinen kilpailu laskee hinnat usein **alapuolelle** sen, mitä niistä otettiin ennenkuin työläiset saivat palkankorotuksensa, kunnes kapitalistit huomaavat voivansa saada suurempia voittoja muilla aloilla, kun kiinnittävät pääomaansa muihin teollisuuksiin, ja hinnat laskevat taas sille tasolle, missä olivat ennenkuin työläiset saivat palkankorotuksensa.

Viimeisellä sivulla kirjaansa "Arvo, Hinta ja Voitto", sanoo Marx:

"Yleisen palkkatason kohoamisesta olisi seurauksena yleisen voittomäärän aleneminen, mutta ei se, laveammin puhuen, vaikuttaisi tavaroiden hintoihin."

Kysymyksiä.

Jos saisit $4.00 päivässä työskentelystä kultakaivoksessa, mutta lakkoutumalla saisit pakoitetuksi työnantajan korottamaan palkkaasi kuuteen dollariin, niin jäisikö työnantajalle yhtä suuri määrä yliarvoa kuin ennen?

Mihin palkkatyöläiset tavallisesti kuluttavat palkkansa? Ylellisyysesineisiinkö?

Jos palkkatyöväenluokka kykenisi korottamaan palkkaa niin paljon, että jokaiselle työläismiehelle ja -naiselle tulisi neljän dollarin lisäys viikossa, käyttäisikö se tämän lisäyksen autoihin ja Europanmatkoihin, vai ostaisiko se sillä enemmän ja parempaa ruokaa ja vaatetta?

Mitä tapahtuu jonkun tavaran kysynnän lisääntyessä yht'äkkiä? Kohoaisiko vai laskisiko tämän tavaran hinta (väliaikaisesti)? Jos tätä tavaralajia tuottavat kapitalistit saavat siitä korkeamman hinnan, niin saako se muita kapitalisteja ryhtymään tämän tuottamiseen toivossa lisätä voittojaan?

Mitä tapahtuu useamman kapitalistin kil-

paillessa jollakin alalla, jossa hinnat ovat korkeat? Laskevatko hinnat?

Jatkavatko nämä kapitalistit tämän tavaran tuottamista sen jälkeen kun sen hinta on laskenut niin alas, etteivät kykene saamaan keskimääräistä voittoa?

Kun he antautuvat jollekin toiselle tuotantoalalle, niin muuttuuko tämän tavaran hinta taas normaaliseksi?

Miksi eivät kapitalistit voi kohottaa hintoja mielivaltaisesti? Olettakaamme jollakin rikkaalla tilanomistajalla olevan joukon hyviä hevosia silloin, kun Yhdysvaltain sotilasjoukkoja lähetetään Meksikon rajalle. Hevosista on puute, koska loiseläjäin luokka on alkanut käyttää autoja. Tilanomistaja myy hevosensa huikeasta hinnasta. Puhelu sodasta jatkuu. Mitä muut tilanomistajat suunnittelevat kuullessaan niistä huikeista voitoista mitä tämä yksi onnellinen hevostenomistaja sai? Alkavatko he harjoittaa **hiililiikettä?**

Vaikka olisikin sota, tai huhuilua sodasta, niin olisiko hevosten hinta muutaman vuoden kuluttua yhtä korkea kuin silloin, kun tämä yksi tilanomistaja myi hevosensa? Miksi ei?

VIII.

Lyhempi työpäivä.

Edellisessä luvussa käsittelimme yleistä palkkojen korotusta ja sitä, kuinka se hyödyttäisi työväenluokkaa. Huomasimme, että yleinen palkkojen kohoaminen johtaisi lopulta keskimääräisen voiton alenemiseen, vaikuttamatta hintoihin yleensä.

Mutta nyt, kun olemme nähneet korkeista palkoista olevan etuisuuden, niin kuinka voimme saada ne?

On totta, ettei työväenluokka luokkana ole ollut järjestynyt siinä määrässä, että olisi kyennyt vaatimaan korkeamman hinnan työvoimastaan — suuremman osuuden työskentelystään.

Samassa määrässä pitää paikkansa se, että kun työväenluokka on järjestynyt kyllin voimakkaasti ja tullut kylliksi luokkatietoiseksi, niin se ei tule pysähtymään ainoastaan palkkavaatimuksiin, vaan tulee poistamaan koko palkkajärjestelmän.

Mutta kapitalistiluokka käy jatkuvaa sotaa työväenluokkaa vastaan. Se laskee palkat pelkän toimeentulon tasolle, laskien elintasoa milloin ja missä hyvänsä se vaan on mahdollista. Se pidentää työpäivää niin pitkäksi kuin työläisten ruumiilliset voimat vaan antavat myöten. Ja työläiset ovat pakoitetut käymään jatkuvaa taistelua säilyttääkseen sen, mitä heillä on. Siksi näemme joka puolella pienten työläisryhmäin kamppailussa työnantajain kanssa, säilyttääkseen työsuhteensa, tai parantaakseen niitä niiden käytyä sietämättömiksi.

On selvää, ettei kymmenestä kuuteentoista tuntiin päivässä työskentelevillä työläisillä ole paljoakaan voimaa ja tilaisuutta tutkia, tai ottaa osaa vallankumoukselliseen toimintaan. On myöskin varmaa, että palkan täytyy olla suuremman siellä missä työläiset työskentelevät kahdeksan tuntia kuin siellä missä työskentelevät kuusitoista tuntia päivässä. Kuusitoista tuntia käyvän koneen hoitamiseen tarvitaan kaksi kahdeksan tuntia työskentelevää työläistä.

Ei ole ainoastaan tarpeellista, että puolustaudumme, etenemme ja hyökkäämme jokapäiväisessä kamppailussa kapitalistien kanssa, vaan se on **välttämätöntä.** Sillä nykyisten häviöittemme ja voittojemme kautta tulemme tuntemaan voimamme ja erehdyksemme. Taistelemalla opimme taistelemaan. Taisteluissa, jotka näyttävät täydellisiltä epäonnistumilta, kehitetään usein uusia menettelytapoja. Ja luokkasolidarisuudesta tulee elävä olemus, vastustamaton ase, kun me taistelemme ja toimimme luokkana.

Ryhmätaistelutkin — ammattiunioiden työnantajia vastaan käymät eristetyt taistelut — kantavat runsaita luokkasolidarisuuden hedelmiä. Sillä ammattitaistelut käyvät entistä enemmän epäonnistumiksi, osoittaen vallankumouksellisen teollisuusunionismin tärkeää tarpeellisuutta.

Mutta ammattiunioiden taisteluissa ei ole aina epäonnistuttu, vaikka voittojen saavuttaminen alkaa käydä entistä vaikeammaksi ja mahdottomammaksi tuotantokoneiston kehittymisen takia, joka poistaa ammattitaitoisten työläisten tarpeellisuuden. Ammattitaitoiset työläiset ovat silloin, kun taitonsa on tullut kysymykseen, kyenneet muodostamaan ammattitaitoisten työläisten monopolin eli union, jolla ovat kyenneet pakoittamaan työnantajansa myöntämään lyhempiä työpäiviä, korkeampia palkkoja ja parempia työsuhteita. Mutta nämä voitot on saavutettu vissinlaisen taidon monopoliseerauksella, eikä ensinkään työläisten luokkatietoisuudella.

Kaikissa maissa missä kulta on arvon määrääjänä, vaativat työläiset juuri nyt, ja saavuttavatkin, korkeampaa palkkaa. Tämä johtuu kullan arvon alenemisesta ja paperirahan lisääntymisestä, jolla saadaan vähemmän tavaroita kuin ennen, josta on ollut seurauksena hintojen ja elinkustannusten kohoaminen.

Nämä työläiset saavat korkeampia palkkoja työnantajakapitalisteilta siksi, että "ylöspitonsa" maksaa enemmän, aivan samoin kuin miehen, joka omistaa hevosen, täytyy maksaa sen ylöspidosta enemmän silloin kun rehun hinta on korkeampi, jos aikoo pitää hevosensa. He eivät saa korkeampaa palkkaa luokkatietoisen toiminnan kautta, vaikka jokainen taistelu onkin luokkatietoisuuden kasvattaja, enemmän tai vähemmän suoralla tavalla.

Uudenaikaiset koneet poistavat niin ammattitaitoisen kuin ammatittomankin työvoiman tarpeellisuutta jatkuvasti lisääntyvällä nopeudella. Ammattitaitoisia työläisiä joutuu ammattitaidottomain työläisten riveihin, ja ammattitaidottomia työttömien riveihin. Ja kaikki työläiset joutuvat vähitellen samalta tasolta kilpailemaan keskenään työpaikoista. Mikään ei voi estää automaattisen koneen edistystä, joka on ihmeellisin keksintö mitä ihminen on koskaan tehnyt — koneen, joka tulee jonakin päivänä vapauttamaan ihmiskunnan alituisesta huolesta ja alentavasta työstä!

Mutta kamppailla meidän täytyy tänään ja huomenna. Ja ajan kuluessa tämä kamppailu kärjistyy.

Tuhansia ja satojatuhansia miehiä ja naisia viskataan työttömäin armeijaan. Meidän täytyy vähentää työttömäin työläisten lukumäärää.

Lyhentääksemme työpäiväämme täytyy meidän järjestyä teollisuuksittain. Jos kuuden tunnin työpäivä otettaisiin käytäntöön, niin merkitsisi se työtä miljoonille miehille ja naisille Yhdysvalloissa. Se antaisi meille tilaisuuden kehittää itseämme ruumiillisesti ja henkisesti, tehdä järjestämis- ja kasvatustyötä, ja korottaisi palkkoja Yhdysvalloissa yleisesti. Sillä mitä vähäisempi työpaikoista kilpailevien työläisten lukumäärä on, sitä korkeampaa palkkaa kykenevät työläiset vaatimaan.

Toistaaksemme: Uudenaikaiset koneet viskaavat entistä useamman miehen ja naisen työttömäin armeijaan. Lyhempi työpäivä antaa useammalle miehelle ja naiselle tilaisuuden tehdä työtä ja säilyttää palkkansa ja vaatia vielä lisääkin palkkaa, puhumattakaan työläisten taisteluhengen, solidarisuuden ja luokkatietoisuuden kehittämisestä.

Kysymyksiä.

Kumpi hyödyttää työväenluokkaa enemmän, palkankorotus vaiko työpäivän lyhennys? Mikä on työläisten suurimpana esteenä korkeamman palkan tai parempain ehtojen saavuttamisessa?

Mikä seuraus yleisestä työpäivän lyhennyksestä olisi jollekin maalle? Edellyttääkö lyhempi työpäivä korkeampia vai alhaisempia palkkoja? Miksi?

Jos työpäivä pidennettäisiin yht'äkkiä yleisesti kolmella tunnilla, niin minkälainen vaikutus sillä olisi työttömyyteen nähden? Edellyttäisikö se nousua vai laskua palkoissa?

Etsiessäsi työtä, sinä esiinnyt työnantajalle tavaran myyjänä. Mikä on tämä tavara? Mikä määrää sen hinnan (eli palkan), jonka saat työvoimastasi? Mikä määrää tämän tavaran arvon?

Mikä määrää tavaroiden hinnan? Mikä määrää tavaran arvon? Vaikuttavatko tarjonta ja kysyntä tavaran arvoon? Vaikuttavatko ne tavaran **hintaan?**

Olettakaamme, että 10 miestä työskentelee tehtaassa 20 tuntia 100:n kenkäparin valmistuksessa, ja 10 miestä työskentelee 100 tuntia toisessa tehtaassa myöskin 100:n kenkäparin valmistuksessa. Mikä määräisi yhden kenkäparin arvon? Sekö määrä työtä, mikä sisältyy ensinmainitussa tehtaassa valmistettuihin kenkiin, vai toisessa? Vai yhden kenkäparin valmistuksessa käytetyn työajan **keskimääräkö?**

Työväenluokka saa työvoimastaan tavallisesti sen arvon. Mutta se ei saa **tuottamiensa tuotteiden arvoa.** Selitä näiden kahden välinen eroavaisuus.

Mistä voitto saadaan? Mitä yliarvo on? Kuka sen saa? Voiko työnantaja maksaa työläisilleen heidän työvoimastaan sen (työvoiman) arvon ja myydä heidän valmistamansa tuotteet niiden arvosta ja silti saada voittoa? Olisiko työnantajalle koskaan mahdollista maksaa työläisille työvoimasta **enemmän** kuin mikä sen arvo on ja myydä tuotteet **alle** niiden arvon ja silti saada voittoa? Selitä miksi tämä voisi olla mahdollista.

Ovatko työläiset paremmassa asemassa siellä missä elinkustannukset ovat alhaiset, kuin siellä missä ne ovat korkeat? Kykenevätkö he säästämään enemmän niissä maissa, joissa hinnat ovat alhaiset? Hyödyttävätkö alhaiset hinnat työväenluokkaa? Ovatko palkat korkeat vai alhaiset siellä missä elinkustannukset ovat korkeat, ja siellä missä ne ovat alhaiset? Hyödyttävätkö alhaiset elinkustannukset kapitalisteja? Miksi?

Riistääkö lihakauppias, leipuri ja talonomistaja sinua? Olettakaamme, että nämä kolme luokkaa kykenisi yht'äkkiä kaksinkertaistut-

tamaan hinnat Yhdysvalloissa. Maksaisitko sinä tämän eroavaisuuden, vai **maksaisivatko työnantaja-kapitalistit** sen? Kohoaisivatko palkat? Olettakaamme, että palkat **eivät** kohoaisi. Saisitko työvoimastasi sen arvon? Jos et saisi korkeampaa palkkaa, niin merkitsisikö se sitä, että lihakauppias, leipuri ja talonomistajasi riistävät sinua, vai tarkoittaako se sitä, että sinun on saatava enemmän palkkaa saadaksesi työvoimastasi edelleen sen arvon?

Mikä on vallankumouksellisen teollisuusunionismin suuri päämäärä?


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14

Työväen Oppositsioni

Venäjän Kommunisti-puolueessa

Kirjoittanut
ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY

WORKERS SOCIALIST PUBLISHING CO.
DULUTH, MINN.

I. W. W.-Liiton Esipuhe

Työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla ei ole mitään yhteistä. Mitään rauhaa ei voi olla niin kauan kuin nälkää ja puutetta on olemassa miljoonilla työläisillä ja niillä harvoilla, jotka muodostavat työnantajaluokan, ovat kaikki elämän hyvyydet.

Näiden kahden luokan välillä täytyy taistelun jatkua niin kauan kunnes maailman työläiset järjestyvät luokkana, ottavat haltuunsa maan ja tuotantokoneiston ja poistavat palkkajärjestelmän.

Me huomaamme, että teollisuuksien johdon keskittyminen yhä harvempiin ja harvempiin käsiin tekee ammattiyhdistykset kykenemättömiksi pitämään puoliaan työnantajain alati kasvavaa valtaa vastaan. Ammattiyhdistykset pitävät yllä sellaista asiantilaa, että se katkeroittaa yhden työläisjoukon toista vastaan ja siten auttaa työläisiä tuhoamaan toinen toisensa palkkataistelussa. Tämän lisäksi ammattiyhdistykset auttavat työnantajain luokkaa johtamaan työläisiä siihen harhaluuloon, että työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla on yhteisiä etuja.

Tämä asiantila voidaan muuttaa ja työväenluokan edut säilyttää ainoastaan siten muodostetun järjestön avulla, että kaikki työläiset yhdellä teollisuusalalla, tai kaikilla aloilla, jos välttämätöntä, lakkaavat työstä milloin lakko tai työnsulku on julistettu jossakin järjestön osassa, siten tehden loukkauksen yhtä vastaan loukkaukseksi kaikkia vastaan.

Vanhoillisen mielilauseen: "Tyydyttävä päiväpalkka tyydyttävästä päivätyöstä" asemasta meidän on kirjoitettava sotalippuumme vallankumoukselliset tunnussanat: "Palkkajärjestelmän poistaminen."

Työväenluokan historiallinen tehtävä on kapitalismin kukistaminen. Tuotannon armeija on järjestettävä ei ainoastaan jokapäiväistä taistelua varten kapitalisteja vastaan, vaan myöskin jatkamaan tuotantoa sitten kun kapitalismi on voitettu. Järjestymällä teollisuuksittain me muodostamme uutta yhteiskunta-rakennetta vanhan kuoren sisällä.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY · CHICAGO

JOHDANTO

Päätarkoitus tämän kirjan kääntämisellä ja julkaisemisella on osoittaa Amerikan työläisille poliittinen puolue toiminnassa; miten se ei voi välttyä ajautumasta virkavaltaisuuteen, siten joutuen etäälle joukoista. Luonnollisesti tässä pienessä kirjassa ei voida tuoda esille kaikkia, eikä edes pientä osaa niistä paheista jotka ilmenevät poliittisessa tuotannon ja jaon hallinnossa, joten on selvää ettei tässä esilletuotu syytös voi ulottua puoluerajojen ulkopuolelle.

Tämä kirja ei ollut alkuperäisesti tarkoitettu muita kuin Venäjän Kommunistipuolueen kymmenennen kongressin edustajia varten ja odottaessamme saavamme arvostelua siitä että julkaisemme Amerikassa sellaista joka ei ole tarkoitettu julkisuuteen laajemmalti, oikeutamme itsemme sillä että puolueen arvosteleminen jonka käsissä on mahdollisesti Venäjän miljoonien kohtalo ja menestys, kuuluu yhtä suuressa määrässä vallankumouksellisille työläisille Amerikassa samoinkuin muualla, vieläpä Venäjänkin työläisille.

Omintakeisena joukkonousuna Venäjän vallankumous ei ole minkään ryhmän tai puolueen omaisuus. Sellaiseen tapahtumaan kietoutuu koko ihmiskunta, joten ei ketään voida vaatia tunnustamaan vissejä rajoja joista edemmäksi tieto tällaisista tärkeistä kysymyksistä ei voi mennä.

Bolshevikipuolueen epäonnistuminen yhteiskuntakysymyksen ratkaisussa ja tämän kirjan kirjoittajan ollessa kykenemätön todistamaan että sama poliittinen puolue olisi kyennyt ratkaisemaan sen jos olisi seurattu "oppositsionin" esittämiä menettelytapoja, niin ottamalla nämä kaksi seikkaa huomioon, pitäisi niiden mielestämme poistaa pitkäksi aikaa sen käsityksen että muutamat hallitusrakennuksissa kirjoituspöytäinsä ääressä istuvat johtajat voivat vapauttaa työläiset.

Kollontay on kyennyt todistamaan meille että Lenin, Trotzky ja Zinoviev, yhdessä toisten eturivin bolshevikien kanssa olivat kaiken aikaa väärässä yrittäessään ratkaista

yhteiskuntakysymyksen ylhäältä alaspäin. Hän on antanut tukea sille opille että sen täytyy tapahtua alhaalta ylöspäin, mutta ei ole kyennyt esittämään mitään johdonmukaista todistetta sille mikä oikeuttaa poliittisen puolueen johtamaan sellaista liikettä.

Tämän kirjan kääntäminen venäjänkielestä englanninkielelle oli vaikea, päävaikeus ollen välttämättömyys saada monta kohtaa ymmärrettävään muotoon englanninkielellä. Alkuperäinen venäjänkielinen oli kirjoitettu hätäisesti, ollen täpärällä että se saatiin painetuksi ennen Venäjän Kommunistipuolueen kymmenennen kongressin alkamista, joten oli mahdoton tehdä parempia ja seikkaperäisempiä tutkimuksia sen kokoonpanosta. Siksi on englanninkielisessä käännöksessä monta lausetta ja kappaletta jotka eivät ole kirjaimelleen käännettyjä, siitä huolimatta sisältäen kuitenkin alkuperäisen ajatuksen. Vielä yksi huomioonotettava seikka tämän kirjan yhteydessä on se tutunomainen sävy jolla se on kirjoitettu. Tämä johtuu luonnollisesti siitä että hän alkuperäisesti tarkoitti kirjan sellaisia varten jotka ovat tuttuja niiden kysymysten kanssa joita hän käsittelee, tehden hänelle tarpeettomaksi käsitellä asioita kovinkaan syvällisesti. Mutta kaikesta tästä huolimatta on selvästi nähtävissä että poliittisten keskuksien elimellinen heikkous jättää kokonaan varjoon "vasemmistolaisuuden penikkataudin."

Tätä kirjaa ei paineta nykyään Venäjällä ja yhdessä "työväen oppositsionin" kanssa tuli Venäjän Kommunistipuolueen kymmenennessä kongressissa tuomituksi "yhteensopimattomaksi Kommunistipuolueen nykyisen menettelytapaohjelman kanssa" ja koska tämä ei voi tarkoittaa muuta kuin sitä, että se on leimattu laittomuuden leimalla, täytyy sen nykyään toimia ulopuolella puolueen vaikutuspiirin. Mikä "oppositsionin" tulevaisuus tulee olemaan Venäjällä jää arvoitukseksi, mutta varmaa on että työläisten kamppailu teollisuuksien kontrollista tulee jatkumaan kaikista lakiesteistä huolimatta.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD,

1001 *West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.*

Mitä on työväen oppositsioni?

(Oppositsioni tarkoittaa puolueen sisällä olevaa vastustusryhmää.)

Mitä on työväen oppositsioni? Onko se välttämätön puolueemme ja koko maailman työväestön vallankumouksen edistymiselle, tai onko se päinvastoin "poliittisesti" harmillinen ja vaarallinen ilmiö, kuten toveri Trotzky sitä selitti puhuessaan ammattiunionismista?

Vastataksemme näihin kysymyksiin, jotka kiihoittavat ja häiritsevät monen työläistoverimme mieltä, on välttämätöntä ensin saada selville seuraava:

1. Kutka ovat liittyneet työläisten oppositsioniin ja kuinka se on saanut alkunsa?

2. Missä on puolueemme johtavien toverien ja työväen oppositsionin välisen erimielisyyden perusta?

Erittäin merkillepantava seikka, johon keskusvirastomme pitäisi kiinnittää huomionsa on se, että työväen oppositsioni muodostuu kommunistisen köyhälistön luokkajärjestön etevimmästä aineksesta. Oppositsioni on melkein kokonaan kokoonpantu ammattiunioiden jäsenistä. Tämän tosiasian toteaa teollisuusunionismin teesien allekirjoitukset. Ketä ovat nämä ammattiunioiden jäsenet? Työläisiä — se on Venäjän proletariaatin etujoukosta, joka on kantanut harteillaan kaikki vallankumoustaistelun vaikeudet ja joka ei ole sulautunut neuvostolaitoksiin, menettämällä yhteyttään työläisjoukkojen kanssa, vaan päinvastoin on pysynyt läheisessä yhteydessä niiden kanssa.

Pysyä unionsa jäsenenä, säilyttää suoranainen yhteys unionsa kanssa ja sen kautta sen teollisuuden työläisten kanssa jossa työskentelee, näiden myrskyisten vuosien kuluessa, jolloin yhteiskunnallisen ja poliittisen elämän painopiste on siirretty pois unioista, ei ole suinkaan ollut helppo ja yksinkertainen tehtävä. Vallankumouksen kuohuaallot ovat temmanneet pois ja kuljettaneet kauaksi unioiden parhaimmat, teollisuustyöväestön voimakkaimmat ja toimivimmat jäsenet, heittäen toiset heistä taistelurintamalle ja toiset neuvostolaitoksiin ja kuljettaen kolmannet virasto-

pöytien ääreen, jotka oli päällystetty vihreällä konttoripöytäkankaalla ja kuormitettu papereilla, kirjoilla, laskelmilla ja suunnitelmilla.

Uniot tehtiin jäsenittömiksi. Ja ainoastaan kaikista voimakkaimman proletariaatin hengen täyttämät työläiset, nousevan vallankumousluokan todelliset kukat, pysyivät vapaina neuvostobyrokratian korkeisiin virkoihin pyrkimisestä ja hallitsevan aseman turmelevalta vaikutukselta. He edelleenkin ovat henkisesti sulautuneina yhteen työläisten, sen yhteiskunnan pohjakerroksen kanssa, josta ovat itse lähteneet, sitoutuneet siteillä, joita ei voi korkeimmatkaan neuvostovirkapaikat katkaista.

Niin pian kun taistelun tuoksina rintamilla vaimeni ja elämän heiluri heilahti taloudellisen uudelleenrakentamisen puolelle, nämä proletariaatin hengen juurruttamat edustajat, nämä luokkansa parhaimmat heittivät nopeasti sotakaapunsa, jättivät konttoritoimensa sotalaitoksissa, vastatakseen tovereittensa, miljoonien Venäjän työläisten äänettömään kutsuun, jotka, yksinpä Neuvosto-Venäjälläkin raatoivat ylenmäärin, hävittömän kurjan toimeentulonsa puolesta.

Luokkavaistonsa avulla nämä toverit, ollessaan työväen oppositsionin ensimäisissä riveissä, tulivat tietoisiksi siitä tosiasiasta, että jotain oli vinossa. He käsittävät, että siitä huolimatta vaikka me näiden kolmen vuoden kuluessa olimme muodostaneet neuvostolaitokset ja uudelleen vakuuttaneet työväen tasavallan periaatteet, niin kuitenkin työväenluokka, luokkana, joka itsessään muodostaa yhteiskunnallisen yksikön, omaten yhtenäisen luokkapyrkimyksen, yhteisen tehtävän, mielenkiinnon ja *sentähden yhtenäisen selvän menettelytavan*, tulee yhä merkityksettömämmäksi tekijäksi neuvostotasavaltaa koskevissa asioissa. Yhä harvemmin sen vaikutus ilmeni oman hallituksensa suorittamissa tehtävissä, yhä harvemmin se määritteli ja johti virkailijainsa toimintaa. Kuka olisi uskaltanut vallankumouksen ensiaikoina puhua "ylemmästä" ja "alemmasta" kerroksesta. Joukot, nimittäin työväen joukot ja puolueen johtava keskus olivat yksi ja sama. Kaikki pyrkimykset mitä elämä ja taistelu siihen aikaan synnytti, löysivät täydellisimmän heijastuksensa johtavan puoluekeskuksen mitä selvimmässä ja tieteelle perustuvassa toimintaohjelmassa. Ei ollut rajaviivaa "ylemmän" ja "alemman" kerroksen vä-

lillä, eikä sellaista voinutkaan olla. Tällä kertaa kumminkin on tällainen jaottelu olemassa, eikä ole kyllin voimakasta agitatsionia, tai peloitusta, joka kykenisi hävittämään joukkojen mielestä sen tietoisuuden, että on kasvanut erikoinen yhteiskuntakerros — se on: neuvosto ja puolueen "ylempi" aineisto.

Ammattiunioiden jäsenistä muodostuva oppositsionin sydän on ymmärtänyt tämän tosiasian, tai oikeammin sanoen käsittänyt sen, terveen luokkavaistonsa avulla. Ensiksi, se huomasi välttämättömäksi olla läheisessä yhteydessä varsinaisen jäsenistön kanssa; mennä heidän luokkajärjestöihinsä, unioihin, jotka, vähemmän kuin mitkään muut laitokset, tulivat, ei-proletaarisen, se on talonpoikaisen ja porvarillisen aineksen, jotka sovelluttivat itsensä neuvostojoukkoihin, pilasivat meidän neuvostomme ja johtivat politiikan puhtaalta luokkapohjalta "sovittelujen" rämeikköön, erimielisyyksien hävittävän vaikutuksen alaisiksi.

Täten työväen oppoositsioni muodostuu proletariaatista, joka on läheisessä yhteydessä koneiden tai kaivosten kanssa.

Vielä enemmän, työväen oppositsioni on ihmeellinen siinä suhteessa ettei sillä ole huomattuja johtajia. Se sai alkunsa samoinkuin kaikki muutkin terveellä luokkaperustalla olevat liikkeet — työväen syvistä riveistä. Se versoi syvällä olevista juurista yhtäaikaisesti kaikissa Venäjän kaukaisimmissa kolkissa, jo silloin kun suurissa keskuksissa ei työväen oppositsionin olemassaolosta vielä tiedetty mitään.

"Meillä ei ollut pienintäkään aavistusta siitä seikasta, että Moskovassa keskusteltiin vakavista erimielisyyksistä, ja kuitenkin samallaiset kysymykset kuin täälläkin kiihoittivat meidän mieliämme," sanoi yksi Siperian edustaja kaivosmiesten konferenssissa. Työväen oppositsionin takana ovat proletariaatin joukot, tai määritelläksemme tarkemmin, työväen oppositsioni on teollisuusproletariaattimme yhtenäisin, luokkatietoisin ja päättävin osa — se osa, joka käsittää mahdottomaksi asettaa työväenluokan luovan voiman tilalle kommunistisen taloudellisen elämän rakentamisessa muodollisesti työväenluokan diktatuuriksi leimattua tekijää.

Mitä korkeammalle neuvostorappusia ja puolueen har-

vainvaltaa kiipeämme, sitä harvemmassa oppositsionin kannattajia löydämme. Mitä syvemmälle joukkojen keskuuteen tunkeudumme, sitä useampia työväen oppositsionin ohjelman kannattajia tapaamme.

Tämä on erityisesti tärkeä ja merkillepantava seikka. Puolueemme johtavissa keskuksissa olisi tämä otettava huomioon. Jos joukot menevät pois "ylemmistä" aineksista, jos hajaantumista ilmaantuu johtavien keskuksien ja "alemman" aineksen välillä, niin se tarkoittaa, että "ylimmässä" kerroksessa on jotain vinossa, erittäinkin silloin kun joukot eivät ole toimettomina, vaan ajattelevat, toimivat ja huolustavat itseään ja omia ajatuksiaan.

"Ylemmät" ainekset voivat johtaa joukot pois kommunismiin johtavalta historian suoralta tieltä, ainoastaan silloin kun joukot ovat hiljaisia, kuuliaisia ja vastustamatta ja herkkäuskoisina seuraavat johtajiaan. Näin oli v:na 1914, maailmansodan alussa, jolloin joukot uskoivat johtajiaan ja päättelivät: "Että sotavastainen vaistomme pettää meitä, äänettömyys on välttämätön, vaistomainen vastustustunne on kuoletettava ja toteltava ylempiämme." Mutta kun joukot liikehtivät, arvostelevat johtajiaan ja käyttävät omaa aivostoaan, *kun he itsepintaisesti äänestävät rakastettuja johtajiaan vastaan,* usein tukahduttaen henkilökohtaisen sympatian tunteensa, niin silloin ovat asiat vakavassa käänteessä ja puolueen tehtävänä on silloin: ei salata erimielisyyttä, eikä nimitellä oppositsionia tarkotuksettomilla pilkkanimillä, vaan vakavasti mietiskellä kysymystä koko laajuudessaan ja ottaa selville missä on vika; missä ovat erimielisyyden syyt, mitä työväenluokka, kommunismin edustaja ja sen ainoa rakentaja haluaa.

Työväen oppositsioni muodostuu siitä osasta proletariaattia, joka ei olé katkaissut yhteyttään unioihin järjestyneen työväen aineksen kanssa, eikä ole hajaantunut neuvostovirastoihin.

Erimielisyyden juuret

Ennenkuin lähdemme selvittämään mikä aiheutti yhä laajenevan repeämän työväen oppositsionin ja ylimpien johtajiemme virallisen näkökannan välillä, on välttämätöntä kiinnittää huomiota kahteen seikkaan:

(1) Työväen oppositsioni nousee Neuvosto-Venäjän teollisuusproletariaatin syvistä riveistä ja se on tulos, ei ainoastaan niistä kokonaan sietämättömistä elämän- ja työsuhteista, joissa 7 miljoonaa teollisuustyöläistä huomasi olevansa, mutta se on myöskin sen horjuvaisuuden, vastakkaisuuden ja kommunistisen ohjelman puhtaalta luokkakannalta siirtämisen tuote, jota neuvostopolitiikassamme on harjoitettu.

(2) Oppositsioni ei saanut alkuaan jostain vissistä keskuksesta, se ei ole persoonallisten riitaisuuksien ja erimielisyyksien synnyttämä, vaan päinvastoin, se käsittää koko Neuvosto-Venäjän ja saa osakseen vastakaikua kaikkialta.

Tällä kertaa on olemassa mielipiteitä, että koko riitaisuus työväen oppositsionin ja muutamien huomattavien johtajien välillä aiheutuu erimielisyydestä ammattiunionismikysymykseen nähden. Tämä ei kumminkaan ole totuuden mukainen. Syyt ovat syvemmällä. Oppositsionin edustajat eivät aina kykene kyllin selvästi ilmaisemaan ja määrittelemään niitä, mutta niin pian kun jotain tasavaltamme uudelleenrakentamista koskevaa tärkeämpää kysymystä käsitellään, niin riitaisuus ilmenee ja käsittää kokonaisen sarjan taloudellisia ja poliittisia kysymyksiä.

Ensi kerran nämä kaksi näkökantaa, sellaisena kuin puolueemme johtajat ja järjestyneen työväenluokan edustajat ne esittivät, ilmenivät puolueemme yhdeksännessä kongressissa, silloin kun siellä keskusteltiin kysymyksestä: "yhteinen vaiko yksilöllinen teollisuuksien johto." Sillä kertaa oppositsioni ei ollut järjestyneenä ryhmänä, mutta erityisesti on pantava merkille, että yhteistä (kollektiivista) johtoa kannattivat kaikki ammattiunioiden edustajat, kun taas sitä vastustivat kaikki puolueemme johtajat, jotka olivat tottuneet arvostelemaan kaikkia tapahtumia viralli-

selta näkökannalta. Tarvitaan huomattavaa viekkautta ja taitoa, sovittamaan yhteiskunnallisesti erilaiset ja usein poliittisesti toisilleen vihamielisiä pyrkimyksiä omaavat yhteiskunnalliset ryhmät, pikkuomistajat, talonpojat, porvarit, spesialistit ja valespesialistit keskenään.

Mistä se johtui ettei kutkaan muut, paitsi uniot, itsepintaisesti puolustivat yhteistä johtoa, vaikka eivät kyenneet esittämään tieteellisiä todistuksia väitteidensä puolustukseksi ja mistä johtui, että spesialistit puolustivat "yhden miehen johtoa?" Tämän riidan syynä on se, siitä huolimatta vaikka molemmat riitapuolet kielsivät, ettei ollut kysymyksessä periaatteellinen erimielisyys, että kaksi historiallisesti vastakkaista näkökantaa hyökkäsi yhteen. "Yhden miehen johto" on porvariluokan yksilöllisen käsityksen tuote. "Yhden miehen johdon" periaatteena on rajoittamaton, eristetty, yhden miehen vapaa tahto, eroitettuna kaikesta yhteisestä.

Tämä ajatus ilmenee ihmiskunnan kehityksen kaikissa vaiheissa, alkaen valtiollisen hallitsijan nimittämisestä ja päättyen tehtaan hallitsijaan. Tämä on porvarillisen ajatuksen korkein viisaus. Porvarit eivät luota yhdistyneen joukon voimaan. He haluavat ainoastaan nöyryyttää joukot täydelliseen alamaisuuteen, ja ajaa heidät mihin rajoittamaton tahtonsa haluaa.

Työväenluokka ja sen edustajat sensijaan käsittävät, että uusi kommunistinen päämäärä voidaan saavuttaa ainoastaan työläisten oman yhdistyneen rakentavan toiminnan kautta. Mitä kykenevimmäksi joukot tulevat esittämään yhteistä tahtoaan ja yhteistä ajatustaan, sitä nopeammin ja selvemmin käsitetään työväenluokan pyrkimys luoda uusi, yhtenäinen, täydellisesti suunniteltu kommunistinen teollisuus. *Ainoastaan ne, jotka ovat suoranaisessa koskетuksessa teollisuuden kanssa, voivat tehdä siinä parannuksia ja kehittää sitä.*

Periaatteista luopuminen — teollisuuksien yhteisen johdon periaatteesta — oli taktillinen kompromissi puolueemme hyväksi, sovinnaisuuteen pyrkimys, vielä enemmän, se oli siitä luokkamenettelytavasta luopumista, jota me niin innokkaasti kehitimme ja puolustimme vallankumouksen ensiaikoina.

Miksi tämä tapahtui? Kuinka se tapahtui, että puo-

lueemme, joka oli vallankumouksen taisteluissa karaistunut, sallittiin kulkeutua pois suoralta tieltä, kulkeakseen sovinnaisuuden mutkaista polkua, joka ennen tuomittiin ja nimitettiin "opportunismiksi."

Näihin kysymyksiin vastaamme myöhemmin. Sitä ennen palaamme kysymykseen: kuinka työväen oppositsioni muodostui ja kehittyi?

Venäjän Kommunistipuolueen yhdeksäs kongressi pidettiin keväällä. Seuraavan kesän aikana ei oppoositsioni esiintynyt julkisesti. Siitä ei kuultu mitään Kommunistisen Kansainvälisen toisen kongressin myrskyisten keskustelujen aikana, mutta syvällä pohjalla, siellä kiehui ja kasaantui kokemusperäinen ja arvosteleva ajatus. Sen kehittymisen ensimäinen ilmaantuminen tapahtui puolueen konferenssissa syyskuulla 1920. Jonkun aikaa se ilmeni huomattavimmin hylkäämisenä ja arvostelevana. Oppositsionilla ei ollut esitettävänä omia, hyvin muokattuja esityksiä. Mutta oli ilmeistä, että puolue astui uuteen elämään. Sen jäsenistön joukossa oli kiihkoisuutta, ilmaisten itsensä "alempien" ainesten vaatiessa arvosteluvapautta, äänekkäästi protesteeratessa virkavallan sortoa vastaan, joka ei myönnä toiminnan vapautta, eikä esitysoikeutta.

Puolueen johtajat ymmärsivät pohjalla tapahtuvan liikehtimisen ja toveri Zinovievin välityksellä tekivät monta muodollista lupausta kuten arvosteluvapaus, joukkotoiminnan rajoitusten lieventäminen, kansanvaltaisuusperiaatteita rikkovien johtajien syytteeseen asettaminen y. m. Paljon sanottiin ja sanottiin hyvin, mutta sanoista tekoihin on pitkä matka. Syyskuun konferenssi, Zinovievin paljon lupaavan puheen kanssa, ei saanut minkäänlaista muutosta aikaan, enempää puolueessa itsessään kuin joukkojen elämässäkään. Juuret, joista oppositsioni versoi, eivät tulleet hävitetyiksi. Alhaalla pohjalla kasvoi epämääräinen tyytymättömyys ja itsenäinen arvostelu.

Tämän epämääräisen kiihtymyksen huomasivat yksin puolueen johtajatkin, sillä se aiheutti puolueessa aivan odottamatta kiivaita väittelyitä. On pantava merkille, että kysymys, mitä osaa ammattiunioiden on näyteltävä, synnytti puolueen keskuksessa kiivaita väittelyitä. Kuitenkin on tämä aivan luonnollista.

Tällä kertaa tästä kysymyksestä väitteleminen opposit-

sionin ja puolueen johtajien välillä, vaikka se ei suinkaan ole ainoa, on edelleenkin sisäisen politiikkamme pääkysymys.

Paljon ennen kun työläisten oppositsioni esitti teesinsä ja muodosti perustan, jolle sen mielipiteiden mukaan, proletariaatin diktatuurin pitäisi perustua teollisuuden uudelleenrakentamisen alalla, olivat puolueen johtajat keskenään jyrkästi erimielisiä keskustellessaan siitä tehtävästä, jonka työväenjärjestöt tulevat suorittamaan, joka on viimeksimainittujen osa kommunismille perustuvan teollisuuden uudelleenrakentamisessa. Puolueen keskuskomitea hajaantui ryhmiin. Toveri Lenin oli Trotzkia vastaan, kun taas Bucharin asettui keskustan kannalle.

Vasta neuvostojen kahdeksannessa kongressissa ja kohta sen jälkeen kävi selville, että puolueen sisällä oli yhtenäinen ryhmä, joka pysyi koossa pääasiallisesti ammattiunioita koskevien periaate-teesien perusteella. Tässä ryhmässä, oppositsionissa, ei ollut erikoisia teoreetikkoja ja huolimatta puolueen huomatuimpain johtajain hyvinsuunnitellusta vastustuksesta, se kasvoi yhä voimakkaammaksi ja levisi yli työtätekevän Venäjän. Oliko se ainoastaan Pietarissa ja Moskovassa? Ei ensinkään! Yksinpä Donetz laaksosta, Uralin vuorilta, Siperiasta ja lukuisista muista teollisuuskeskuksista saapui keskuskomitealle raportteja, joissa kerrottiin, *että sielläkin muodostui ja toimi työväen oppositsioni.* On totta, ettei työväen oppositsioni ole kaikkialla täydellisesti yhtä mieltä Moskovan työläisten kanssa. Toisinaan on paljon epämääräisyyttä, vähäpätöisyyttä ja ajattelemattomuutta oppositsionin vaatimuksissa ja esityksissä, voivatpa ne erota pääasiallisimmissa kysymyksissäkin, mutta kaikkialla on aina yksi kysymys, jossa se esiintyy yhtenäisenä ja se kysymys on: *Kuka tulee kehittämään taloudellisessa uudelleenrakentamisessa tarvittavan luovan voiman?* Joko puhtaasti luokkaelimet, jotka ovat kiinteässä yhteydessä teollisuuden kanssa, se on, tuleeko teollisuusunioiden suorittaa uudestirakentaminen — vai tuleeko se jättää neuvostokoneiston tehtäväksi, joka ei ole suoranaisessa yhteydessä varsinaisten teollisuuksien kanssa, vaan kokoomukseltaan sekanainen? Tämä on hajaannuksen juuri. Työväen oppositsioni puolustaa ensimäistä periaatetta, kun taas puolueen johtajat, kuinka suuresti he

eroavatkin mielipiteissä keskenään vähempiarvoisissa kysymyksissä, ovat täydellisesti yhtä mieltä tässä pääkysymyksessä, puolustaessaan viimeksimainittua periaatetta.

Mitä se tarkoittaa?

Se tarkoittaa sitä, että puolueemme on kulkemassa vallankumousajan ensimäisen vaikeimman kriisin ylitse ja että oppositsionia ei voida ajaa pois nimittämällä sitä halpamaisesti "syndikalismiksi", mutta kaikkien tovereiden pitäisi ottaa tämä kysymys vakavasti huomioonsa. Kutka ovat oikeassa — johtajatko, vaiko terveen luokkavaiston omaavat työläisjoukot?

Ratkaiseva hetki puolueessa

Ennenkuin käsittelemme puolueemme johtajien ja työläisten oppositsionin välisen riitaisuuden perussyitä on välttämätöntä löytää vastaus seuraavaan kysymykseen: Kuinka oli mahdollista, että puolueemme, joka ennen oli voimakas, mahtava ja voittamaton sentähden, että sen menettelytavat olivat varmat ja perustuivat selvälle luokkapohjalle — alkoi poiketa pois ohjelmastaan.

Mitä rakkaampi kommunistipuolue meille on sentähden, että se on ottanut niin jyrkän askeleen työläisten vapautuksen tiellä kapitalismin ikeestä, sen vähemmän on meillä oikeutta sulkea silmiämme johtavan keskuksen tekemille erehdyksille.

Puolueemme voiman tulee perustua johtavien ainesten kykeneväisyyteen ratkaista kysymyksiä ja suorittaa tehtäviä, jotka koskevat työläisiä ja määritellä suunta, jota seuraten joukot voisivat valloittaa taaskin historiallisen aseman. Niin oli ennen, mutta nyt ei enään ole niin. Puolueemme ei ainoastaan hiljennä kulkunopeuttaan, mutta useammin katsoo "viisaasti" taakseen ja kysyy: "Emmekö ole menneet liian kauaksi? Eikö nyt ole aika antaa pysähtymiskäskyä? Eikö ole viisaampaa olla varovaisempi ja välttyä kokemuksista joita ei historia tunne?"

Mikä aiheutti tämän "viisaan varovaisuuden" (joka ilmenee erittäin selvästi puolueen johtajien epäluottamuk-

sessa työväen unioiden kykeneväisyyteen johtaa teollisuuksia) — varovaisuuden, joka on viimeaikoina täyttänyt kaikki virastomme. Missä on sen aiheuttaja?

Jos alamme huolellisesti tarkastaa yhä lisääntyvän erimielisyyden syitä puolueessamme, niin selvenee, että puolue elää murroskautta, jonka on aiheuttanut kolme perustekijää.

Ensimäinen ja vaikuttavin tekijä on, ne kurjat olot joissa puolueemme täytyy toimia. Venäjän Kommunistipuolueen täytyy rakentaa kommunismi ja kuljettaa ohjelmansa jokapäiväiseen elämään: (1) Täydellisen hävityksen ja taloudellisen elämän raunioitten ympäröimänä. (2) Yhä kiristyvän imperialistisen ja valkokaartien puristuksen edessä. (3) Venäjän työväenluokalle on langennut arpa toteuttaa kommunismi, luoda uusi kommunistinen talous taloudellisesti takapajuisessa maassa, enemmistön asukkaista ollessa maanviljelijöitä, maassa jossa puuttuu tuotannon ja jaon yhteiskunnallistuttamiselle välttämättömiä taloudellisia edellytyksiä ja jossa kapitalismi ei ole vielä kyennyt suorittamaan täydellistä kehitystänsä (sen ensimäisiltä asteilta korkeampaan kapitalistiseen tuotannon uniomuotoon — trustiin).

On aivan luonnollista, että kaikki nämä tekijät hidastuttavat ohjelmamme käytännöllistä toteuttamista (erittäinkin sen varsinaisessa tehtävässä — teollisuuksien uudelle perustalle rakentamisessa) ja vaikuttaa hajaannuttavasti ja yhtenäisyyttä vähentävästi neuvostojemme talouspolitiikkaan.

Tästä perussyystä johtuu kaksi muuta. Ennen kaikkea Venäjän taloudellinen takapajuisuus ja talonpoikain määräävä asema synnyttää hajaannusta ja johtaa puolueemme käytännöllisen menettelytavan pois periaatteellisesti ja teoreettisesti selvältä ja horjumattomalta luokkakannalta.

Jokainen puolue, joka joutuu olemaan erilaisista aineksista kokoonpannun neuvostovaltion peräsimessä on pakoitettu ottamaan huomioon talonpoikain pyrkimykset pikkuporvarillisine taipumuksineen ja vihamielisyyksineen kommunismia kohtaan, samoinkuin se on pakoitettu kallistamaan korvansa lukuisille pikkuporvarillisille aineksille, jotka ovat Venäjän kapitalismin jätteitä, kaikenlaisille kauppiaille, välittäjille, pikkuvirkailijoille j. n. e., jotka ovat erittäin nopeasti alistuneet neuvostolaitoksien kannattajiksi, ollen keskuksessa vastuunalaisissa toimissa, kuten

erinäisten komisariaattien agenttina j. n. e. Ei ole siis ihme, että yleisten tarpeiden komisariaatti Zurupa osoitti numeroilla kahdeksannelle kongressille, että yleisten tarpeiden komisariaatin palveluksessa oli 17 prosenttia työläisiä, 13 prosenttia talonpoikia, alle 20 prosentin spesialisteja ja loput yli 50 prosenttia olivat "kauppiaita, kaupustelijoita ja muita samanlaisia ihmisiä, joista enemmistö oli lukutaidottomia." (Zurupan omat sanat). Zurupan mielestä tämä todisti kansanvaltaista kokoonpanoa, siitä huolimatta vaikka niillä ei ollut mitään yhtenäistä proletariaattiluokan, kaiken varallisuuden tuottajien, tehtaiden ja myllyjen työläisten kanssa.

Nämä ovat ne ainekset — pikkuporvarilliset ainekset, jotka ovat kaikkialta hajaantuneet neuvostolaitoksiin, kommunismille vihamielinen keskiluokkainen aines ja ne, vanhoihin tapoihin mieltyneinä ja vallankumouksellista toimintaa pelkäävinä ovat rappeuttaneet neuvostolaitoksemme, hengittäen sinne ilmaa, joka on kokonaan vastustavalla kannalla työväenluokkaan nähden. Ne ovat kaksi eri maailmaa ja vihamielisiä toisilleen. Ja kuitenkin me Neuvosto-Venäjällä olemme pakoitetut uskottamaan itseämme ja työväenluokkaa, että pikkuporvarit ja keskiluokkalaiset (puhumatta hyvinvoivista talonpojista) voivat verrattain hyvin hyväksyä yhteisen tunnuslauseen: "kaikki valta neuvostoille;" unhottaen sen tosiasian, että jokapäiväisessä käytännöllisessä elämässä työläisten ja keskiluokkalaisten, sekä pikkuporvarillisella maailmankatsomuksella varustettujen talonpoikain edut ovat vastakkaiset, vaikuttaen hajaannuttavasti neuvostopolitiikkaan ja kuljettaen sen pois selvältä luokkakannalta.

Talonpoikaisomistajien ja kaupunkilaisporvariainesten lisäksi on puolueemme neuvostovaltiollisessa politiikassaan pakoitettu ottamaan huomioon suurporvarien edustajien esittämät vaikutelmat, jotka tälläkertaa ilmenevät spesialistien, teknikkojen, insinöörien ja entisten raha- ja teollisuuslaitosten johtajien muodossa, jotka joko menneen kokemuksensa perusteella ovat kiinni kapitalisisessa tuotantotavassa. He eivät voi edes kuvitella mitään muuta tuotantomuotoa kuin sen, joka sisältyy *kapitalistisen talouden rajoihin.*

Mitä enemmän Neuvosto-Venäjä tuntee tarvitsevansa

spesialisteja, teknikkoja ja tuotannon johtajia, sitä voimakkaammaksi käy näiden ainesten vaikutus, joka on vierasta työväenluokan ainekselle, taloudellisen elämämme kehityksessä. Jouduttuaan syrjäytetyiksi vallankumouksen alkuasteilla ja tullen pakoitetuksi jäämään odottavalle kannalle, antautuenpa toisinaan avoimeen vihollisuuteenkin neuvostovirkailijoita vastaan, erityisesti kuuluisien intellektuaalien saboteesikuukausien aikana, tämä kapitalismin tuottama aivostoryhmä, kapitalistien hyvinpalkatut uskolliset palvelijat, saavat yhä enemmän ja enemmän vaikutusvaltaa ja tulevat päivä päivältä yhä tärkeimmiksi tekijöiksi politiikassamme.

Tarvitsemmeko nimiä? Jokainen työläistoveri, joka huolellisesti seuraa kotimaista ja ulkomaapolitiikkaamme, muistaa useampia tällaisia nimiä.

Niin kauan kun elämämme pääpaino oli kohdistettu sotarintamalle, niin näiden herrasmiesten vaikutus neuvostopolitiikkaamme, erityisesti teollisuuksien uudelleenrakentamisessa, oli verrattain vähäpätöistä.

Spesialistit, menneisyyden jätteet, jotka ovat luonnollisesti läheisesti kiintyneet porvarilliseen järjestelmään, jonka me pyrimme hävittämään, alkoivat vähitellen tunkeutua punaiseen armeijaamme, kulettaen siihen menneen ajan henkeään (sokeaa kuuliaisuutta, palvelevaa alistuvaisuutta, eroittaen joukot komentajista, asettaen *ylemmän* tahdon luokkakurin tilalle j. n. e.), mutta Neuvosto-Venäjän yleiseen politikkaan ei heidän vaikutelmansa ulottunut.

Militaristisissa kysymyksissä ei proletariaatti asettanut heidän etevämmyyttään kyseenalaiseksi, terveen luokkavaistonsa avulla käsittäen selvästi, että militarisissa kysymyksissä ei työväenluokka luokkana voi mitään uutta luoda, se on kykenemätön tekemään huomattavampia muutoksia militarijärjestelmässä — rakentamalla sen uudelle luokkaperustalle. Professionaalisella militarismilla — menneen ajan perinnöllä — militaristisilla sodilla, ei tule olemaan paikkaa kommunistisessa yhteiskunnassa. Taistelu tulee kulkemaan toisia teitä, se tulee saamaan kokonaan erilaiset, meidän mielikuvituksillemme käsittämättömät muodot. Militarismi elää viimeisiä päiviään diktatuurin, ylimenokauden aikana ja sentähden on aivan luonnollista, että työläiset luokkana eivät voi rakentaa militaristiseen

järjestelmään mitään uutta ja tulevan yhteiskunnan kehitykselle hyödyllistä. Yksimpä punaisessa armeijassakin, vaikka siellä ilmenikin työväenluokan uudistavia kosketuksia, militarismin luonne pysyi samana ja vanhan armeijan kenraalien ja upseerien johto sota-asioissa ei vienyt neuvostojen politiikkaa sotilaskysymyksissä harhaan siinämäärin, että työläiset olisivat nähneet siinä itselleen ja luokkaeduilleen mitään vahingollista.

Kansantalouskysymys on kuitenkin aivan toinen asia. Talousjärjestöjen muodostaminen on kuitenkin aivan toinen asia. Talousjärjestöjen muodostaminen on kommunismin tehtävä. Vieroittaa työläiset teollisuusjärjestöistä, riistää heiltä, se on heidän teollisuusjärjestöiltään, tilaisuus kehittää teollisuutta luovaa voimaa, kieltää proletariaatin luokkajärjestöltä toiminta tämän päämäärän saavuttamiselle, samaan aikaan kun annetaan täydellinen luottamus spesialistien tuotannon johtamis "taidolle," jotka ovat kouluuntuneet ja opetetut kokonaan erilaisen tuotantojärjestelmän mukaisesti, se on marxilaisen ajatuksen tieteelliseltä ladulta poishyppäämistä. Kuitenkin puolueemme johtajat tekevät tätä juuri täällä kertaa.

Ottaen huomioon teollisuutemme täydellisen rappiotilan, kun se vielä toimii kapitalistisen tuotannon perusteella (maksaen työläisille työn suorituksen mukaisen rahapalkan) puolueemme johtajat, jotka eivät näe sopivaksi luottaa työläisten yhteiseen luovaan kykyyn, kumminkin hakevat pelastusta teollisuuden kaaostilasta — mistä he sitä hakevat? Porvarillis-kapitalistisen menneen ajan liikemiehiltä ja teknikoilta, joiden teollisuuksia kehittävä kyky perustuu kokonaan kapitalistisen tuotantomuodon menettelytavoille. He ovat niitä jotka omaksuvat sen naurettavan luulon, että kommunismiin voidaan päästä virkavaltaisilla keinoilla. He "määräävät" silloin kun olisi välttämätöntä rakentaa ja tutkia.

Mitä enemmän sotilaallinen rintama väistyy taloudellisen rintaman tieltä, sitä voimakkaammaksi kasvaa tarve ja sitä huomattavammaksi käy sen ryhmän vaikutus, joka ei ainoastaan luonnostaan ole kommunismille vieras, mutta täydellisesti kykenemätön kehittämään oikeita muotoja, lisätäkseen tuotantoa, uuden tuotanto- ja jakotavan vaatimuksia vastaavaksi. Kaikki nämä teknikot, käytännölliset

miehet, tottuneet liikemiehet, jotka nyt juuri ovat pulpahtaneet neuvostoelämän pinnalle, koettavat vaikuttaa talouspolitiikkansa kautta puolueemme johtajiin neuvostoissa ja neuvostolaitoksissa.

Puolueemme sentähden huomaa joutuneensa vaikeaan asemaan neuvostovaltion kontrolliin nähden, sillä se on pakoitettu kallistamaan korvansa kolmelle taloudellisesti vihamieliselle ryhmälle, jokainen eroten toisestaan yhteiskunnallisessa rakenteessa. Työläiset vaativat selvää, kompromissista vapaata menettelyä, nopeaa, voimakasta kommunismia kohti kulkemista, kun taas talonpojat, pikkuporvarillisine taipumuksineen ja kannattajineen vaativat toisenlaista "vapautta," kuuluen siihen vapaa kauppa ja heidän asioihinsa sekaantumattomuus. Viimeksimainittujen vaatimusta on liittynyt kannattamaan porvariluokka, neuvostoagenttien, armeijan komisariaattien ja muiden samanlaisten ainesten muodossa, jotka ovat jo mukautuneet neuvostojärjestelmään ja kääntävät politiikkamme pikkuporvarilliseen suuntaan.

Sikäli kuin keskusta on kysymyksessä on näiden pikkuporvarillisten ainesten vaikutus vähempimerkityksellinen, mutta alue- ja paikallisneuvostojen toiminnassa on heidän vaikutuksellaan suuri ja vahingollinen merkitys. Sitten on vielä yksi ryhmä ihmisiä, entiset kapitalistisen teollisuuslaitoksien liikkeenhoitajat ja johtajat. He eivät ole pääomapohattoja, kuten Riabushinsky tai Rublikoff, joista neuvostot vapautuivat vallankumouksen ensiasteilla, mutta he ovat kaikista kyvykkäimpiä kapitalistisen tuotantojärjestelmän palvelijoita, kapitalismin "nero ja aivot," sen varsinaiset luojat ja kehittäjät. Sydämellisesti kannattaen neuvostohallituksen keskityspyrkimystä teollisuuksissa, käsittäen hyvin trustiutumisen ja tuotannon järjestämisen (sivumennen sanoen tätä ovat toteuttaneet kapitalistit kaikissa tuotannollisesti kehittyneissä maissa) he toimivat ainoastaan yhden päämäärän saavuttamiseksi — he eivät salli työläisten suorittavan tätä järjestelyä (teollisuusunioidensa kautta) vaan he itse haluavat sen tehdä — toimien nyt neuvostojen teollisuuslaitoksien nimessä — teollisuus keskuskomiteoissa, kansantalouden ylimmissä neuvotoissa, joisa he ovat jo saaneet varman jalansijan. Näiden herrasmiesten vaikutus johtajiemme valtiopolitiikkaan on

suuri, huomattavasti suurempi kuin mitä olisi suotava. Tämä vaikutus heijastuu virkavaltaa puolustavassa ja kehittävässä politikassa (ei pyri sitä kokonaan muuttamaan, vaan ainoastaan parantamaan). Tämä politiikka on erityisesti huomattavissa ulkomaakaupassamme kapitalististen valtioiden kanssa, joka on juuri alkanut nousemaan: *kauppasuhteet ovat käynnissä tavalla jossa Venäjän, sen enempää kuin ulkomaiden työläisilläkään ei ole mitään sanomista.* Se ilmenee myöskin niiden määritelmien sarjassa, joilla rajoitetaan joukkojen itsenäistä toimintaa ja annetaan etutila kapitalistisen maailman kasvateille.

Näiden erilaisten ryhmien joukossa toimiessaan on puolueemme, koettaessaan löytää keskitietä, pakoitettu ohjaamaan purtensa valtion etujen yhtenäisen säilyttämisen reittiä. Puolueemme selvä politiikka, neuvostolaitoksiksi muodostumisprosessissa, on asteettain muuttunut yläluokan politiikaksi, joka ei todellisuudessa ole mitään muuta kuin sovittaa johtava keskustamme erilaisilla yhteiskunta asemilla olevien ja toisilleen vihamielisten yhteiskunnallisten ainesten kanssa. Tämä sovitteleminen johtaa välttämättömään horjumiseen, hapuilemiseen ja erehdyksiin. Tarvitsee ainoastaan johdattaa mieleen mutkittelevan tien tapaista suhtautumistamme talonpoikiin, joka "köyhiin talonpoikiin luottamisesta" johti meidät asettamaan luottamuksemme "tuotteliaihin talonpoikaisomistajiin." Myöntäkäämme, että tämä menettely todisti johtavien keskuksiemme selvänäköistä politiikkaa ja "valtioviekasta viisautta," mutta tulevaisuuden historian tutkija, omaamatta ennakkomielipiteitä hallitusvaiheistamme, huomaa ja osoittaa, että tämä on ilmeisesti "vaarallista siirtymistä" luokkarajoista "sovinnaisuuden" tielle ja että siitä on vahingolliset seuraukset.

Tarkastakaamme uudelleen ulkomaakauppa-kysymystä. Siinä politikassamme ilmenee selvää kavaluutta. Sitä todistaa ulkomaakauppa-komisariaatin ja ulkomaa-asiain komisariaatin välinen loppumaton hankaus. Tämä hankaus ei ole ainoastaan hallinnollista luonteeltaan, sen syyt ovat syvemmällä ja jos johtavien keskusten salainen toiminta paljastettaisiin pohjajoukon ainesten nähtäväksi, niin kuka tietää mihin se erimielisyys, joka eroittaa ulkomaa-

viraston ja ulkomailla olevat kauppaedustajamme, johtaisikaan.

Tämä, näennäisesti hallinnollinen erimielisyys, joka todellisuudessa on vakavaa yhteiskunnallista erimielisyyttä, on salattu pohjajoukoilta ja tekee neuvostopolitiikalle välttämättömäksi sovittelun kolmen erilaisessa yhteiskunnallisessa asemassa olevan ryhmän kanssa (työläisten, talonpoikain ja entisen porvariston edustajiston), aiheuttaen uuden riitaisuuksien syyn puolueessamme. Ja me emme voi muuta kuin kiinnittää huomiomme tähän syyhyn, emmekä voi olla tätä syytä huomioonottamatta. Se on liian luonteenomainen ja liian suuria mahdollisuuksia sisältävä. Siksi on puolueen velvollisuus, yhtenäisyyden säilyttämiseksi tulevan toiminnan varalle, tutkia tätä syytä ja oppia välttämätön läksy siitä laajalle levinneestä tyytymättömyydestä, jonka se on aiheuttanut pohjajoukkojen keskuudessa.

Niin kauan kun työväenluokka, vallankumouksen ensiasteilla tunsi itsensä ainoaksi kommunismin tukijaksi, niin täydellinen yksimielisyys vallitsi puolueessa. Lokakuun vallankumouksen jälkesinä päivinä ei kukaan voinut ajatella, että olisi jotain eroa "ylempien" ja "alempien" välillä, vaan silloin olivat edistysmieliset työläiset ahkerasti toiminnassa, toteuttaakseen kohta kohdalta kommunistista luokkaohjelmaamme. Talonpojat, jotka saivat maata, eivät silloin pitäneet itseään osana ja täysin oikeutettuina neuvosto-tasavallan kansalaisina. Intellektuaalit, spesialistit, liikemiehet, koko pikkuporvariston luokka ja valespesialistit, jotka tällä kertaa kiipeävät neuvostorappuja ylöspäin rappu rapulta, "spesialistien" nimen varjossa, astuivat silloin syrjään odottamaan, antaen vapauden edistyksellisille joukoille kehittää luovaa kykyään.

Tällä kertaa kuitenkin on päinvastoin. Työläinen tuntee, näkee ja käsittää joka askeleella, että spesialistit, ja mikä vieläkin pahempaa, oppimattomat, lukutaidottomat valespesialistit ja käytännön miehet sysäävät työläiset syrjään ja täyttävät kaikki korkeimmat virkapaikat taloudellisissa- ja teollisuuslaitoksissa. Ja puolue, sen sijaan että koettaisi estää tätä työväenluokalle ja kommunismille vieraiden ainesten vaikutusta, edistää sitä, hakien pelastusta teollisuuskaaoksessa ei työläisistä, mutta juuri näistä aineksista. Puolue ei luota työläisiin eikä heidän uniojärjestöi-

hinsä, vaan näihin vieraisiin aineksiin. Työtätekevä joukko tuntee sen ja puolueessa esiintyy yhtenäisyyden sijaan hajaannus.

Joukot eivät ole sokeita. Mitä sanoja hyvänsä tunnetuimmat johtajamme käyttävätkään, salatakseen selvältä luokkapohjalta luopumista ja talonpoikain ja maailman kapitalistien kanssa tekemiänsä kompromisseja ja sitä luottamusta, jonka he antavat kapitalistisen tuotantojärjestelmän oppilaille, työväen luokka tuntee, missä harhaankulkeminen alkoi.

Työläiset voivat olla innostavien vaikutelmien alaisia ja rakastaa sellaisia ysilöitä kuten Lenin, heidät voidaan huumata Trotzkyn verrattoman loistavalla puhetaidolla ja hänen järjestämiskyvyllään, he voivat kunnioittaa useita muita johtajia johtajina, mutta silloinkuin joukot tuntevat, että heihin ja heidän luokkaansa ei luoteta, niin on aivan luonnollista, että he sanovat: "Ei, pysähtykää. Me kieltäydymme seuraamasta teitä sokeasti. Antakaa meidän tarkastaa tilannetta. Teidän menettelynne, pysytellessänne kolmen yhteiskunnallisesti erilaisen ryhmän keskustassa on kyllä viisasta, mutta se haiskahtaa hyvinkokeillulta ja tunnetulta sovinnaisuudelta ja opportunismilta. Tällä kertaa voimme hyötyä jotain maltillisesta politiikastanne, mutta olkaamme varovaisia, ettemme joutuisi väärälle tielle, joka mutkittelujensa ja käänteidensä kautta johtaisi tulevaisuudessa menneen ajan hävitykseen..."

Johtajien epäluottamus joukkoihin lisääntyy säännöllisesti ja mitä maltillisemmiksi nämä johtajat käyvät, sitä viekkaampia valtiomiehiä he ovat luistaessaan kommunismin ja kompromissin välillä olevan terävän veitsen terän ylitse menneenajan porvariston kanssa ja sitä syvemmäksi tulee juopa "ylemmän" ja "alemman" välillä, sitä vähemmän toisiamme ymmärrämme ja sitä vahingollisemmaksi ja selvemmäksi tulee hajaannus puolueessa.

Kolmas syy hajaannuksen lisääntymiseen puolueessa on todellisuudessa se, että näiden kolmen vallankumousvuoden kuluessa työväenluokan, niiden jotka työskentelevät tehtaissa ja myllyissä, taloudellinen asema ei ole parantunut, vaan on muuttunut entistäkin sietämättömämmäksi. Tätä ei kukaan uskalla kieltää. Ehkäisty ja laajalle levinnyt

tyytymättömyys työläisten keskuudessa (huomatkaa — *työläisten*) on täysin oikeutettua.

Ainoastaan talonpojat hyötyivät suorastaan vallankumouksesta. Sikäli kuin keskiluokkalaiset ovat kysymyksessä, he verrattain viekkaasti kyllä sovittautuivat uusiin oloihin, rikkaan porvariston edustajien kanssa, jotka ovat vallanneet neuvostolaitosten johtavimmat paikat (erityisesti valtiotaloutta johtavissa piireissä), teollisuuksien järjestämisessä ja kauppasuhteiden aikaansaamisessa ulkomaiden kanssa. Ainoastaan neuvosto-tasavallan pohjimmainen luokka, joka on joukkona kantanut koko diktatuurin kuorman, jatkaa häpeällistä, säälittävää toimeentulon kamppailuaan.

Työväenluokan kommunistisen etujoukon kontrolleeraamalla työväen tasavallalla, joka on, Leninin sanoja käyttäen, "itseensä imenyt koko luokan vallankumouksellisen energian," ei ole ollut aikaa syventyä ja parantaa kaikkien työläisten oloja (ei vaan yksilöllisissä laitoksissa olevien, jotka syystä tai toisesta sattuivat saamaan kansan komisariaatin huomion osakseen, työskennellessään niin kutsutuissa "erikois-tuotantolaitoksissa"), mutta yleensä kaikkien työläisten ja kohottaa heidän elämänsä inhimillisen elämän tasolle.

Työkomisariaatti on kaikista komisariaateista toimettomin. Koko neuvostopolitiikassa ei koskaan ole otettu vakavan käsittelyn alaiseksi kysymystä: mitä täytyisi ja mitä voitaisiin tehdä kotimaisen teollisuuden täydellisen rappiotilan ja mahdollisimman epäsuosiollisten ulkomaasuhteiden vallitessa työväen olojen parantamiseksi, terveen tuottavan työvoiman kehittämiseksi tulevaisuutta varten ja työläisten aseman parantamiseksi tehtaissa tällä kertaa?

Tähän mennessä on neuvostopolitiikasta puuttunut suunnittelua työläisten työolojen ja elämän parantamiseksi. Kaikki, mitä tällä alalla on tehty, on tehty satunnaisesti, taikka ovat sen tehneet paikalliset viranomaiset joukkojen pakoituksesta. Kolmen sisällissota-vuoden kuluessa on proletariaatti urhoollisesti kantanut vallankumouksen alttarille lukemattomat uhrinsa. Se on odottanut kärsivällisesti, mutta viimeaikoina, tilanteen muuttuessa, jolloin tasavallan elämän valtasuoni on taas kääntynyt taloudelliselle rintamalle, pohjajoukot pitävät tarpeettomana "kär-

siä ja odottaa." Miksi? Eivätkö he ole kommunistisen elämän perustan luojia? Ottokaamme haltuumme tämä uudelleenrakentaminen, sillä me tiedämme paremmin kuin keskustassa olevat herrasmiehet, missä kipein kohta on.

Pohjajoukkoon kuuluva työläinen on erittäin huomaavainen. Hän näkee, että tähän asti on ollut kysymys terveydenhoidosta, puhtaudesta, työolojen parantamisesta työpaikalla, toisin sanoen, koko työväen elämän kohottaminen on jätetty viimeiselle paikalle neuvostopolitiikassamme. Paitsi työläisperheiden sijoittamista epämukaviin porvarien palatseihin, emme ole pyrkineet ratkaisemaan asuntopulaa, joka on entistä ankarampi. Tähän mennessä emme ole lainanneet pienintäkään huomiota asuntokysymykselle, sikäli kuin varsinaiset työläiset ovat kysymyksessä. Häpeäksemme näemme, että tasavaltamme sydämessä, Moskovassa, työläiset asuvat kosteissa, tungokseen asti ahdetuissa, epäterveellisissä työläisten kortteleissa. Kun niissä kerran käy, niin ajattelee, ettei vallankumousta ole tapahtunutkaan. Me kaikki tiedämme, ettei asuntokysymystä voida ratkaista muutamassa kuukaudessa, ei edes vuodessakaan ja että puutteellisuuksiemme poistaminen kohtaa vakavia vaikeuksia, mutta se tosiasia, että eroavaisuus yhä suurenee *oikeutettujen ryhmien* ja Neuvosto-Venäjän *varsinaisten työläisten,* "diktatuurin rungon" välillä, synnyttää ja ylläpitää tyytymättömyyttä.

Pohjajoukkoon kuuluva työläinen näkee kuinka neuvostovirkailijat ja "käytännön" miehet elävät ja kuinka hän elää — hän, johon koko proletariaatin diktatuuri nojaa? Hän ei voi muuta kuin nähdä, että vallankumouksen kuluessa työläisten elämään ja terveyteen työpaikoilla kiinnitettiin kaikista vähemmän huomiota, että siellä missä ennen vallankumousta vallitsi enemmän tai vähemmän sietämättömät olot, siellä tehdaskomiteat säilyttävät ne edelleenkin samanlaisina ja missä näitä työmaakomiteoita ei ollut, missä kosteus, huono ilma ja kaasut myrkyttivät ja vahingoittivat työläisten terveyttä, siellä nämä olot ovat edelleenkin muuttumattomina. "Emme voineet ottaa huomioon tätä, sillä huomatkaa, meillä oli sotilasrintama." Ja kuitenkin, missä oli tarpeellista tehdä korjauksia neuvostorakennuksissa, niin he löysivät raaka-aineita sekä työvoimaa niiden korjaamiseksi. Mitä olisi tapahtunut, jos olisimme koetta-

neet sijoittaa ulkomaalaisten kapitalistien kanssa kauppa-asioissa toimivia spesialistejamme tai käytännön miehiämme, noihin koppeihin, joissa vieläkin suuret työläisjoukkomme asuvat ja työskentelevät? He olisivat kohottaneet sellaisen huudon, että olisi täytynyt koota kokonainen rakennus-osasto korjaamaan noita "sietämättömiä oloja", jotka häiritsevät spesialistiemme tuottavaisuutta.

Työväen oppositsioni on muodostunut palvelemaan työläisten vaatimuksia tämän pulman samoinkuin muiden toisarvoisempienkin kysymyksien ratkaisemisen yhdistämistä yleiseen talouspolitiikkaamme. Työn tuottavaisuutta ei voida kohottaa ennenkuin työläisten elämä järjestetään uudelle kommunistiselle perustalle.

Mitä vähemmän on suoritettu ja suunniteltu tällä alalla, (en puhu siitä, mitä on tehty) sitä suurempi on erimielisyys, vieraantuminen ja sitä suurempi yleinen epäluottamus puolueen johtavan keskustan ja varsinaisen työläisjäsenistön välillä. Ei ole kokonaisuutta eikä yhtenäistä tarpeiden, vaatimusten ja pyrkimysten ymmärtämystä. "Johtajat ovat yksi joukko ja me olemme jotain kokonaan muuta. Voi olla totta, että johtajat tietävät paremmin kuinka maata hallitaan, mutta he eivät ymmärrä tarpeitamme, elämäämme tehtaissa, sen vaatimuksia ja pikaisia tarpeita; he eivät ymmärrä, eivätkä tiedä." Tästä ajattelusta johtuu vaistomainen unioihin turvautuminen ja senmukainen puolueesta poisjääminen. "On totta, että he ovat osa meistä, mutta niin pian kun he pääsevät johtoasemaan, jättävät he meidät kokonaan; he alkavat elämään eri tavalla; jos me kärsimme, niin mitä he siitä välittävät; meidän surumme eivät ole enään heidän surujaan."

Ja mitä enemmän puolue ottaa teollisuuslaitoksistamme ja unioistamme niiden parhainta ainesta ja lähettää sen joko sotarintamalle tai neuvostolaitoksiin, niin sitä heikommaksi muuttuu yhdysside työtätekevän joukon ja johtavan keskuksen välillä. Kuilu on kasvamassa ja tällä kertaa se on ilmeisen selvänä puolueen riveissäkin. Työläiset kysyvät oppositsionin kautta: Ketä me olemme? Olemmeko todellakin luokkadiktatuurin tukipylväitä, tai olemmeko ainoastaan kuuliainen lauma, jonka tehtävänä on tukea niitä, jotka ovat katkaisseet kaiken yhteytensä joukkojen kanssa, noudattaakseen omaa politiikkaansa ja rakentaak-

seen teollisuuden ottamatta huomioon mielipidettämme ja luomiskykyämme, puolueleimaansa luottaen?

Mitä hyvänsä puolueen johtajat tekevätkin hävittääkseen työväen oppositsionin, niin viimeksimainittu säilyy aina ja voimistuu terveenä luokkavoimana, antaen elonvoimaa taloudellisen elämän entiselleen saattamiseksi, samoinkuin kommunistipuolueellekin, joka on alkanut kuihtumaan ja taipumaan maahan.

Täten on olemassa kolme syytä, jotka aiheuttavat puolueessamme kriisin, ensimäisenä kaikista ovat ne olosuhteet, joiden alaisena kommunismia Venäjällä on koetettu toteuttaa (sisällissota, maan taloudellinen takapajuisuus, sotavuosien aiheuttama teollisuuksien täydellinen rappeutuminen); toinen syy asukasten erilainen yhteiskunnallinen asema — (7 miljoonaa työläistä, talonpoikia, keskiluokkalaisia ja lisäksi entiset porvarit, kaikki professionaalisia liikemiehiä, jotka vaikuttavat neuvostolaitosten politiikkaan ja tunkeutuvat puolueeseen); kolmas syy on puolueen toimettomuus pikaisten parannuksien aikaansaamiseksi työläisten elämässä, siihen liittyen vastaavien neuvostolaitosten kykenemättömyys ja heikkous näiden pulmien ratkaisemiseen.

Mitä työläisten oppositsioni tahtoo? Mikä on sen tehtävä?

Jos sen tehtävä rajottuu siihen että se esittää puolueelle kaikki pulmalliset kysymykset; tuo esille kaiken joka on saanut aikaan ainoastaan hillittyä kiihtymystä joukoissa ja johdatti puolueettomat työläiset yhä kauemmaksi puolueesta ja että se selvästi ja pelottomasti sanoo johtajille: "pysähtykää, katsokaa ja ajatelkaa! Mihin te meitä johdatte? Emmekö mene pois oikealta tieltä? On hyvin pahaa puolueelle jos se huomaa olevansa ilman diktatuurin perustaa, joutuen siten jatkamaan olemassaoloaan omiin nimiinsä ja työväenluokka samoin. Tässä on vallankumouksen suurin vaara."

Puolueen tehtävä nykyisten pulien aikana on pelottomasti tunnustaa erehdyksensä ja kuunnella työväenjuokkojen tervettä luokkakutsumusta. Nousevan luokan luovan voiman avulla, joka ilmenee teollisuusunioiden muodossa, tulee meidän kulkea eteenpäin, uudelleenrakentaen ja kehittäen maamme tuottavaa voimaa; kulkea kohti puo-

lueen puhdistamista sille vieraista aineksista; korjaten puolueen toiminta palaamalla takaisin kansanvaltaisuuteen, myöntämällä mielipiteiden arvosteluvapaus puolueessa.

Ammattiunioiden tehtävät ja vaikeudet

Tähän mennessä olemme selittäneet mitkä ovat ne perussyyt, jotka aiheuttavat rettelöitä puolueessamme. Nyt on tehtävä selväksi mitkä ovat ne kaikista tärkeimmät kohdat puolueen johtajien ja työväen oppositsionin välisissä riitaisuuksissa. On olemassa kaksi sellaista kohtaa:

Tehtävä, jonka työväen ammattiuniot tulevat suorittamaan kansantalouden uudelleenrakentamisessa ja tuotannon kommunistiselle pohjalle järjestämisessä; siinä esiintyvät vaikeudet ja joukkojen itsetoimintakysymys yhdistettynä puolueen ja neuvostojen virkavaltaan.

Vastatkaamme ensimäiseen kysymykseen, sillä toinen on jatkoa ensimäiselle. Teesien teon aika puolueessamme on jo päättynyt. Me huomaamme edessämme kuusi eri ohjelmaa, kuusi puoluepyrkimystä. Sellaista moninaisuutta, sellaista mielipiteiden eroavaisuutta ei ole puolueemme koskaan ennen nähnyt ja puolueen mielipide ei ole koskaan ollut niin rikas saman kysymyksen ratkaisumuodoista. Sentähden on selvää, että tämä on peruskysymys ja erittäin tärkeä.

Ja semmoinen se onkin. Koko riitaisuus pyörii yhden pääkysymyksen ympärillä: Kuka tulee rakentamaan kommunistisen talouden ja kuinka se on rakennettava? Vielä enemmän, tämä on ohjelmamme varsinainen olemus, se on sen sydän. Tämä kysymys on yhtä tärkeä, jos ei tärkeämpi, kuin kysymys poliittisen valtion valtaamisesta proletariaatin käsiin. Ainoastaan Bubnoffin ryhmä, niin kutsutut poliittiset sentralistit, voivat olla niin lyhytnäköisiä, että allearvioivat sen tärkeyden sanomalla: "Ammattiunioita koskeva kysymys ei ole tällä kertaa kuitenkaan erittäin tärkeä ja se ei aiheuta mitään teoreettisia vaikeuksia."

On kuitenkin aivan luonnollista, että kysymys vakavasti kiihoittaa puoluetta, sillä se on kysymys: mihin suuntaan

me käännämme historian pyörää — tulemmeko kääntämään sitä takaisin, vai siirtämäänkö eteenpäin? Luonnollista on myöskin se, ettei puolueessa ole yhtään kommunistia, joka ei ottaisi osaa tämän kysymyksen käsittelyyn. Siitä on meillä seurauksena kuusi eri ryhmää.

Jos me kuitenkin huolellisesti analyseeraamme kaikkien näiden eri ryhmien teesejä, niin huomaamme, että peruskysymyksessä — kuka tulee rakentamaan kommunistisen talouden ja järjestämään tuotannon uudelle pohjalle — ilmenee ainoastaan *kaksi eri näkökantaa.* Yksi on se joka on ilmaistu työväen oppositsionin lausunnoissa ja periaatteissa ja toinen, joka yhdistää kaikki muut ryhmät, eroten ainoastaan muodollisissa seikoissa.

Minkä takana työväen oppositsionin lausunnot seisovat ja kuinka ne käsittävät ammattiunioiden suoritettavan osan, tai ollaksemme tarkempia, teollisuusunioiden tehtävän tällä kertaa? "Me uskomme, että maamme teollisuuksien uudelleenrakentaminen ja tuotannollisten voimien kehittämiskysymys voidaan ratkaista ainoastaan siten, että *koko kansantalouden kontrollijärjestelmä muutetaan.*" — (Shliapnikoffin raportista joulukuun 30 p.) Toverit ottakaa huomioon, — "ainoastaan siten, että koko kontrollijärjestelmä muutetaan." Mitä se tarkoittaa? "Riitaisuuksien perusta", — jatkuu raportti — "pyörii kysymyksen ympärillä: millä tavalla Kommunistipuolue voi ylimenokaudella toteuttaa talouspolitiikkansa: — joko luokkaunioon järjestyneen työväestön avulla, tai — heidän yläpuolellaan — virkavaltaisilla keinoilla valtion lainlaadinnallisen toiminnan avulla." Riitaisuuksien perusta on nimittäin seuraava: toteutammeko kommunismin työläisten kautta, vaiko heidän yläpuolellaan neuvostovirkailijain kätten välityksellä. Toverit, ratkaiskaamme kysymys onko mahdollista rakentaa kommunistista taloutta toiseen luokkaan kuuluvien kykyjen välityksellä, jotka ovat menneiden toimiensa vaikutelmien täyttämät? Jos me alamme ajattelemaan kuten marxilaiset, niin vastauksemme tulee olemaan kielteinen.

Riitaisuuksien perustana on se olettamus, että "käytännön miehet", teknikot, spesialistit ja kapitalistisen tuotannon johtajat voivat yhtäkkiä irtaantua niistä tavoista, joilla he ovat tottuneet käsittelemään työläisiä, joka on syöpynyt syvälle aivan heidän lihaansa ja vereensä, vuosia kestä-

neen kapitalismin palveluksen aikana ja että he olisivat kykenevät luomaan uudet tuotantomuodot ja uudet työväenjärjestöt ja kiihoittamaan työskentelyä.

Ennenkuin siten voi olettaa, on täytynyt unohtaa se jääväämätön tosiasia, *että tuotantojärjestelmää ei voida muuttaa muutamien nerojen kautta, vaan koko luokan tarpeiden pakoituksesta.*

Olettakaamme, että orja-työvoimalle perustuvasta feodali-järjestelmästä siirryttäessä kapitalistiselle palkkatyövoimalle perustuvaan järjestelmään, (porvariluokalta puuttui sillä kertaa kokemusta kapitalistisen tuotannon järjestämiseen), olisi otettu kaikki viekkaat, kokeneet feodali-tilojen johtajat, jotka olivat tottuneet käsittelemään henkiorjia ja annettu heidän tehtäväkseen järjestää tuotanto uudelle kapitalistiselle perustalle. Mitä olisi tapahtunut? Olisiko nämä spesialistit, jotka omassa piirissään olivat tottuneet luottamaan piiskaan työläisten tuottavaisuutta kiihoittaessaan, onnistuneet samoin kohdellessaan "vapaata", vaikka nälkäistä proletariaattia, joka on vapauttanut itsensä pakkotyöstä ja muuttunut sotilaaksi, tai päivätyöläiseksi? Eivätkö nämä ekspertit olisi kokonaan hävittäneet juurisyntyneen ja kehittyvän kapitalistisen tuotannon? Yksilölliset orjavoudit, entiset maaloordit ja heidän työjohtajansa sovittautuivat uuteen järjestelmään, mutta se ei ollut heidän joukostaan, josta porvarilliskapitalistinen tuotantomuoto sai varsinaiset luojansa.

Luokkavaisto kuiskutteli ensimäisten kapitalististen laitosten omistajille, että on parempi mennä hitaasti ja käyttää selvää järkeä kokemuksien asemesta uusia menettelytapoja tutkiessa ja määritellessään työn ja pääoman välisiä suhteita, kuin lainata vanhoja hyödyttömiä uuden järjestelmän kelvottomaksi tekemiä työn riistämismenettelyjä. Luokkavaisto aivan oikein sanoi ensimäisille kapitalisteille kapitalistisen kehityksen ensiasteella, että työnjohtajan ruoskan tilalle on heidän kehitettävä uudenlaiset kiihoituskeinot: kilpailu, yksilöllinen yritteliäisyys, jota työttömyys ja kurjuus kiihoittaa. Ja kapitalistit, otettuaan käytäntöön nämä uudet kiihottajat, työn valloittajat olivat kyllin viisaita käyttääkseen niitä kehittäessään porvarilliskapitalistista tuotantomuotoa, kohottamalla "vapaan" työläisen tuottavaisuuden äärimmäiseen rajaansa asti.

Viisi vuosisataa sitte toimivat myöskin porvarit varovaisesti, seuraten huolellisesti luokkavaistonsa määräyksiä. He luottivat enemmän omaan järkeensä kuin feodali-talojen riistämisjärjestelmän kehittämiin erikoistaitureihin. Historia on osoittanut meille porvarien olleen täydellisesti oikeassa.

Meidän hallussamme on mahtava keino löytää suorin tie työväenluokan voittoon, poistaa puute ja entistään nopeammin järjestää uusi kommunistinen tuotantojärjestelmä.

Tämä keino on materialistinen historian käsite. Kuitenkin, sensijaan, että käyttäisimme sitä, laajentaisimme kokemuksiamme, tarkastaisimme toimintaamme historian opetuksen mukaisesti, heitämme sen syrjään ja seuraamme sokeiden kokeilujen vaivaloista kiertotietä.

Minkälaiseen taloudelliseen vararikkoon joutunemmekaan, niin meillä ei ole oikeutta sellaiseen äärettömään epätoivoon, epätoivo voi saavuttaa ainoastaan kapitalistiset hallitukset, jotka seisovat selkä seinää vasten, tuhlattuaan ensinkin kaiken kapitalistista tuotantoa kehittävän voiman, eivätkä löydä ratkaisua sille pulmalle, johon ovat joutuneet.

Sikäli kuin työtätekevä Venäjä on kysymyksessä, jolle lokakuun vallankumouksen jälkeen ovat avautuneet teollisuuksien uudelleenrakentamisen rajattomat mahdollisuudet ja mahdollisuus kehittää uusi, ennen tuntematon tuotantomuoto, joka kohottaa työn tuottavaisuuden, ei ole siis tilaa epätoivolle.

Ei ole ainoastaan välttämätöntä olla lainaamatta menneeltä ajalta, mutta päinvastoin antaa täydellinen vapaus tulevaisuuden luoville voimille. Tämä on se, mitä työväen oppositsioni tekee. Kuka voi olla kommunistisen talouden rakentaja ja luoja? Se luokka — eikä menneen ajan yksilölliset nerot — joka elimellisesti on yhdistetty uudelleen kehittyviin, uskollisesti syntyviin tuotantomuotoihin ja uuteen täydelliseen talousjärjestelmään. Mitkä elimet — puhtaat teollisuus-luokkauniotko, tai erilaisista aineksista kootut neuvostotalouslaitokset — voivat muodostaa ja rakentaa uuden talouden ja sen tuotannon? Työväen oppositsioni käsittää, että sen voi tehdä ainoastaan ensinmainittu, työläisten yhtenäisen toiminnan avulla, eikä erilaisilta yhteiskuntataloudellisilta asteilta koottujen ainesten virkakoineistot, joissa ilmenee voimakkaasti vanhaa

kapitalistista ainesta, jonka ajatus on kapitalististen jätteiden täyttämä.

"Työväen uniot on temmattava nykyisestä toimettomasta asemastaan taloudellisten laitosten avustajana, koko taloudellisen rakenteen johtamiseen osaaottaviksi" (työväen oppositsionin teeseistä). Hakea, löytää ja kehittää uusi ja täydellisempi talousmuoto, löytää uusi kiihotin työn tuottavaisuudeksi — kaiken tämän voivat ainoastaan työläiset yhdessä tehdä, jotka ovat läheisessä yhteydessä uusien tuotantomuotojen kanssa; ainoastaan he, jokapäiväisen kokemuksensa kautta voivat päästä varmuuteen, ensi katsauksella ainoastaan käytännöllisesti tärkeän ja kuitenkin teoreettisesti arvokkaan, työvoiman käsittelykysymyksen ratkaisuun uudessa työläisten valtiossa, jossa puute, kurjuus, työttömyys ja kilpailu työvoimamarkkinoilla lakkaa olemasta työn kiihottajana.

Löytää työskentelyn kiihoittaja — siinä on kommunismin kynnyksellä seisovan työväenluokan suurin tehtävä. Kuitenkaan ei mikään muu kuin työväenluokka itse, luokkayhtymiensä kautta, ole kykenevä ratkaisemaan tätä pulmaa.

Tämän pulman ratkaisu semmoisena kuin teollisuusuniot ovat esittäneet, muodostuu täydellisen vapauden myöntämisessä työläisille, tehdä kokeiluja, harjoittaa luokkaopetusta, sovitella ja tunnustella tuotannon uusia muotoja, samoinkuin toimintakyvyn vapaa ilmaisu ja kehittäminen, se on, sen luokan, joka yksin voi olla kommunismin luoja. Tällä tavalla työväen oppositsioni käsittelee tämän vaikean kysymyksen ratkaisua, jota seuraa kaikista tärkein kohta heidän teeseissään. Yhteiskunnallisen talouden kontrollin järjestäminen on etuoikeutettu koko Venäjän ammatti- ja teollisuusunioihin järjestyneiden, tuottajain kongressi, joka valitsee keskuskomitean johtamaan koko tasavallan taloudellista elämää." (Työväen oppositsionin teeseistä.) Tämä kohta teeseistä takaa vapauden luokan luovien kykyjen ilmenemiselle jota ei ehkäise eikä rajoita porvarillisen tuotannon ja kontrollin järjestelmän vaikutuksille altis virkavaltainen koneisto. Työväen oppositsioni luottaa oman luokkansa, se on, työläisten luovaan voimaan. Tälle pohjalle on koko sen ohjelma laadittu.

Mutta juuri tässä kohdassa erkanee työväen oppositsioni puolueen johtajain ottamasta suunnasta. Epäluottamus

työväenluokkaan (ei politiikassa, mutta heidän kykynsä taloudellisessa toiminnassa) on puolueen johtajien allekirjoittamien teesien perusolemus. He eivät usko, että teknillisesti oppimattomien työläisten karkeat kädet kykenisivät luomaan ne tuotantomuodon perustat, joista aikaamyöten kehittyisi kommunistisen tuotantomuodon sopusointuinen järjestelmä.

Heistä kaikista — Leninistä, Trotzkysta, Zinovievista ja Bucharinista — näyttää tuotanto semmoiselta "hennolta esineeltä", joka ei voi tulla toimeen ilman erityisten "johtajien" hoivaamista. Ennen kaikkea meidän täytyy "kasvattaa" työläisiä, "opettaa" heitä ja vasta sitte kun he ovat oppineet voimme poistaa kaikki kansantalouden ylimmän neuvoston opettajat ja antaa teollisuusunioiden ottaa tuotannon kontrollin käsiinsä. Kuitenkin on pantava merkille, että kaikki puolueen johtajain kirjoittamat teesit ovat yhdenmukaiset siinä, että tällä kertaa emme saa antaa teollisuuksien kontrollia ammattiunioille; tällä kertaa meidän tulee "odottaa". Myöskin on totta, että Trotzky, Lenin, Zinoviev ja Bucharin ovat eri mieltä syistä, minkätähden työläisille ei saisi tällä kertaa luottaa teollisuuslaitoksien johtoa, mutta he kaikki ovat yksimielisiä siitä, että tällä kertaa on teollisuuksia johdettava *työläisten yläpuolitse* käyttämällä menneeltä ajalta perittyä virkavaltaista järjestelmää.

Tässä kohden ovat kaikki puolueemme johtajat täydellisesti yhtä mieltä.

"Ammattiunioiden toiminnan keskus on kohdistettava taloudelliselle, teollisuuden alalle," määritellään "kymmenen" teeseissä. Työläisten teollisen toiminnan mukaan muodostettujen luokkajärjestöjen, se on ammattiunioiden, on teollisuuksien kehittämisessä otettava suorittaakseen päätehtävä. "*Päätehtävä*" on liian epämääräinen määritelmä ja antaa mahdollisuuden monenlaiselle tulkinnalle ja kuitenkin näyttää siltä kuin "kymmenen" ohjelma antaisi ammattiunioille enemmän vapautta teollisuuksien johtamisessa kuin Trotzkyn kehittämispolitiikka. Onko asia niin? Edelleen "kymmenen" teeseissä selitetään mitä he tarkoittavat unioiden "päätehtävällä." Ottaa erittäin tehokkaasti osaa keskustan toimintaan, joka järjestää ja kontrolleeraa tuotannon, pitää luetteloa ja jaottelee työvoiman, järjestää vaih-

don kaupunkien ja maakylien välillä, taistelee saboteesia vastaan ja huolehtii siitä, että työläiset noudattavat pakollisia määräyksiä j. n. e." Siinä kaikki. Ei mitään uutta, eikä mitään muuta kuin minkä ammattiuniot ovat jo tehneet ja joka ei voi pelastaa tuotantoamme eikä auttaa peruskysymyksen, maamme tuotantovoimien kohottamisen ja kehittämisen, ratkaisua.

Tehdäksemme selväksi se tosiasia, että "kymmenen" ohjelma ei anna ammattiunioille osaa johtavassa toiminnassa, vaan antaa sille ainoastaan tuotannon johtajan apulaisen tehtävän, lainaamme tähän mitä sen laatijat sanovat edelleen: "Kehittyneessä tilassaan (ei tälläkertaa, mutta vasta kehittyneessä tilassaan) muuttuvat uniot yhteiskunnallisen vallankumouksen prosessissa yhteiskunnallisen hallinnon elimiksi, toimien toisten järjestöjen alamaisina taloudellisen elämän uudelleenjärjestämisperiaatteiden toteuttamiseksi." Tällä he tahtovat sanoa, että unioiden on työskenneltävä ylimmälle kansantalousneuvostolle ja sen haaraosastoille alamaisena. Mikä ero on tämän ja Trotzkyn suositteleman "kasvamalla-yhteenliittymisohjelman" välillä? Ne eroavat ainoastaan menettelytavoissa. Teeseissä suositellaan erittäin voimakkaasti unioiden kasvatuksellisen puolen kehittämistä. Ratkaistessaan uniokysymystä ja erittäinkin unioiden järjestämistehtävää, puolueemme johtajat viekkaina politiikkoina asettavat itsensä "opettajiksi."

Tästä kysymyksestä väitteleminen ei keskity niinkään paljoa teollisuuksien johtamiskysymykseen kuin joukkojen kasvattamisjärjestelmään. Suorastaan hämmästyy, kun lukee kokouksien pöytäkirjojen konekirjoitettuja sivuja huomattujen puoluejohtajaimme puheista, niissä esiintyvästä opettavasta sanontatavasta. Jokainen teesin kirjoittaja suosittelee täydellisintä menettelyä joukkojen kohottamiseksi, mutta kaikista näistä "opetus"-järjestelmistä puuttuu kokeilu, vapauksien myöntäminen opetettavien toimintakyvyn kehittämiseksi. — Tässä ovat kaikki opettajamme ajasta jälessä.

Vika on siinä, että Lenin, Trotzky, Bucharin ja muut rajoittavat ammattiunioiden toiminnan, ei teollisuuslaitoksien ja tuotannon johtamiseen, mutta ainoastaan koululaitoksiksi, joukkojen kasvattajina. Keskustelun aikana näytti joistakin tovereistamme siltä, että Trotzky kannattaa

unioiden "asteettaista valtioon sulautumista" — ja tarjoavan niille täydellisen oikeuden tuotannon kontrolliin, ei yhtäkkiä, mutta vähitellen, kuten ohjelmassamme mainitaan. Tämä kohta näytti aluksi asettavan Trotzkyn samalle perustalle oppositsionin kanssa, silloin kun Leninin ja Zinovievin johtama ryhmä vastusti "unioiden sulautumista valtioon," he näkivät unioiden toiminnan ja pulman rajoittuvan "kommunismin harjoitteluun." "Ammattiunioita tarvitaan" — huusivat Trotzky ja Zinoviev — "karkean työn suorittamisessa" (joulukuun 30 p. raportin sivu 22). Näytti kuin Trotzky olisi käsittänyt tehtävän erilailla. Hänen mielestään oli ammattiunioiden tärkein tehtävä tuotannon järjestäminen. Tässä hän on täydellisesti oikeassa. Hän on myöskin oikeassa sanoessaan: "Sikäli kuin uniot ovat kommunismin kouluja, niin ovat ne sellaisia kouluja, jotka eivät suorita yleistä propagandaa (sillä siinä tapauksessa ne olisivat ainoastaan klupeja) eivät kokoa jäseniään militaristisia tarkoituksia varten, eivätkä tuotantoveron keräämiseksi, vaan yleensä opettavat jäsenistöään suorittamaan tehtäväänsä tuotannossa." (Trotzkyn raportti joulukuun 30 p.) Kaikki tämä on totta, mutta siinä ilmenee yksi vakava puutteellisuus; uniot eivät ole ainoastaan *kommunismin kouluja,* vaan ne ovat myöskin sen luojia.

Työväenluokan luomiskyky on kadonnut näkyvistä. Trotzky asettaa tämän tilalle "todellisten tuotannon järjestäjäin," uniossa olevien kommunistien alotekyvyn. (Trotzkyn raportista joulukuun 30 p.) Mitkä kommunistit? Trotzkyn selostuksen mukaan ne kommunistit, jotka puolue on nimittänyt vastuunalaisiin unioiden johtaviin asemiin, syistä joilla hyvin harvoin on mitään yhteistä unioiden ratkaistavien teollisuuskysymyksien kanssa. Trotzky ei teeskentele. Hän ei usko työläisten kykenevän luomaan kommunismia ja kulkemaan kaikkien kärsimyksien ja erehdyksien kautta ja yhä luoda uusia tuotannon mutoja. Hän on selittänyt tämän teeskentelemättä ja avoimesti. Hän on jo kokeillut joukkojen opettamista "nuija-järjestelmällään," harjoittamalla heitä johtaja-tehtäviin rautateiden keskushallinnossa, käyttäen kaikkia niitä opetuskeinoja, joita entisajan ammattilaismestarit käyttivät oppipoikiensa opettamisessa. Tosiasia on, että oppipojan päänpehmittäminen lestin kanssa ei tee hänestä onnistunutta suutari-

verstaan johtajaa mestariksi päästyään ja kuitenkin, niin kauan kun mestarin johtajakeppi heiluu hänen selkänsä takana, työskentelee hän ja valmistaa tuotteita.

Tässä, Trotzkyn mielestä on tehtävän pääsisältö pyrittäessä siirtymään "politikasta taloudellisiin kysymyksiin." Vaikkapa vaan väliaikaisesti kohottaa tuotantoa, käyttämällä kaikkia keinoja, on kaikkien ponnistelujen päämäärä. Tämän päämäärän saavuttamiseksi, Trotzkyn mielipiteen mukaan, on kaikki harjoittelu unioissa kohdistettava.

Toverit Lenin ja Zinoviev kuitenkin ovat hänen kanssaan eri mieltä. He ovat "nykyisen suunnan opettajia." On sanottu useita kertoja, että ammattiuniot ovat kommunismin kouluja. Mitä tarkoittaa kommunismin koulu? Jos otamme tämän määrittelyn "kommunismin kouluja" todenmukaisesti, niin se tarkoittaa ennen kaikkea *opettaa* ja kasvattaa, mutta ei *komentaa.* Edelleen Zinoviev jatkaa: ammattiuniot suorittavat suurta tehtävää proletariaatin ja kommunismin hyväksi. Tämä on ammattiunioiden päätehtävä. Mutta tällä kertaa kuitenkin unohdamme tämän ja ajattelemme, että käsittelemme uniokysymystä liian huolettomasti ja ankarasti.

On välttämätöntä muistaa, että näillä järjestöillä on oma, erikoinen tehtävänsä — ei komentajan, tarkastajan ja johtajan tehtävä, vaan tehtävä, jossa kaikki voidaan supistaa yhteen — kuljettaa laajat työläisjoukot proletariaatin järjestettyyn liikkeeseen. Opettaja Trotzky meni liian pitkälle joukkojen opettamisjärjestelmässään, mutta mitä toveri Zinoviev itse esittää? Antaa unioissa ensimäinen läksy kommunismissa, "opettaa heille (joukoille) proletaariliikkeen aakkosia." Miten? "Käytännöllisen kokemuksen kauttako, uusien tuotantomuotojen käytännöllisen kehittämisen kauttako (juuri senkö, mitä oppositsioni vaatii)?" Ei ollenkaan. Zinoviev-Lenin ryhmä kannattaa opetusjärjestelmää, jonka mukaan joukkoja kehitetään luettamalla, antamalla moraalista ohjausta ja hyviä, hyvin valikoituja esimerkkejä. Meillä on 500,000 kommunistia (joiden joukossa — sen olemme pakoitetut myöntämään — on monta "vierasta" — tulleet toisesta — porvarillisesta --- maailmasta) seitsemää miljoonaa työläistä kohti.

Toveri Leninin lausunnon mukaan muodostuu puolue "proletariaatin etujoukosta" ja parhaimmat kommunistit,

neuvostojen taloudellisten laitosten spesialistien kanssa työskentelevät kovasti laboratooreissaan keksiäkseen uusia tuotannon muotoja. Nämä kommunistit työskentelevät tällä kertaa ylimmän talousneuvoston, tai toisten keskuksien "hyvien opettajien" johdon alaisina. On totta, että nämä Pekat ja Jussit ovat parhaita oppilaita, mutta unioissa olevien suurten työläisjoukkojen täytyy ottaa esimerkkiä näistä Pekoista ja Jusseista ja oppia sen kautta, saamatta itse kädelläänkään koskea johtavaan peräsimeen, sillä se on liian aikaista, he eivät ole vielä kylliksi oppineet.

Leninin mielipiteen mukaan ammattiuniot, se on, työläisten luokkajärjestöt, eivät ole kansantalouden kommunististen muotojen luojia, ne palvelevat ainoastaan yhdistävänä siteenä etujoukkojen ja suurten työväen massojen välillä — "jokapäiväisen toimintansa kautta saavuttavat ammattiuniot massajoukkojen suosion, sen luokan massojen..." j. n. e.

Tämä ei ole Trotzkyn "nuija-järjestelmä" eikä keskiaikainen opetusjärjestelmä. Se on Froebel-Pestalozzin saksalainen järjestelmä, perustuen esimerkkien tutkimiseen. Ammattiuniot eivät saa tehdä mitään tärkeää teollisuuksissa, ainoastaan hankkia joukkojen suosion ja pitää pohjajoukkoja kosketuksissa puolueessa olevien etujoukkojen kanssa, jotka (muistakaamme tämä) eivät järjestä tuotantoa yhteistuotannon perustalle, mutta kehittävät neuvostojen taloudelliset laitokset erilaisilla yhteiskunnallisilla asteilla olevien kokoomuksiksi ja joihin sitte nimittävät kommunisteja.

Kumpi järjestelmä on parempi? — siitä on nyt kysymys. Trotzkyn järjestelmä,mitä hyvänsä se muissa suhteissa lieneekin, on selvempi ja sentähden todellisempi. Lukemalla kirjoja ja tutkimalla hyväntahtoisten Pekkojen ja Jussien esimerkkejä ei voi opetuksessa kehittyä liian pitkälle. Tämä on muistettava ja muistettava hyvin.

Bucharinin ryhmä ottaa paikkansa keskustassa, tai oikeammin yrittää yhdistää molemmat opetusjärjestelmät. On kuitenkin huomattava ettei tämäkään järjestelmä tunnusta unioiden itsenäistä teollisuuksien kehittämisperiaatetta. Bucharinin ryhmän mielestä on ammattiunioiden esitettävä kahta osaa (niin he selittävät teeseissään): toimia "kommunismin kouluna" ja toiseksi, toimia välittäjinä puolueen ja joukkojen välillä (tämä on Leninin ryhmältä),

toisin sanoen, toimia koneena joka tuo suuret proletariaatin joukot käytännölliseen elämään (huomatkaa toverit — "käytännölliseen elämään," mutta ei uusien talousmuotojen luomiseen, eikä uusien tuotantomuotojen tutkimiseen). Sen lisäksi niiden (unioiden) on yhä suurenevassa määrässä muututtava kiinteiksi osiksi, sekä tuotantokoneistoon, että valtion hallintoon. Tämä on otettu Trotzkyn "yhteen liittämisestä.'

Väittely taaskin kietoutuu ei ammattiuniokysymyksen ympärille, vaan väittelyksi menettelytavoista, miten joukkoja olisi opetettava unioiden avulla. Trotzky puolustaa tai oikeammin puolusti järjestelmää, joka rautatietyöläisten kesken käytännössä olevan menettelyn avustamana ajaisi järjestyneiden työläisten päihin kommunistisen uudelleen rakentamisviisautta, "nimitysten" ja "seulomisten" ja muitten ihmeellisten menettelytapojen avulla muodostaisi "valiojärjestelmän mukaisesti uudelleen järjestäisi uniot niin että ne voisivat kasvamisen kautta yhtyä neuvostojen taloudellisiin laitoksiin ja tulisivat kuuliaisiksi välineiksi ylimmän kansantalousneuvoston suunnitelmien toteuttamisessa.

Zinoviev ja Lenin eivät kiirehdi yhdistämään unioita neuvostojen talouskoneistoon. He sanovat, unioiden tulee pysyä unioina. Mitä taas teollisuuksiin tulee, niin niitä pitävät käynnissä ja johtavat valitsemamme miehet. Sitte kun ammattiuniot ovat kehittäneet kuuliaiset ja tuotteliaat Pekat ja Jussit, niin "otamme" ne neuvostojen taloudellisiin laitoksiin ja täten uniot vähitellen häviävät, lakkaavat olemasta.

Kansantalouden uusien muotojen luomisen jätämme neuvostojen virkavaltaisten laitosten tehtäväksi, mutta unioille annamme "koulujen" tehtävän. Opettaa, opettaa ja yhä vaan opettaa, se on Leninin ja Zinovievin tunnussana. Bucharin kuitenkin halusi "perustaa" opetuksen unioissa radikalismille ja ansaitsi täydellisesti Leninin nuhteet ja haukkumanimityksen (Simidicomist). Bucharinin ryhmä, samalla kun se panee painon unioiden kasvatustyölle, nykyisen poliittisen tilanteen vallitessa, kannattaa mitä täydellisintä työläisten kansanvaltaisuutta unioiden sisällä, myöntäen unioille valintaoikeuden, ei ainoastaan valitsemista periaatteellisesti käsitettynä, mutta union ni-

mittämien ehdokkaiden valinnan ilman ehtoja. Miten ihmeen kansanvaltaista! Tämä haiskahtaisi oppositsionilta, jollei olisi yhtä eroavaisuutta. Työväen oppositsioni näkee unioissa kommunistisen talouden luojat ja johtajat, kun taas Bucharin, Leninin ja Trotzkyn kanssa jättävät unioille ainoastaan "komunistisen koulun" osan esitettämisen eikä mitään muuta. Miksi ei leikittäisi valinnan periaatteella, kun kerran jokainen tietää ettei sillä saada aikaan hyvää eikä pahaa teollisuuksien johtamisessa. Tosiasia on että teollisuuksien kontrolli pysyy edelleenkin unioiden ulkopuolella, neuvostolaitoksien käsissä. Bucharin muistuttaa meille opettajia, jotka suorittavat kasvatustyötä vanhan ajan järjestelmän mukaan kirjojen avulla. — "Teidän täytyy oppia tähän asti ja ei kauemmaksi," samaan aikaan rohkaisten oppilaiden "itsenäistä toimintaa" järjestämällä tanssia, huvitilaisuuksia j. n. e.

Tällä tavoin kaksi eri järjestelmää elävät verrattain hyvin yhdessä ja soveltuvat toisiinsa. Mutta mikä tulee olemaan seurauksena kaikesta tästä ja mitä tehtäviä tulevat nämä valikoivien opettajien oppilaat olemaan kykeneviä suorittamaan — se on kokonaan toinen kysymys. Jos toveri Lunacharskyn osoittaisi eriävää mielipidettä tähän "valikoimis-harhaoppiin" nähden, niin kansanvalistuskomisariaatin asema kävisi todella vaaranalaiseksi.

Kuitenkaan ei ole tarpeellista allearvioida johtavien toveriemme opetusmenettelyjä sikäli kuin uniot ovat kysymyksessä. He kaikki, Trotzky niihin luettuna, käsittävät, että joukkojen "itsenäinen toiminta" opetuskysymyksessä ei ole suinkaan pienin tekijä. Sentähden he koettavat keksiä suunnitelmaa, jonka mukaan ammattiuniot voisivat kehittää taloudellista alote- ja toimintakykyään häiritsemättä nykyisin voimassa olevaa virkavaltaista teollisuuksien johtamisjärjestelmää. Kaikista vaarattomin työskentelypiiri, jossa joukot voisivat itsenäisesti toimia ja "ottaa osaa käytännölliseen elämään" (Bucharinin mukaan) olisi *työläisten aseman parantaminen.* Työläisten oppositsioni kiinnittää suuressa määrin huomiota tähän kysymykseen ja lisäksi se tietää, että työväen luokan päätehtävänä on uuden teollisuusjärjestelmän luominen, josta tehtävästä työläisten aseman parantaminen on ainoastaan yksi osa.

Trotzkyn ja Zinovievin mielipiteen mukaan tuotanto

täytyy kehittää ja järjestää neuvostovirastojen välityksellä, samalla kun unioita kehoitetaan suorittamaan rajoitettu, vaikkakin hyödyllinen tehtävä — parantamaan työläisten asemaa. Toveri Zinoviev esimerkiksi näkee vaatteiden jakamisessa unioiden taloudellisen tehtävän ja selittää: "Ei ole mitään muuta tärkeämpää tehtävää **kuin taloudellinen**; tälläkertaa on kymmenen kertaa tärkeämpää korjata yksi kylpyhuone Pietarissa kuin pitää viisi hyvää luentoa."

Mitä tämä on? Yksinkertainen erehdyskö, vaiko tietoinen sijaisesitys luovien kykyjen kehittämiseksi rajoitettujen kotitaloustehtävien kautta? Trotzky esitti saman ajatuksen vaikka jonkun verran toisilla sanoilla. Hän verrattain suopeasti kehoittaa ammattiunioita kehittämään alotekykyään mahdollisimman suuressa määrässä.

Mutta missä tämä alotekyky voi ilmaantua? "Ruudun panemisessa tehtaan ikkunaan," tai "likarapakon täyttämisessä tehtaan edessä" (Trotzkyn puheesta kaivosmiesten kongressissa). Sääli meitä toveri Trotzky! Tämä on yksinkertaisesti talon asumista ja jos sinä aijot rajoittaa unioiden tehtävän näin ahtaaksi, niin silloin ei unioista kehity "kommunismin kouluja," mutta paikkoja joissa opetetaan ihmisiä talonmiehiksi. On totta, että toveri Trotzky haluaa laajentaa joukkojen itsenäistä toimintaa, antamalla heidän ottaa osaa, ei tosin työläisten olojen itsenäiseen parantamiseen työmaalla (niin pitkälle menee ainoastaan "mieletön" työläisten oppositsioni), vaan läksyjen ottamiseen ylimmältä kansantalousneuvostolta tässä kysymyksessä.

Milloin hyvänsä tulee päätettäväksi työläisiä koskevasta kysymyksestä, kuten esimerkiksi ruuan, tai työvoiman jakamisesta, niin on välttämätöntä, että ammattiuniot tietävät tarkoin (eivät ota itse osaa kysymykseen, mutta ainoastaan tietävät) ei yleispiirteissään, kuten tavalliset kansalaiset, mutta tuntevat täysin koko ylimmän kansantalousneuvoston suorittaman tehtävän (joulukuun 30 päivän puheesta). Ylimmän kansantalousneuvoston "opettajat" eivät ainoastaan pakoita ammattiunioiden "panemaan toimeen" suunnitelmiaan, vaan ne myöskin "selittävät oppilailleen määräyksiään." Tämä on edistysaskel, verrattuna siihen järjestelmään, joka on käytännössä rautateillä.

Jokaiselle ajattelevalle työläiselle on kumminkin selvää,

että ruutujen panemisella, niin hyödyllistä kuin se onkin, ei ole mitään yhteyttä teollisuuksien johdon kanssa. Tuottavat voimat ja niiden kehitys eivät ilmene tässä tehtävässä. Todellisesti tärkeä kysymys on edelleenkin: kuinka kehittää niitä, kuinka rakentaa sellainen valtiotalous, jota uusi tuotantoelämä vaatii, hävittääkseen tuottamatonta työvoimaa niin paljon kuin mahdollista. Puolue voi kehittää punaisen sotilaan, poliittisen työskentelijän, tai toimeenpanevan työläisen, suorittamaan valmiiksi suunniteltuja tehtäviä, mutta se ei voi kehittää kommunistisen talouden luojaa; vaan ainoastaan uniot tarjoavat tilaisuuden luovien kykyjen kehittymiselle uusien alojen mukaisesti.

Sitäpaitsi tämä ei ole puolueen tehtävä. Puolueen tehtävä on luoda olotila, se on, antaa vapaus taloudellisen päämäärän yhdistämälle työväenjoukolle, niin että se voi kehittää työläisluojan, löytää uuden vaikuttimen työskentelyyn, voi valmistaa uuden työvoiman käyttöjärjestelmän ja tietää kuinka jaotella työläiset yhteiskunnan uudelleenrakentamiseksi ja siten luo uuden taloudellisen järjestelmän joka perustuu kommunistiselle pohjalle. Ainoastaan työläiset voivat suunnitella työn uudelleenjärjestämismenettelytavat samoin kuin teollisuuksien johdon.

Tämä on yksinkertainen marxilainen totuus ja kuitenkaan eivät puolueemme johtajat tälläkertaa yhdy meihin siinä. Miksi? Ainoastaan sentähden, että he luottavat enemmän virkavaltaisiin teknikkoihin, menneisyyden jälkeläisiin, kuin terveeseen työväenluokan tuottavaan voimaan. Kaikilla muilla aloilla voimme olla epäröiviä siihen nähden kuka tulee olemaan kontrollissa, — työläiset yhteisestikö, tai virkavaltaiset spesialistit — olkoon sitten kysymys opetuksesta, tieteen kehityksestä, armeijan järjestämisestä, yleisestä terveydenhoidosta, mutta yksi asia on ja se on, talous, jossa kontrollikysymys on yksinkertainen ja selvä jokaiselle joka ei ole unohtanut historiaa.

Jokainen marxilainen tietää hyvin, että teollisuuksien uudelleenrakentaminen ja maan luovien voimien kehittäminen riippuu kahdesta tekijästä: teknikan kehityksestä ja työvoiman tehokkaasta järjestämisestä. tuottavaisuuden lisäämisen ja uusien työkiihotinten löytämisen kautta. Tämä on pitänyt paikkansa kautta koko ihmiskunnnan his-

torian, jokaisen taloudellisen elämän alimmalta asteelta korkeammalle siirtymisen aikana.

Tuottavien voimien kehittämisessä työläisten tasavallassa, näyttelee teknikka toisarvoista osaa, verrattuna toisiin tekijöihin, se on, työväen järjestymisen tehokkaisuuteen ja uuden tuotantojärjestelmän kehittämiseen. Vaikkapa Neuvosto-Venäjä onnistuisikin suorittamaan täydellisesti yleisen sähköittämisen, niin jos se ei ota käytäntöön perinpohjaisia muutoksia kansantalouden ja tuotannon järjestämisessä, niin se ainoastaan voi kohota kehittyneempien kapitalististen maiden kanssa samalle tasolle.

Kuitenkin työvoimaa mahdollisimman edullisesti hyväkseen käyttäen ja rakentaen uuden tuotantojärjestelmän, Venäjän työläiset ovat erikoisen suotuisissa oloissa, joka antaa Venäjälle tilaisuuden jättää kaikki porvarilliset maat kauaksi jälkeensä tuottavien voimien kehittämisessä. Työttömyys työläisten kiihottajana on poistettu Neuvosto-Venäjältä. Sentähden avautuu uusia mahdollisuuksia kapitalismin ikeestä vapautuneelle työväenluokalle sanoa omat syntysanansa hakiessaan uusia kiihoittimia ja luodessaan uusia tuotantomuotoja, joille ei löydy vertaa koko ihmiskunnan historiassa.

Kuka kykenee kehittämään tarpeellisen tuotantokyvyn ja tarkkuuden tällä alalla? Virkavaltaiset neuvostolaitosten johtajatko, vaiko teollisuusuniot, joiden jäsenet, uudelleen järjestäessään työläisiä tehtaissa ja työpaikoissa, saavuttavat kokemuksen käytännöllisissä menettelytavoissa, joka voidaan sovittaa kansantalouden uudelleenjärjestämisprosessiin? Työläisten oppositsioni väittää, että kansantalouden hallinto on unioiden tehtävä ja sentähden se on enemmän marxilainen ajatukseltaan kuin teoreettisesti harjaantuneet johtajamme.

Työläisten oppositsioni ei ole niin tyhmä, että se kokonaan ala-arvioisi teknillisen edistyksen tai teknikkojen hyödyllisyyden. Siksi se ei ajattele, että valittuaan omasta joukostaan teollisuuksien johtajat, se voi turvallisesti poistaa ylimmän kansantalousneuvoston, yleiset teollisuuskomiteat, taloudelliset keskusvirastot j. n. e. Ei ollenkaan. Ja kuitenkin työläisten oppositsioni käsittää, että sen on saatava itse kontrolli näiden teknillisesti arvokkaiden hallinnollisten keskusten ylitse, antaa niille teoreettisia tehtä-

viä, ja heidän niiden palvelusta kontrolleeraten samoinkuin kapitalistit tekivät palkatessaan teknikot panemaan toimeen suunnitelmiaan. Spesialistit voivat tehdä arvokasta työtä teollisuuksien kehittämisessä, ne voivat tehdä työläisten ruumiillisen työnteon huokeammaksi, ne ovat välttämättömiä, samoin kuin tiede on välttämätön jokaisen nousevan luokan kehitykselle, mutta porvarilliset spesialistit, vaikka niihin olisi liisteröity kommunistinen leimakin, ovat fyysillisesti voimattomia ja henkisesti heikkoja kehittämään tuotantovoimia kapitalistittomassa yhteiskunnassa, löytääkseen uusia työnjärjestämismenettelyjä ja kehittääkseen uusia työnkiihottimia. Viimeinen sana näissä asioissa kuuluu teollisuusunioihin järjestyneelle työväenluokalle.

Silloinkuin nouseva porvariluokka saapui keskiajasta nykyaikaan johtavalle ovelle ja joutui taloudelliseen taisteluun häviävän feodaliluokan kanssa, ei se omannut teknillisiä etuisuuksia viimeksimainittuun verrattuna. Kauppias — ensimäinen kapitalisti — oli pakoitettu ostamaan tavaransa käsityöläiseltä, ammattilaiselta, joka yksinkertaisia käsityökaluja käyttäen valmisti tuotteita "herralleen" maaloordille ja ulkoatulleelle kauppiaalle, jonka kanssa hän kävi "vapaata" kauppaa. Feodalinen talousjärjestelmä oli saavuttanut huippunsa; se lakkasi tuottamasta yliarvoa; sen tuottavien voimien kasvussa alkoi tapahtumaan rappeutumista. Ihmiskunta seisoi tien haarassa, kulkeako taloudelliseen kadotukseen tai löytää uudet, työtä kiihoittavat voimat ja luoda senmukaisesti uusi talousjärjestelmä, joka lisäisi tuottavaisuutta, laajentaen tuotantoalaa ja avaten uusia mahdollisuuksia tuotantovoimien kehitykselle.

Kuka olisi voinut keksiä ja kehittää uudet menettelyt teollisuuksien uudelleen järjestämisessä? Ei kutkaan muut kuin sen luokan edustajat, jotka eivät olleet menneisyyteen sidotut; he jotka ymmärsivät, että värttinä ja leikkuri tuottavat vähemmän henkiorjan käsissä kuin oletetusti vapaan palkkaorjan käsissä, jonka takana seisoo taloudellisen elämän välttämättömyyden kiihottajat.

Täten, nouseva luokka, huomattuaan missä peruskiihoitin lepää, rakensi monipuolisen järjestelmänsä, laajentaen sen omalla tavallaan kapitalistiseksi tuotantojärjestelmäksi. Teknikot tulivat kapitalismin avuksi vasta paljon myöhem-

min. Perustana oli työväen uusi järjestämismuoto ja työn ja pääoman väliset uudet suhteet.

Sama pitää paikkansa nytkin. Ei mikään spesialisti eikä vanhan kapitalistisen tuotantojärjestelmän luoma teknikko voi esittää yhtään elävöittävää työn järjestämisessä kommunistisen talouden rakentamisessa ja järjestämisessä. Se tehtävä kuuluu työläisille yhteisesti. Työväen oppositsionin suuri hyöty on siinä, että se on asettanut tämän tärkeimmän kysymyksen teeskentelemättömästi ja aivoimesti puolueen eteen.

Toveri Lenin selittää, että me voimme suorittaa kommunistisen suunnitelman taloudellisella alalla puolueen kautta. Onko se niin? Ensiksi katsokaamme kuinka puolue toimii. Toveri Leninin määritelmän mukaan "se vetää mukaansa työläisten etujoukot," jaoittelee ne sitten lukuisiin neuvostolaitoksiin (ainoastaan osa etujoukosta pääsee takaisin unioihin, joissa kommunistiset jäsenet ovat kumminkin estetyt johtamasta kansantalouden rakentamista). Siellä nämä hyvin harjaantuneet uskolliset, ja mahdollisesti kyvykkäät kommunistiset taloustieteilijät tylsistyvät ja häviävät keskusvirastojen turmiollisen ilmapiirin vaikutuksesta, joka on tunkeutunut kaikkiin neuvostolaitoksiimme. Sellaisessa ilmapiirissä näiden toverien vaikutus heikkenee, sekoittuu taikka häviää kokonaan.

Kokonaan toinen on asia ammattiunioissa. Siellä on luokkahenki selvempi, voimien kokoonpano yhtenäisempi; kollektiivillä edessään olevat tehtävät ovat läheisemmässä yhteydessä jokapäiväisen elämän ja tuottajien itsensä, työmaakomiteain jäsenten, tehtaan johtajien ja unioiden keskuksien omien tarpeiden kanssa. Luomiskyky, uusien menettelyjen tutkiminen, uusien kiihoittimien keksiminen, tarkoituksella lisätä tuotantoa, voi kehittyä ja kukoistaa ainoastaan tämän, luonnostansa yhtenäisen luokan rinnoissa. Luokan etuvartiosto voi saada aikaan vallankumouksen, mutta ainoastaan koko luokka voi jokapäiväisen kokemuksen ja yhteisen luokkatoiminnan perustalla työskennellen rakentaa.

Kuka hyvänsä ei luota yhteishengen luovaan voimaan — joka esiintyy kaikista täydellisemmin unioissa —, niin hänen täytyy hylätä kommunistisen yhteiskunnan rakenta-

minen. Krestinsky, tai Preobrajensky, tahi Lenin ja Trotzky eivät voi erehtymättä puoluekoneistonsa avulla työntää etutilalle niitä työläisiä, jotka kykenevät löytämään ja osoittamaan uuden tuotantojärjestelmän uudet menettelytavat. Sellaisia työläisiä voi kehittää ainoastaan se elämän kokemus, joka on saatu niiden riveistä, jotka varsinaisesti tuottavat ja järjestävät tuotantoa samalla kertaa.

Siitä huolimatta, vaikka tämän käsittäminen on varsin yksinkertainen ja selvä jokaiselle käytännölliselle ihmiselle, eivät puolueemme johtajat sitä näe. Päätöksillä on mahdoton tehdä kommunismia. Se voidaan luoda ainoastaan käytännöllisen tutkimusprosessin avulla, mahdollisesti erehdyksiä tehden, mutta ainoastaan työväenluokan oman luovan voiman avulla.

Puolueen johtajien ja työväen oppositsionin välisten erimielisyyksien peruskohta on seuraava: Kenen tehtäväksi puolueemme uskoo kommunistisen talouden rakentamisen, ylimmälle kansantalousneuvostolleko ja sen virkavaltaisille osastoille, vaiko teollisuusunioille? Toveri Trotzky haluaa "yhdistää" ammattiuniot ylimpään kansantalousneuvostoon, että viimeksimainitun avulla kävisi mahdolliseksi niellä ensinmainitut. Toverit Lenin ja Zinoviev taas puolestaan haluavat "kohottaa" joukot sellaiselle kommunistiselle tasolle, että heidät voidaan kivuttomasti kuljettaa samoihin neuvostolaitoksiin. Bucharin ja toiset ainekset esittävät pääasiassa sitä samaa näkökantaa, eroten ainoastaan menettely- ja sanontatavoissaan. Ainoastaan työväen oppositsioni esittää jotain kokonaan eriävää, puolustaen proletariatiluokan näkökantaa, sen tehtävän suorittamis- ja toteuttamisprosesseissa.

Nykyisen ylimenokauden ajalla täytyy työväen tasavallan taloudellisen hallinnon muodostua tuottajien suoranaisen valinnan kautta. Kaikkien muiden taloudellisten hallinnollisten neuvostolaitosten tulee toimia tämän työväen tasavallan kaikista tärkeimmän keskustan taloudellisen ohjelman toimeenpanijoina. Kaikki muut ovat harha-askelia, jotka aiheuttavat epäluottamusta työläisten toimintakykyyn, epäluottamusta, joka ei sovi yhteen puolueemme tunnustamien ihanteiden kanssa, joiden voima on riippuvainen proletariaatin vallankumouksellisesta luomiskyvystä.

Siinä ei ole mitään ihmeteltävää, jos tulevassa puoluekongressissa, erilaisten taloudellisten reformien esittäjät, lukuunottamatta työväen oppositsionia, pääsevät yksimielisyyteen, kun niiden välillä kerran ei ole mitään varsinaista mielipiteiden eroavaisuutta.

Työväen oppositsioni ainoastaan ei tahdo eikä se saa kompromiseerata. Tämä ei kuitenkaan tarkoita sitä, että se "johtaisi hajaannukseen." Ei ollenkaan. Sen tehtävä on kokonaan erilainen. Vaikkapa se joutuisikin kongressissa häviölle, niin sen sittenkin täytyy pysyä puolueessa, ja askel askeleelta sitkeästi puolustaa katsantokantaansa, pelastaakseen puolueen ja selventääkseen sen luokkapiirteet.

Sanokaamme kerran vielä: mitä työväen oppositsioni haluaa?

1) Muodostaa yhdys työläisistä — tuottajista itsestään — hallitsemaan kansantaloutta.

2) Tätä tarkoitusta varten: muuttaakseen työväen uniot taloudellisten laitosten passiivisista avustajista aktiivisiksi osanottajiksi ja luovan alotteen ilmaisijoiksi, työväen oppositsioni esittää sarjan alotetoimenpiteitä tähän päämäärään asteettain ja järjestelmällisesti pääsemiseksi.

3) Teollisuuksien hallinnon siirtäminen unioiden käsiin ei tapahdu ennen, kuin koko Venäjän unioiden yleinen keskustoimeenpaneva komitea huomaa sanottujen unioiden olevan kykenevät ja kyllin hyvin varustautuneet tätä tehtävää suorittamaan.

4) Kaikki nimitykset taloudellisen hallinnon tehtäviin on tehtävä unioiden suostumuksella. Unioiden nimittämiä edustajia ei voida syrjäyttää. Kaikki unioiden nimittämät vastuunalaiset virkailijat ovat unioille vastuuvelvolliset ja uniot voivat kutsua heidät takaisin.

5) Näiden esitysten toimeenpanemiseksi on välttämätöntä lujittaa jäsenistön keskustaa (nucleus) unioissa ja varustaa tehdas- ja työmaakomiteat johtamaan teollisuuksia.

6) Yhdistämällä koko kansantalous hallituksen yhdeksi (ilman nykyistä ylimmän kansantalousneuvoston ja koko Venäjän unioiden toimeenpanevan komitean kaksinaisuutta) on kehitettävä *yhteinen tahto*, joka tekee suunnitelman

toteuttamisen huokeaksi ja elävöittää kommunistisen tuotantojärjestelmän. Onko tämä syndikalismia? Eikö tämä päinvastoin ole samaa mitä on sanottu puolueemme ohjelmassa ja eivätkö toisten tovereiden allekirjoittamat periaatejulistukset ole siitä eroavat.

Virkavaltaisuus ja joukkojen itsenäinen toiminta

Tuleeko virkavaltaisuus voittamaan, vaiko joukkojen itsenäinen toiminta? Tämä on toinen kohta puolueemme johtajain ja työväen oppositsionin välisessä erimielisyydessä. Virkavaltaisuuskysymys tuli esille ja ainoastaan ylimalkaisen käsittelyn alaiseksi neuvostojen 8:ssa kongressissa. Tässä, samoinkuin unioiden tehtäviä koskevassa kysymyksessäkin, keskustelu johdettiin vieraalle suunnalle. Erimielisyys tässä kysymyksessä on syvällisempi kuin miltä se näyttää. Sen perustana on seuraava: mikä hallintojärjestelmä työläisten tasavallassa, kommunistisen talousperustan luomisen aikana takaa enimmän vapautta työväenluokan toimintavoimille — tekeekö sen virkavaltainen valtiojärjestelmä, vaiko työväen laajojen joukkojen laaja, käytännöllinen itsetoiminta? Kysymys koskee hallitusjärjestelmää ja erimielisyys johtuu kahdesta, jyrkästi vastakkaisesta periaatteesta — *virkavaltaisuus, tai itsenäinen toiminta.* Ja kuitenkin he koettavat puristaa sen neuvostolaitosten elävöittämiskysymyksen puitteisiin. Tässä huomaamme samanlaisen pääkysymyksestä poikkeamisen keskusteluissa kuten unio-kysymyksessäkin. On välttämätöntä sanoa yksityiskohtaisesti ja selvästi, että puolinaiset muutokset keskusjärjestöissä, paikallisissa taloudellisissa järjestöissä ja muut samallaiset pikkukorjauket, kuten vastuunalaisten virkailijoiden asettaminen, ja puolueen jäsenien neuvostolaitoksiin kuljettaminen, jossa nämä kommunistit joutuvat virkavaltaisuuden huonon vaikutelman alaisiksi ja hajaantuvat entiseen porvariluokkaan kuuluvan aineksen

joukkoon, eivätkä koskaan tuota "kansanvaltaisuutta," eikä elämää neuvostolaitoksiimme.

Tämä ei kuitenkaan ole pääasia. Jokainen lapsikin Neuvosto-Venäjällä tietää, että pääkysymys on kuljettaa laajat työtätekevät joukot, talonpojat ja muut proletariaattivaltion taloutta rakentamaan ja muuttaa elinsuhteet sen mukaisesti, toisin sanoen tehtävä on selvä: *Herättää joukoissa alote- ja itsenäisen toiminnan pyrkimys,* mutta mitä on tehty tähän suuntaan pyrkimisen hyväksi? Ei kerrassaan mitään. Aivan päinvastoin. Se on totta, että jokaisessa kokouksessa kehoitamme työläisiä "luomaan uutta elämää ja avustamaan neuvostovirkailijoita," mutta niinpian kun joukot taikka yksilölliset työväenryhmät ottavat vetoomuksemme vakavasti ja aikovat toteuttaa sen jokapäiväisessä elämässä, niin joku virkavaltaisista laitoksistamme tuntee, että se on jätetty huomioonottamatta ja kiirehtii lopettamaan innostuneen yrityksen.

Jokainen toveri muistaa helposti joukon tapauksia, joissa työläiset itse aikoivat järjestää ruokailuhuoneita, lasten hoitoloita, polttopuiden kuljetusta j. n. e., niin jokaisessa tapauksessa elävöittynyt toimintainnostus kuoletettiin loppumattomilla neuvotteluilla eri virastoissa, jotka eivät tuottaneet varmaa päätöstä, ei kielteistä eikä myönteistä. Milloin hyvänsä joukot itse olivat tilaisuudessa oman toimintansa avulla laittamaan ruokailun, täyttämään varastohuoneen polttopuilla, tai järjestämään lasten hoitolan, niin aina saapui kielto keskusvirastoista, jossa selitettiin ettei ollut kylliksi tarpeita ruokailua varten, hevosten puute puiden kuljettamiseksi, ja puuttui tarpeellisia rakennuksia lasten hoitolan käytettäväksi. Kuinka paljon katkeruutta synnytettiin työläismiesten ja -naisten keskuudessa, kun he näkivät ja tiesivät, että jos heille olisi annettu oikeus ja tilaisuus toimia, niin he olisivat tuon tehtävän suorittaneet? Kuinka tuskallista on se kun kielletään välttämättömät tarveaineet silloin kun työläiset itse ovat jo kylliksi hankkineet niitä. Sen kautta kaikki yritteliäisyys laimeni ja päättäväisyys kuoletettiin. Jos niin on asia, niin "antakaamme virkailijain itsensä huolehtia meistä." Ja seurauksena oli mitä vahingollisin jakautumi-

nen: me olemme työtätekeviä ihmisiä ja he ovat neuvostovirkailijoita joista kaikki riippuu. Tässä on koko pulma.

Mitä tekevät puolueemme johtajat sillä aikaa? Koettavatko he löytää paheen syytä, ja myöntävätkö he rehellisesti, että se järjestelmä, joka pantiin toimeen neuvostojen kautta, halvaannuttaa ja kuolettaa joukkoja, vaikka se oli tarkoitettu rohkaisemaan heidän alotekykyään? Ei, puolueemme johtajat eivät tee mitään sellaista. Vaan aivan päinvastaista — sen sijaan, että suunnittelisivat keinoja joukkojen alotekyvyn edistämiseksi, jotka määrätyissä oloissa sopisivat täydellisesti neuvostolaitoksiimme, puolueemme johtajat kaikki yhtäkkiä esiintyvät virkavallan puolustajina ja tukijoina. Kuinka moni toveri, joka seuraa Trotzkyn esimerkkiä, kertaa seuraavan lauseen: "Emme kärsi siksi, että olemme omaksuneet virkavaltaisuuden huonot puolet, vaan sen tähden ettemme ole tähän mennessä oppineet tuntemaan sen hyviä puolia." (Trotzkyn "Yhteinen suunnitelma.")

Virkavaltaisuus, sellaisenaan on suoranainen vastakohta joukkojen itsetoiminnalle ja sentähden jokainen, joka hyväksyy joukkotoiminnan periaatteen työväen tasavallan, uuden järjestelmän asiain määrittelyperustaksi, ei voi hakea virkavallan hyviä ja huonoja puolia, mutta hän on pakoitettu avoimesti ja tinkimättömästi hylkäämään koko tämän hyödyttömän järjestelmän. Virkavaltaisuus ei ole meidän kurjuutemme synnyttämä, kuten toveri Zinoviev koettaa vakuuttaa, se ei myöskään ole militarismin synnyttämän ja kehittämän ylempien määräyksien alle "sokean alistuvaisuuden" seuraus, kuten toiset väittävät. Tämän ilmiön syyt ovat syvemmällä. Se on saman syyn synnyttämä, joka selittää kaksinaisen menettelymme uniokysymyksessä: niiden ainesten yhä lisääntyvä vaikutus neuvostolaitoksissamme, jotka ovat vihamielisiä ei ainoastaan kommunismille, mutta myöskin työväen joukkojen alottelevalle itsetoiminnalle. Virkavaltaisuus on pahe, joka tunkeutuu aivan puolueemme ytimeen yhtähyvin kuin neuvostolaitoksiimmekin ja tätä seikkaa painostavat ei ainoastaan työväen oppositsioni, mutta monet muut ajattelevat toverit, jotka eivät kuulu tähän ryhmään.

Yritteliäisyys- ja aloterajoituksia ei ole asetettu ainoastaan puolueettomille joukoille (tämä olisi ainoastaan johdonmukainen ja oikeutettu menettely sisällissodan puristuksen aikana), mutta puolueen jäsenten aloteoikeus on myöskin rajoitettu. Jokaista itsenäistä yritystä, jokaista uutta ajatusta, joka ei ole kulkenut keskustamme sensuurin läpi, pidetään "harhaoppisuutena" ja puoluekurin rikkomisena ja pidetään sitä keskuksen etuoikeuksien loukkauksena, jonka tulee "edeltäpäin nähdä" kaikki ja "määrätä" kaikki. Jos jotain ei ole määrätty, niin täytyy odottaa aikaa kunnes keskusta hyväntahtoisesti antaa määräyksensä ja sitte vasta voi henkilö jyrkkien rajoituksien puitteissa ilmaista "suunnitelmansa." Mitä tapahtuisi jos jotkut Venäjän kommunistipuolueen jäsenistä, ne esimerkiksi, jotka ovat erityisesti kiintyneet lintuihin, päättäisivät perustaa lintujen suojelusyhdistyksen. Ajatus itsessään näyttäisi erittäin hyödylliseltä, eikä millään tavalla vahingoittaisi "valtion suunnitelmia," mutta se ainoastaan näyttää siltä. Heti kohta esiintyisi joku virkavaltainen laitos ja vaatisi oikeutta johtaa tätä yritystä. Tämä laitos heti "laillistuttaisi" yhdistyksen neuvostokoneistoon kuuluvaksi osaksi, kuolettaen sen kautta itsenäisen suoranaisen toiminnan alotemahdollisuuden ja sensijaan ilmaantuisi suuret kasat papereita, päätöksiä ja määräyksiä, jotka antaisivat työtä sadoille virkailijoille ja lisäisivät työtä posti- ja kuljetuslaitosten hoitajille.

Virkavaltaisuuden pahe ei ole ainoastaan monimutkaisissa jatkuvissa neuvotteluissa, kuten monet toverit ovat halukkaat väittämään, koettaessaan selittää koko erimielisyyden koskevan "neuvostolaitosten elävöittämiskysymystä," mutta myöskin asioiden ratkaisemiskysymyksessä, joita ei ratkaista avonaisen mielipiteiden vaihdon kautta, taikka niiden toimesta joita asia koskee, mutta henkilön tai päätöksen muodossa, joka on annettu keskusvirastosta, ollen joko yhden hyvin pienen ryhmän tekemä, asianomaisten usein ollessa poissa paikalta. Joku kolmas henkilö päättää asianne, siinä on virkavaltaisuuden koko olemus.

Nykyisen ylimenokauden aiheuttaman, yhä lisääntyvän työväenluokan kärsimyksien keskellä huomaa virkavaltai-

suus olevansa heikko ja vähemmän tärkeä tekijä. Tuottavien voimien innostamisen ja kiihoittamisen ja työläisten aseman parantamisen voi suorittaa *asianomaisten työläisten itsensä elävä alotekyky, jota virastolliset "luvat" ja "säädökset" eivät ole joka askeleella rajoittamassa ja tukahduttamassa.*

Kaikki marxilaiset, erityisesti bolshevikit, ovat olleet lujia ja voimakkaita siinä, että eivät ole koskaan panneet painoa liikkeen pikaiselle onnistumiselle (sivumennen sanoen, ovat tätä suuntaa seuranneet opportunistiset-kompromiseeraajat), vaan aina yrittäneet saada työläiset sellaiseen asemaan, joka antaisi heille tilaisuuden karaista vallankumouksellista tahtoaan ja kehittää luovia kykyjään. Työläisten alotekyky on meille välttämätön ja kuitenkaan emme anna tilaisuutta kehittyä.

Arvostelun pelko ja ajatteluvapaus yhdistettynä virkavaltaisuuden kanssa synnyttää hyvin usein omituisen naurettavia tilanteita.

Itsenäistä toimintaa ei voi olla ilman ajattelu- ja mielipidevapautta; itsenäinen toiminta ei ilmene ainoastaan alotteen ottamisessa ja työskentelyssä, vaan se ilmenee myöskin itsenäisessä ajattelussa. Me pelkäämme joukkotoimintaa. Emme uskalla antaa vapautta luokkatoiminnalle, pelkäämme arvostelua, me lakkasimme luottamasta joukkoihin ja siitä on johtunut virkavaltaisuus. Siinä syy miksi työväen oppositsioni pitää virkavaltaisuutta vihollisenamme, vitsauksenamme ja suurimpana vaarana kommunistipuolueen tulevaisuudelle.

Poistaaksemme virkavaltaisuuden, joka on löytänyt tyyssijansa neuvostolaitoksissa, *täytyy meidän kaikkein ensiksi päästä eroon kaikesta virkavaltaisuudesta puolueessa itsessään.* Siinä se on missä pikainen kamppailu tämän järjestelmän poistamiseksi astuu eteemme. Niin pian kun puolue — ei teoriassa, mutta käytännössä — asettaa valtiomme perustaksi joukkojen itsenäisen toiminnan, niin neuvostolaitokset taaskin automaattisesti muuttuvat niiksi eläviksi laitoksiksi, jotka ovat välttämättömiä kommunistisen tehtävien suorittamisessa ja lakkaavat olemasta loppumattomien neuvottelujen ja jaarittelujen laitoksia, kuolleena

syntyneiden päätöksien tekopaikkoja, joiksi ne ovat hyvin nopeasti muuttuneet.

Mitä meidän on tehtävä hävittääksemme virkavaltaisuuden puolueesta ja asettaaksemme työläisten kansanvalta tilalle? Ennen kaikkea on välttämätöntä ymmärtää, että johtajamme ovat väärässä kun he sanovat: "Juuri nyt olemme halukkaat hellittämään ohjaksia jonkun verran," sillä tällä kertaa ei ole aseellisen hyökkäyksen vaaraa, mutta niinpian kun me huomaamme vaaran, palaamme takaisin sotilasjärjestelmään puolueessamme. He eivät ole oikeassa, sillä meidän tulee muistaa, että urhoollisuus pelasti Pietarin, puolusti useamman kuin yhden kerran Luganskia, muita keskuksia ja kokonaisia alueita. Oliko se yksinään punainen armeija, joka otti osaa puolustukseen? Ei, sen apuna oli joukkojen urhoollinen itsenäinen toiminta. Jokainen toveri muistaa, että jokaisen vaaran hetkellä puolue aina vetosi joukkojen itsenäiseen toimintaan, jossa se näki pelastavan ankkurin. On aivan totta, että vaaran hetkellä puolue- ja luokkakurin tulee olla ankaramman. Silloin vaaditaan enemmän uhrautuvaisuutta, tehtävien huolellisempaa suorittamista j. n. e., mutta tämän luokkahengen ilmaisun ja "sokean alistuvaisuuden" välillä, joka nykyisin on kehitetty, on suuri ero.

Työväen oppositsioni, yhdessä vastuunalaisuutensa käsittävien moskovalaisten työläisten kanssa vaatii kansanvaltaisten periaatteiden täydellistä tunnustamista, ei ainoastaan nykyisen vapaamman ajan vallitessa, mutta myöskin ulkopuolisen ja sisäisen vihollisen ahdistaessa. Tämä on ensimäinen ja perusehto puolueen uudelleenjärjestämiselle, sen palaamiselle takasin noudattamaan ohjelmaansa ja periaatteita, joista puolue on, sille vieraiden ainesten painostuksesta yhä enemmän luopunut.

Toinen ehto, jonka suorittamista työväen oppositsioni painostaa kaikella tarmollaan, on *kaikkien ei-proletariaattisten ainesten eroittaminen puolueesta.* Mitä voimakkaammaksi neuvostohallitus tulee, sitä suuremmaksi kasvaa puolueeseen liittyvien keskiluokkalaisten luku. Tämän aineksen poistaminen täytyy olla perinpohjainen ja täydellinen ja niiden, jotka siitä huolehtivat tulee ottaa huo-

mioon, että kaikista vallankumouksellisimmat ei-työläisainekset liittyivät puolueeseen lokakuun vallankumouksen ensiaikoina. Puolueen täytyy muuttua *työläisten puolueeksi*, ainoastaan sitten se vasta kykenee erkaantumaan kaikesta siitä vaikutusvallasta, jonka siihen ovat kuljettaneet pikkuporvarilliset, talonpoikaisainekset, tai kapitalismin uskolliset palvelijat — spesialistit.

Työläisten oppositsioni tarjoutuu luetteloimaan kaikki jäsenet, jotka eivät ole työläisiä ja ovat liittyneet puolueesen jälkeen 1919 ja antaa heille oikeuden vedota päätöksestä 3 kuun aikana, jos haluavat uudelleen liittyä puolueeseen.

Samalla on välttämätöntä laatia "työlaki" sellaisia ei-työläisaineksia varten, jotka haluavat palata takaisin puolueesen, määritellen, että hakijan täytyy olla tehnyt ruumiillista työtä yleisten työolojen vallitessa määrätty aika, ennenkuin on kelvollinen puolueen jäseneksi.

Kolmas askel puolueen kansanvaltaistuttamiseksi on kaikkien ei-työläisainesten erottaminen hallituksen toimista, toisin sanoen keskus-, maakunta- ja kunnalliskomiteain tulee olla kokoonpantu niin, että työläisillä, jotka ovat läheisessä yhteydessä työtätekevien joukkojen kanssa, on ehdoton enemmistö niissä.

Oppositsionin vaatimuksen tämän kohdan kanssa on läheisessä yhteydessä toinen, koskien puolueemme keskuksien muuttamista, alkaen yleisestä toimeenpanevasta komiteasta ja käsittäen maakuntakomiteat, jokapäiväisen työn suorittamisesta huolehtivista laitoksista *neuvostopolitiikkaa kontrolleeraaviksi laitoksiksi.*

Olemme jo maininneet, että kriisi puolueessamme on suoranaisena tuloksena kolmesta selvästi eroavasta suunnasta, jotka vastaa kolmea erilaista yhteiskunta-ryhmää, nimittäin: työväenluokka,talonpojat ja keskiluokka ja entiset porvarilliset ainekset, se on, spesialistit, teknikot ja liikemiehet.

Tärkeiden valtiollisten kysymysten ratkaisu pakoittaa neuvostojen keskusvirastot, niihin kuuluen kansankomisariaattien neuvosto ja koko Venäjän yleinen keskustoimeenpaneva komitea, kuuntelemaan ja ottamaan huomioonsa näi-

den kolmen eri ryhmän pyrkimykset, ryhmät jotka muodostavat Neuvosto-Venäjän väestön. Seurauksena siitä ovat luokkapiirteet yleisessä toimintaohjelmassamme käyneet epäselviksi ja toiminta horjuvaksi. Valtion edut alkavat astua työläisten etujen yläpuolelle.

Että keskuskomiteamme ja puoluekomiteamme voisivat olla jyrkästi luokkaohjelmamme puolella ja antaa määräykset kaikille neuvostolaitoksille, joka kerta kun neuvostopolitiikan selvä määrittely tulee kysymykseen (kuten tapahtui silloin kun oli kysymyksessä ammattiunioihin suhtautuminen) on välttämätöntä poistaa etuoikeudet sellaisilta vastuunalaisilta virkailijoilta, jotka samaan aikaan ovat neuvostohallituksen ja puolueen vastuunalaisissa viroissa. Meidän tulee muistaa, että Neuvosto-Venäjä ei ole vielä tähän asti ollut yhteiskuntataloudellisesti yhtenäinen, mutta päinvastoin edustanut mitä erilaisempia yhteenkoottuja yhteiskunnallisia aineksia ja sentähden valtio on pakoitettu sovittelemaan keskenään, kaikkia näitä, toisinaan vihamielisiäkin ryhmiä, ottamaan keskitien.

Antaaksemme puolueemme keskuskomitealle mahdollisuuden tulla luokkaohjelmamme ylimmäksi valvojaksi, luokka-ajattelun elimeksi ja neuvostojen käytännöllisten menettelytapojen kontrolleeraajaksi, sekä periaatteemme personoiduksi edustajaksi, niin on välttämätöntä, erittäinkin keskuskomiteassa rajoittaa virkojen lukumäärä niille, jotka samalla kertaa, kun ovat keskuskomitean jäseninä, ovat jossain neuvostohallituksen korkeassa virassa. Tätä tarkoitusta varten työväen oppositsioni esittää muodostettavaksi puoluekeskuksia jotka tulisivat toimimaan todellisina neuvostolaitosten aatteellisen puolen kontrolleeraajina ja johtaisivat niiden toimintaa uhtaasti luokkaperiaatteiden mukaisesti. Vielä enemmän, lisätäksemme puolueen toimintaa, on välttämätöntä, että kaikkialla otetaan käytäntöön seuraava menettely: vähintäin kolmasosa keskustan toimintaan osaaottavista puolueen jäsenistä täytyy jyrkästi kieltää toimimasta puoluejäseninä ja neuvostovirkailijoina samaan aikaan.

Työväen oppositsionin neljäs perusvaatimus on seuraava: *puolueen täytyy ohjelmassaan palata takaisin valinnan periaatteisiin.*

Nimittämiset olkoot sallittuja ainoastaan poikkeuksina, mutta viimeaikoina ne ovat muuttuneet vallitsevaksi säännöksi. Nimittäminen on virkavaltaisuudelle luonteenomaista ja kuitenkin nykyisin se on aivan yleistä, laillista ja jokapäivä käytännössä. Nimittämismenettelytapa synnyttää varsin epäterveellisen ilmapiirin puolueessa, se hävittää jäsenistön yhtäläisyystunteen, antamalla tilaisuuden palkita ystäviä ja rangaista vihollisia ja aiheuttaa monta muuta ei-vähemmän haitallista menettelyä puolueessamme ja neuvostoelämässä. Nimittäminen vähentää toimintavelvollisuuden tunnetta ja vastuunalaisuutta nimitettyjen joukossa, sillä he eivät ole joukoille vastuunalaisia. Nämä olot tekevät rajan puolueen johtajien ja varsinaisten joukkojen välillä entistään jyrkemmäksi.

Tosiasiassa ovat kaikki nimitetyt ulkopuolella kontrollia, sillä johtajat eivät voi seurata heidän toimintaansa, joukot eivät voi vaatia heitä tilille eivätkä eroittaa heitä jos se olisi välttämätöntä. Jokainen nimitetty on virallisen ilmapiirin ympäröimä, orjamainen, sokeasti tottelevainen, joka vaikuttaa kaikkiin alempiin ja sen kautta halventaa puoluetta. Nimittäminen poistaa täydellisesti yhteistoiminnan periaatteen, se kasvattaa epäluottamusta. Johtajien nimittämisoikeus on poistettava ja valinnan periaate asetettava tilalle kaikkialla puolueessa. Ehdokkailla on oikeus ottaa vastaan vastuunalaisia virkapaikkoja ainoastaan silloin kun heidät on valittu konferensseissa ja kongresseissa.

Lopullisesti, poistaaksemme virkavallan ja tehdäksemme puolueen terveemmäksi on välttämätöntä palata takaisin siihen olotilaan, jossa kaikki tärkeimmät puoluetoimintaa ja neuvostopolitiikkaa koskevat kysymykset alistetaan joukkojen keskusteltavaksi ja vasta sen jälkeen johtajat huolehtivat niiden täytäntöönpanosta. Näin olivat asiat silloin, kun puolue oli pakoitettu suorittamaan tehtäväänsä salassa, vieläpä niinkin myöhään kuin Brest-Litovskin rauhan sopimuksen allekirjoittamisen aikana.

Tällä kertaa on asiain tilanne kokonaan erilainen. Huolimatta niistä paljon puhutuista lupauksista, joita syyskuussa pidetty yleisvenäläinen puoluekonferenssi teki, niin niinkin tärkeän kysymyksen ratkaiseminen kuin on myön-

nytyksien antaminen, tuli joukoille yllätyksenä. Ja puolueen keskuksessa syntynyt jyrkkä mielipiteiden eroavaisuus oli se, joka pakoitti uniokysymyksen otettavaksi esille.

Julkisuus, mielipide- ja keskusteluvapaus, arvosteluoikeus puolueessa ja ammattiunioiden jäsenten keskuudessa ovat ratkaisevia askelia, jotka lopettavat vallitsevan virkavaltajärjestelmän. Arvosteluvapaus, oikeus eri aineksille vapaasti esittää mielipiteensä puolueen kokouksissa, keskusteluvapaus — eivät enää ole yksistään työväen oppositsionin vaatimuksia. Joukkojen kasvavan painostuksen vaikutuksesta, kokonainen sarja menettelyjä, joita pohjajoukot vaativat, kauan ennen yleisvenäläistä konferenssia, on nyt otettu huomioon ja julistettu virallisiksi. Jokainen joka lukee Moskovan komitean esityksen puolueen rakenteeksi, on ylpeä siitä voimakkaasta painostuksesta joka on kohdistettu puoluekeskuksiin. Jos ei olisi ollut työläisten oppositsionia, niin Moskovan komitea ei olisi ottanut näin äkki-"käännöstä vasempaan." Emme kuitenkaan saa arvioida liian suureksi tätä "vasemmistolaisuutta," sillä se on ainoastaan kongressille esitetty periaatejulistus. Voi tapahtua kuten on tapahtunut niin monta kertaa puolueemme johtajien päätöksille näiden vuosien kuluessa, että tämä radikaalinen julistus unohtuu, sillä kuten tavallista puolueemme johtajat hyväksyvät sen ainoastaan siksi, että joukkojen voima tunnetaan ja niin pian kun elämä taas kääntyy kulkemaan säännöllistä latuaan, päätös unohdetaan.

Eikö tapahtunut näin 8:nnen kongressin päätöksille, puhdistaa puolue sellaisista aineksista, jotka olivat liittyneet siihen yksilöpyrkimyksien tähden ja asettaa rajoituksia ei-työläisten puolueeseen hyväksymiselle? Mitä on tapahtunut päätökselle, joka hyväksyttiin puolueen konferenssissa 1920, jolloin nimityksen tilalle päätettiin asettaa suosittelu? Arvoasteikko on edelleenkin vallalla puolueessa, huolimatta useista päätöslauselmista, joita on tästä kysymyksestä hyväksytty. Sikäli kun vainotoimenpiteet ovat kysymyksessä sellaisia tovereita kohtaan, jotka uskaltavat olla eri mieltä ylempää tulevien määräysten kanssa, niin ne edelleenkin jatkuvat. Sellaisia tapauksia on useita. Jos ei näitä päätöksiä panna täytäntöön, niin sitten on

välttämätöntä poistaa ne perussyyt, jotka ehkäisevät niiden täytäntöön panoa, se on, poistaa puolueesta ne, *jotka pelkäävät julkisuutta, tilintekoa joukkojen edessä ja arvostelu-vapautta.*

Puolueen ei-työläisjäsenet ja ne työläiset, jotka ovat heidän vaikutuksensa alaiset, pelkäävät kaikkia näitä. Ei riitä, että puolue puhdistetaan ei-työläisaineksista merkitsemällä heidät luetteloon ja asettamalla esteitä puolueeseen liittymiselleen j. n. e., mutta on myöskin välttämätöntä helpoittaa työläisten liittymistä puolueeseen, on yksinkertaistutettava työläisten pääseminen puolueen jäseniksi, luoda ystävällisempi ilmapiiri puolueessa, niin että työläiset tuntevat olevansa kotonaan, etteivät he näe vastuunalaisissa virkailijoissa itseään ylempiä, vaan ainoastaan kokeneempia tovereita, jotka ovat valmiit jakamaan heidän kanssaan tietoisuutensa, kokemuksensa ja taitonsa ja käsittelevät vakavasti työläisten tarpeita ja mielenkiintoa. Kuinka monta toveria, erittäinkin nuoria työläisiä, on ajettu pois puolueesta yksistään sentähden, että olemme osoittaneet heille kärsimättömyytemme, oletetun ylemmyytemme ja tarkkuutemme, sensijaan että olisimme opettaneet heitä ja kehittäneet heitä kommunismin hengessä.

Virkavaltaisuushengen lisäksi virkailija-ilmapiiri löytää hedelmällisen maaperän puolueessamme. Jos puolueessamme on yhtään toveruutta jälellä, niin se on pohjajoukkoihin kuuluvan jäsenistön keskuudessa.

Puoluekongressin tehtävä on ottaa huomioon tämä epämieluinen todellisuus ja harkita kysymystä: miksi työläisten oppositsioni itsepintaisesti vaatii tasa-arvoisuutta, kaikkien etuoikeuksien poistamista puolueessa ja kiinteämpää vastuunalaisuutta joukoille, niiltä virkailijoilta, jotka he ovat valinneet.

Taistellessaan kansanvaltaisuuden puolesta puolueessa, työläisten oppositsioni esittää kolme pää-perustaa:

1) Valintaperiaatteen noudattamiseen palaaminen kaikkialla, poistamalla virkavaltaisuuden ja asettamalla virkailijat joukoille vastuunalaisiksi.

2) Täydellinen julkisuus puolueessa, niin yleisissä kuin yksilöitä koskevissa kysymyksissä; suuremman huomion

kiinnittäminen jäsenistön mielipiteeseen (että jäsenistö on tilaisuudessa perinpohjaisesti keskustelemaan kaikista kysymyksistä, joista johtajat sitte tekevät yhteenvetoja; että kenenkä hyvänsä jäsenen sallitaan olla läsnä puoluekeskusten kokouksissa paitsi silloin kun kysymyksenalaisina olevat kysymykset tekevät erikoisen salassapitämisen välttämättömäksi); mielipideilmaisuvapauden voimaanasettaminen (antamalla täydellisen arvosteluvapauden, ei ainoastaan keskustelujen aikana, vaan että puolueen sisällä olevilla eriävillä mielipiteillä varustetuilla ryhmillä on oikeus varojen käyttöön kirjallisuuden julkaisemiseksi).

3) Tehdä puolueesta enemmän työläisten puolue, sekä määritellä rajoituksia niille, jotka täyttävät puolueen sekä neuvostolaitosten virkapaikkoja samaan aikaan.

Tämä viimeinen vaatimus on erityisen tärkeä ja välttämätön siitä syystä, että puolueemme tehtävänä ei ole ainoastaan rakentaa kommunismia, mutta varustaa ja opettaa joukkoja tulevia taisteluja varten maailman kapitalismia vastaan, joka voi tapahtua odottamattomissa ja uusissa muodoissa. Olisi liian lapsellista kuvitella, että lyötyämme takaisin hyökkäävät valkokaartit ja imperialismin sotilasrintamilla, olisimme vapaat maailman kapitalistien uusilta hyökkäyksiltä, jotka pyrkivät valloittamaan Neuvosto-Venäjää kiertoliikkeen avulla, tunkeutumalla elämäämme ja käyttämällä neuvostotasavaltaa oman tarkoitusperänsä saavuttamiseksi. Tämä on todellinen vaara ja sitä vastaan täytyy meidän olla varustautuneita, puolueemme on selvitettävä pulma, kuinka kohdata vihollinen hyvin varustautuneena, kuinka koota proletariatin voimat selvän luokkakysymyksen ympärille (toiset väestöryhmät tulevat aina olemaan kapitalistien puolella). Johtajiemme tehtävä on suorittaa varustautuminen tätä vallankumouksemme historian uutta aikakautta varten.

Kaikista parhain ratkaisu tälle kysymykselle on mahdollinen ainoastaan siten, että onnistumme saamaan aikaan yhtenäisyyden kaikkialla puolueessamme, ei ainoastaan neuvostolaitosten kesken, mutta myöskin ammattiunioiden kanssa. Viimeksimainitussa tapauksessa virkapaikkojen täyttäminen molemmissa — ammattiunioissa ja puolueessa

— ei ainoastaan estä puolueen politikan joutumista pois selvältä luokkakannalta, mutta päinvastoin antaa puolueelle enemmän vapautta kapitalistisen vaikutusvallan alaisuudesta tällä tulevalla ajalla, vaikutusvallan jonka myönnytykset ja kauppasopimukset ovat aiheuttaneet. Tehdä keskuskomitea työläisten keskuskomiteaksi, muodostaa sellainen keskuskomitea, jossa alempien kerroksien edustajat ovat yhteydessä joukkojen kanssa, eivätkä pysähdy näyttelemään "paraattia pitävien kenraalien" osaa, taikka kauppiaan hääkemuja ja tulee läheiseen yhteyteen laajojen puolueettomien työläisjoukkojen kanssa unioissa, ollen sen kautta kykenevä vastaamaan ajan vaatimuksia, ilmaisemaan työläisten tarpeen, heidän pyrkimyksensä ja johtamaan puolueen politiikkaa puhtaasti luokkarajoja silmälläpitäen.

Sellainen on työläisten oppositsionin suunnitelma. Sellainen on sen historiallinen tehtävä. Kuinka pilkallisia huomautuksia puolueemme johtajat käyttänevätkin ajaakseen oppositsionin pois, niin se on ainoa toimiva elinvoima, jonka he ovat pakoitetut ottamaan huomioon.

Oppositsionin historiallinen välttämättömyys

Nyt on vastattava: Onko oppositsioni välttämätön? Onko se välttämätön maailman työläisten kapitalismin ikeestä vapautumiselle; vaiko ei-sallittava liike, vahingollinen puolueen taistelevalle energialle ja sen rintaman hävittäjä?

Jokainen toveri, jolla ei ole ennakkoluuloisuutta oppositsionia vastaan ja joka haluaa tutustua kysymykseen avoimesti ja tarkastaa sitä, ei sen mukaisesti minä tunnetut auktoriteetit hänelle sanovat, näkee jo tästä lyhyestä selostuksesta, että oppositsioni on hyödyllinen ja välttämätön. Se on hyödyllinen siksi, että se on herättänyt uinailevan ajatuksen. Näiden vallankumousvuosien kuluessa olemme olleet niin kiintyneitä toimintaan, että olemme lakanneet

vertailemasta toimintaamme periaatteisiimme ja teoriaamme. Olemme unohtaneet, että proletariaatti voi tehdä vakavia erehdyksiä, ei ainoastaan silloin, kun se taistelee poliittisesta kontrollista ja kääntyy opportunismin rämeikköön — mutta yksinpä proletariaatin diktatuurin aikanakin sellaiset erehdykset ovat mahdollisia, erittäinkin kun kaikilta puolilta ollaan imperialismin hyökylaineiden ympäröiminä ja kun neuvostotasavalta on pakoitettu toimimaan kapitalistisessa ympäristössä. Sellaisina aikoina täytyy johtajiemme olla, ei ainoastaan "valtioviisaita" politikoitsijoita, mutta myöskin kykeneviä johtamaan puoluetta ja koko työväen luokkaa luokkayhtenäisyyden ja -kykyisyyden mukaan ja valmistaa sitä tulevien taistelujen varalle, vastustamaan niitä uusia muotoja, joita maailman kapitalismi käyttää pyrkiessään valloittamaan neuvostotasavaltaa porvarillisen vaikutusvallan avulla. "Olkaamme valmiina ja selvillä — mutta luokkarajojen mukaan" — sellaisen tulee puolueemme tunnuslauseen olla nyt enemmän kuin ennen.

Työväen oppositsioni on asettanut nämä kysymykset päiväjärjestykseen, suorittaen siten historiallista tehtäväänsä. Ajatus alkaa liikkua, jäsenistö alkaa tutkimaan, mitä on jo tehty ja missä on arvostelua, tutkimista; missä ajatus liikkuu ja työskentelee, siellä on elämää, kehitystä, edistystä ja tulevaisuutta kohti kulkemista. Ei ole mitään pelottavampaa ja vaarallisempaa kuin on ajatuksen hedelmättömyys ja kaavanmukaisuus. Olemme vaipuneet kaavamaisuuteen ja olisimme voineet mahdollisesti mennä kokonaan pois kommunismiin johtavalta selvältä luokkapolulta, jos ei olisi ollut työväen oppositsionia, esiintyen juuri silloin, kun vihollisemme olivat pakahtumaisillaan ilonaurusta. Tälläkertaa se on mahdoton. Kongressi ja sen kautta puolue on pakoitettu ottamaan huomioon työväen oppositsionin esittämän mielipiteen ja joko kompromiseeraamaan sen kanssa, tai sen painostuksen alaisena tekemään tärkeitä myönnytyksiä.

Työväen oppositsionin suorittama toinen tehtävä oli se, että se on tuonut keskustèltavaksi kysymyksen, ketkä lopultakin tullaan kutsumaan luomaan uusia talousmuotoja; tulevatko ne olemaan teknikot, liikemiehet, jotka ovat mielipiteiltään kiinni menneessä ajassa tai neuvostovirkailijat,

muutamia kommunisteja heidän joukossaan, tai *järjestynyt työväenluokka, jota uniot edustavat?*

Työväen oppositsioni on sanonut, mitä pitkä aika sitten Marx ja Engels sanoivat "Kommunistisessa manifestissa": "Kommunismin luominen voi olla ja tulee olla raatajaluokan itsensä tehtävä. Kommunismin rakentaminen kuuluu työläisille."

Lopullisesti työväen oppositsioni on kohottanut äänensä virkavaltaa vastaan. Se on uskaltanut sanoa, että virkavaltaisuus sitoo työväenluokan toimintakykyisyyden ja itsenäisen toiminnan niin, että se kuolettaa ajatuksen, heikentää yritteliäisyyttä ja kokeilua uusien tuotantomuotojen tutkimisessa, sanalla sanoen, se hidastuttaa uusien tuotantomuotojen ja elämän kehittämistä.

Virkavallan tilalle se suosittelee joukkojen itsenäistä toimintaa. Tässä suhteessa puolueen johtajat nyt jo tekevät myönnytyksiä ja "tunnustavat" harha-askeleen olevan vahingollisen kommunismille ja työväenluokan eduille (keskittymisen hylkääminen). Kymmenes kongressi käsittääksemme tulee tekemään sarjan myönnytyksiä työväen oppositsionille. Tämä siitä huolimatta, että oppositsioni on esiintynyt ainoastaan puolueen sisällä olevana ryhmänä muutamia kuukausia, se on nyt jo täyttänyt tehtävänsä ja pakoittanut puolueen johtavat keskustat kuuntelemaan työläisten järkevää neuvoa. Minkälainen viha tällä kertaa lieneekään työväen oppositsionia vastaan, niin sillä on historiallinen tulevaisuus tukenaan.

Luottaessamme puolueemme elinvoimiin tiedämme, että vähäisen vitkastelun, vastustelun ja kiertelevien poliittisten liikkeiden jälkeen puolueemme lopullisesti palaa takaisin sille polulle, jonka järjestyneen proletariaatin pohjajoukot ovat raivanneet. Ei tule olemaan hajaannusta. Jos jotkut ryhmät jättävät puolueen, niin ne eivät ole niitä jotka muodostavat työväen oppositsionin. Ainoastaan ne jäävät syrjään, jotka yrittävät sovelluttaa periaatteisiin tilapäistä poikkeamistamme pois kommunismin ohjelmasta, johon puolueen pakoitti pitkällinen sisällissota ja pitävät niistä kiinni ikäänkuin ne olisivat poliittisen toimintamme päätehtävät.

Koko se osa puolueesta, joka on tottunut katselemaan asioita yhä kasvavan proletariaatti-jättiläisen luokkanäkö-

kannalta, hyväksyy ja ymmärtää kaiken sen, mikä on tervettä, käytännöllistä ja järkevää työväen oppositsionissa. Pohjajoukkojen työläiset eivät turhaan puhuneet vakuuttavasti ja sovittelevasti: "Iljitsh (Lenin) miettii, ajattelee, kuuntelee meitä ja sitte päättää kääntää puolueen peräsimen oppositsionia kohti. Iljitsh tulee vielä olemaan meidän kanssamme."

Mitä pikemmin puolueen johtajat ottavat huomioon oppositsionin työn ja seuraavat pohjajoukkoihin kuuluvan jäsenistön viitoittamaa tietä, sitä pikemmin voimme läpäistä puolueessa vallitsevat erimielisyydet tällaisina vaikeina aikoina ja sitä pikemmin astumme yli määrätyn rajan kohti sitä, jonka ihmisyys, vapautettuaan itsensä taloudellisista pakkolaeista ja rikastutettuaan työväen yhteistä tiedevarastoa, alkaa tietoisesti luomaan kommunistisen aikakauden ihmiskunnan historiaa.

LUKIESSASI SANOMALEHTEÄ, LUETKO TOSI-ASIOITA VAI PROPAGANDAA? JA KENEN PROPAGANDAA?

Jokainen edes nimellisestikään aikansa tasalla pysyttelevä henkilö lukee sanomalehtiä joka päivä. Henkilön tietoisuudesta riippuu mitä lehtiä hän lukee ja yhteiskunnallisesta asemasta, mitä lehtiä hänen tulisi lukea.

Porvari lukee vain oman luokkansa lehtiä. Vahingossakaan ei saa häntä lukemaan työväen lehtiä. Hän on luokkatietoinen.

Entäs työläinen? Suurin osa lukee kapitalistien äänitorvia. Hänellä ei siis ole luokkakatsomusta. Hän lukee ja kannattaa sanomalehtiä, jotka tekevät kaiken voitavansa työväestön pimittämiseksi ja orjuuttamiseksi.

Oman asemansa tuntevan työläisen tulee lukea ja kannattaa vain omaa sanomalehdistöään. Levittää sitä toisillekin työläisille.

Sanomalehdistön lukuisuuteen verraten on Amerikassa työväen oma lehdistö pieni. Mutta se on kuin sinapin siemen. Se vahvistuu ja levenee nopeaan.

Amerikan suomalainen teollisuustyöväestö on siinä onnellisessa asemassa, että sillä on oma äänenkannattajansa, joka pelottomasti ja jyrkästi ajaa sen etuja. Se on teollisuustyöväen toimittama ja kontrolleeraama, sen suosima. Se lehti on

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VALLANKUMOUKSELLINEN I. W. W.

Minkälainen järjestö on Industrial Workers of the World-Maailman Teollisuus työläiset? Miksi se on järjestetty? Missä se on järjestetty? Miten se on järjestetty?

Nämä ovat kysymyksiä, joita tänä päivänä tekee yli maan, kaikilta elämän aloilta, työläiset, ylioppilaat, miehet sekä naiset.

Tuhansia palstoja sanomalehtiä uhrataan I. W. W:lle sen toiminnan johdosta. Lukemattomia aikakausjulkaisujen artikkeleita pyhitetään sen mainituille periaatteille. Kuitenkaan ei lukevalla yleisöllä ole muuta kuin parhaassa tapauksessa hämärä käsitys siitä, minkälainen järjestö se todellisuudessa on ja mitä se tahtoo.

Näitä kysymyksiä koettaa kirjottaja käsitellä omalla tavallansa. Ennen kaikkea, on kuitenkin tarpeellista osottaa muutamia seikkoja, "mitä me emme ole."

I. W. W. ei ole politillinen järjestö siinä käsityksessä, kuin politillisia järjestöjä tänä päivänä ymmärretään. Ei se ole myöskään politillisvastainen lahko. Se ei ole reformi (pikkuparannus) ryhmä. Sen jäsenistö ei muodostu anarkisteista, kuten muutamat kirjottajat ovat selittäneet. Sen jäsenistö ei ole erikoisesti kokoon pantu sosialisteista, kuten toiset ovat väittäneet. Vaikkakin on totta, että jotkut sen jäsenistä lienevät hyväksyneet anarkis-

tisen filosofian. Toiset lienevät hyväkskyneet sosialistien uskon. Industrial Workers of the World liitolle ovat ne kuitenkin ainoastaan työläisiä ja työväenluokan jäseniä.

MITÄ "YKSI SUURI UNIO" TARKOITTAA?

I. W. W. on työväen unio, joka pyrkii tulevaisuuden yhteiskuntamuodoksi. Se on työväen järjestö, joka pitää, että ammatti-, piiri- tahi muut jakotavat ovat vaarallisia työläisille. Se opettaa, että teollisuussysteemi, järjestymisessä, täytyy asettaa vanhanaikuisten tapojen sijaan.

Jokainen mies, nainen ja lapsi, joka työskentelee määrätyssä teollisuudessa, täytyy järjestää yhteen suureen teollisuusunioon omassa teollisuudessaan. I. W. W. liiton tunnuslause "YKSI SUURI UNIO" ei tarkota joukko tai massaunionismia. Se ei tarkota, että rautatieläisen, ajurin ja leipurin tulee jokaisen olla samassa paikallis-uniossa. Sen muotoinen järjestö on osottautunut epäkäytännölliseksi. Se on osottautunut virheelliseksi. Joukko järjestö, teollisuuden vaatimuksia lukuunottamatta, on liian kömpelö tuloksia tuottaakseen.

I. W. W:n voimalause "Yksi Suuri Unio" tarkoittaa luokkajärjestöä teollisuuden vaatimusten mukaisesti. Sen ovat kapitalistit itsekin todenneet. Kaikki suuret trustit ja monopoolit on järjestetty teollisuuksittain. Terästrusti, esimerkiksi, ei omista ainoastaan myllyjä, missä ratakiskoja y. m. tuotteita valmistetaan, vaan myöskin kaivannot, joista rautamalmi kaivetaan. Se omistaa rautatiet, jotka

johtavat kaivannoilta järville. Se omistaa höyrylaivalinjat, joiden välityksellä malmia kuletetaan. Lyhyesti sanoen, terästrusti on teollisuusjärjestö, käsittäen teollisuuden jokaisen haaran. I. W. W. seuraa työnantajiensa esimerkkiä ja muodostaa järjestön työläisten hyödyksi.

RAUTATIE-TEOLLISUUS.

Ottakaammepa esimerkiksi rautatie-teollisuus. Se osottaa I. W. W. järjestysmuotoa. Se myöskin voi osottaa ammattiperusteille muodostetun järjestön kykenemättömyyden.

Jokainen työläinen rautatiellä, olkoonpa hän radan korjaustyöläinen tahi veturinkuljettaja, työskentelee samalle työnantajalle. Kaikki työläiset ovat tarpeellisia rautatien ylläpidolle ja liikenteelle. Elleivät he olisi hyödyllisiä, niin heitä ei myöskään työhön otettaisi. Rautatiekorporatsionit eivät ota miehiä palvelukseensa ihmisystävällisistä motiiveista; ne ottavat miehiä palvelukseensa ainoastaan sen takia, että tarvitsevat niitä. Kaikki nämä työläiset ovat ainoastaan yksilöitä mahtavassa rautatiejärjestyksessä. Kaikki täyttävät määrätyitä tehtäviä, joita ilman ei rautatieliikennettä voitaisi pitää yllä. Ratatyöläisen täytyy pitää rata kunnossa, tai muuten ei junankuljettaja voi kuljettaa lokomotiiviansa vaaditulla nopeudella.

Kaikilla on samat yhteiset edut—enempi palkkaa, lyhyemmät työpäivät ja paremmat olosuhteet. Johdonmukaisesti siis tulee kaikki järjestää yhteen

unioon. Kuitenkin huomaamme, että ammattiunio järjestää insinöörit erik. järjestöön, jolla on omat kansainväliset virkail. ja omat sopimukset rautatieyhtiön kanssa. Jarrumies on toisessa uniossa, toisen sopimuksen tai kontrahdin alaisena; konduktoori toisessa ja niin edespäin pitkin linjaa. Me huomaamme, että rautatieteollisuudessa on seitsemän eri ammattiuniota, lukuunottamatta rautateiden pajatyöläisiä. Rautatiepajoissa ja talleissa on ainakin kymmenen muuta ammattijärjestöä. Kaikilla näillä eri unioilla on erikoiset sopimukset rautatieyhtiön kanssa ja kaikki nämä sopimukset päättyvät eri aikoina. Seuraus on tuhoisa työläisille. Kun lämmittäjä mene lakkoon, jää insinööri työhön; hänen täytyy elää unionsa sopimuksen mukaan; hän joutuu ankaran sakon alaiseksi, jos hän rikkoo sen. Insinööri pysyy töyssään ja opettaa lakonrikkuria, miten hoitaa vesisäiliöitä. Hän opettaa sitä, miten huolehtia höyrypannusta. Lyhesti sanottuna, hän opettaa amatööririkkuria, miten hän voi tulla ammattirikkuriksi. Kun vaihdemihet menevät lakkoon jäävät jarrumihet työhön ja päin vastoin.

Muutamia vuosia sitten, vaihdemiesten lakon vallitessa kaikilla Chicagosta Länteen käsin johtavilla rautatiellä, käänsivät union jarrumiehet vaihteet auki, ennenkun läksivät matkalleen. Tehtyään jonkun aikaa vaihdemiesten työtä, jolloin viimeksimainitut olivat lakossa, äänestivät jarrumiehet sitten ylimääräisen lakkoverotuksen keskuudessaan, avustaakseen lakossa olevia vaihdemiehiä. Se oli, kuten mieheltä olisi ensin katkassut pään irti ja sit-

ten tarjonnut hänelle silkkilaastaria parantaakseen sen jälleen kiinni.

Nykyään tätä kirjottaissa (heinäk., 1913), on lakko Illinois Central rautatiellä, rautatien pajatyöläisten ja veturitallityöläisten keskuudessa. Union konduktoorit, insinöörit ja lämmittäjät kulettavat skääppejä työhön ja työstä pois. Union vaihdemiehet vaihtavat vahingoittuneet veturit veturitalliin skääppien korjattavaksi. Ja kaiken tämän ajan taistelevat pajatyöläiset olosuhteidensa parantamiseksi.

Me, jotka kuulumme I. W. W. pidämme, että sellainen järjestö, joka on järjestetty yllämainitulla tavalla ei ole muu, kuin järjestetty rikkurijärjestö. Koska tahansa, osa työläisistä jollakin työmaalla jää työhön, toisten ollessa lakossa, parempien olosuhteiden saamiseksi, avustavat he niiden tuhoamista, jotka lakossa ovat. Siten tehdessään toimivat he rikkurien kanssarikollisina. Se yksinkertainen tosiasia, että he kantavat taskuissaan ammatti-union korttia, ei muuta ensinkään asiaa. Jos heidän unionsa sallii sellaisen toimenpiteen, niin silloin ei heidän unionkorttinsa ole mikään muu kuin rikkurinlupakirja.

I. W. W. pitää, että koska jokainen työläinen rautatiellä on tarpeellinen sen liikenteelle ja kunnossa pidolle, niin sentähden jokaisen sillä työskentelevän työläisen tulee kuulua "Yhteen Suureen" rautatietyöläisten teollisuusunioon. Ratatyöläinen, ratavahti, insinööri, vaihdemies ja toiset.—kaikki teollisuusunioonsa. Sitten kun lakko tulee julistettavaksi, niin kutsukaa heidät kaikki pois työstä,

miehestä, joka käyttää lapiota aina mieheen saakka, joka käsittelee veturin venttiiliä; miehestä, joka puskee vaunua tavaramakasiinissa, mieheen saakka, joka käsittelee telegraffiavainta sähkösanomakonttorissa.

Sitten tulee teillä olemaan todellinen rautatielakko. Ei yksikään juna voi liikkua. Teollisuus halvautuu. Ajatelkaa, mikä voima työläisillä olisi. Rautatieyhtiö olisi pakotettu myöntymään työläisten vaatimuksiin. Tällä tavalla I. W. W. aikoo järjestää.

I. W. W. LIITON TARKOITUS ON YHDISTÄÄ KAIKKI PALKKATYÖLÄISET.

Samalla tavalla kuin me järjestämme rautatiet, samaten haluamme järjestää kaikki työläiset kaikissa teollisuuksissa. Puusepät, putkittajat, muurarit, sementin sekottajat, rakennustyöläiset ja muut työläiset yhteen rakennustyöläisten teollisuus unioon. Kutojat, kehrääjät, pakkaajat kangaspuiden korjaajat, kaikkien muiden kutomateollisuustyöläisten kanssa yhteen suureen kutomateollisuustyöläisten teollisuusunioon. Parturit, elevatoripojat, ovenvartijat y. m. yhteen yleisön palvelustyöläisten unioon.

Kaikki teollisuusuniot, jotka ovat samanluontoisia laadultaa, tullaan yhdistämään siihen teollisuustepartementtiin, mihinkä ne kuuluvat. Esimerkiksi: Meriliikenne kuletustyöläisten teollisuusunio, rautateiden kuletustyöläisten unio, rautateiden rakennustyöläisten teollisuusunio, katuvaunu-, tunneli- ja ilmarautateiden teollisuusunio,—kaikki järjestettynä

liikennetyöläisten tepartementtiin Industrial Workers of the World liitossa.

Kaikki teollisuusuniot, tulevat muodostamaan yhden suuren keskusjärjestön, Industrial Workers of the World liitossa. tämä järjestö käsittää kaikki työläiset, kaikissa teollisuuksissa, kaikissa maissa yli maailman.

Me aijomme saada sellaisen union, joka on kyllin laaja ottaakseen jäsenyyteensä kaikki työläiset ja kyllin suppea eristääkseen siitä kaikki, jotka eivät ole työläisiä. Me aijomme rakentaa työläisten valtakunnan, jolla ei ole rajalinjoja tai raja-aitoja muita, kuin maailman teollisuudet itse. Me aijomme hävittää luokkarajat, hävittämällä luokat. Me pyrimme perustamaan yhteiskuntasysteemin, missä työläiset saavat tuottamiensa tuotteiden arvon itse.

EI KANSALLISUUS- TAI ROTURAJOJA.

Tämä lausunto välttämättä johtaa meidät toiseen kohtaan I. W. W:n toimintaa, joka osottaa, että me olemme kansainvälisiä kokonaisuudessaan ja että me emme tunnusta muuta kuin yhden kansakunnan, niiden kansakunnan, jotka tekevät työtä.

I. W. W. on liike; eikä ainoastaan amerikalainen liike. Me olemme isänmaallisia luokallemme, työväenluokalle. Me käsitämme, että työläisinä ei meillä ole isänmaata. Liput ja symboolit, jotka kerran merkitsivät paljon meille, ovat työnantajamme riistäneet. Tänä päivänä eivät ne merkitse meille mitään muuta, kuin tyranniutta ja sortoa. Niin kauvan, kun me taistelemme keskenämme kansalli-

suus erovaisuuksistamme, heikennämme me omaa asiaamme, me kukistamme omat tarkoitusperämme. Joittenkin ammattiunioiden tapa on estää työläisiä jäsenyydestään kansallis. tai rodun perusteella. Siten ei ole laita I. W. W. kanssa. Meidän uniomme on avoin kaikille työläisille. Värin ja kielen erovaisuus ei ole este meille. Meidän järjestössämme on kaukasialainen, malaajilainen, mongolilainen ja neekeri, kaikki samalla tasolla. Kaikki ovat työläisiä ja sellaisina on heidän etunsa samat. Loukkaus heitä vastaan on loukkaus meitäkin vastaan.

Esimerkiksi siitä, miten I. W. W:ssä kansallisuusrajat lyödään alas, nähtiin suuressa Lawrencen lakossa. Siellä 27 eri kansallisuutta, puhuen 47 eri kieltä, kasvatettuna erilaisissa olosuhteissa ja erilaisissa tavoissa, yhdistyivät yhden suuren asian eteen. Kaikki erovaisuudet unhotettiin. Heillä oli yksi yhteinen vihollinen, villatrusti. He keskittivät kaikki voimansa sitä vihollista vastaan. Turkkilaiset ja italialaiset taistelivat rinnakkain yhteistä vihollistaan vastaan, vaikkakin heidän kotimaansa olivat juuri silloin sodassa keskenään. Sillä, yhdeksänä pitkänä viikkona, kuolettavan talven vallitessa, työläiset I. W. W. lipun alaisina osottivat, mitä solidaarisuus voi saada aikaan. 15 miljoonaa dollaria vuodessa oli se palkanylennys, minkä kutomateollisuustyöläiset saivat taistelunsa tuloksena. Enemmän kuin se, oli kuitenkin se kokemus omasta voimastaan, mitä he saivat taistelussaan. Eivät orjat Lawrencessa enää ole niin nöyrä, kuin he olivat ennen. Eivät he enää alistu sellaisten raakamaisuuksien alaiseksi,

kuin oli heidän osansa ennen lakkoa. He ovat voittaneet taidon järjestyä ja lisäksi solidaarisuuren perus-periaatteet, jotka ovat arvaamattoman kalliit.

Sellainen lakko, kuin oli Lawrencessa, voidaan saada aikaan ainoastaan pitkäaikaisen, jatkuvan agitationin kautta. Sellaista agitationia pidettiin yllä Lawrencessa I. W. W. taholta vuosikausia. Sellaista agitationia pidetään I. W. W. taholta yllä läpi koko maailman. Jonakin päivänä tämä agitationi tulee kantamaan hedemän.

ALHAISET SISÄÄNKIRJOITUS- JA JÄSENMAKSUT. — YLEISMAAILMALLINEN MUUTTOKORTTI.

Emme me eroa ammattiunioista ainoastan ottaessamme jäsenyyteemme n. k. ulkomaalaisia, mutta me e r o a m m e heistä myöskin sisäänkirjotus- sekä jäsenmaksuissa. Ammattiunioissa on pyrkimys, pitää siitä kaikki työläiset ulkona, sitten kun on saavuttu määrättyyn asemaan saakka. Sisäänkirjotusmaksuja, jotka kohoavat aina $300 saakka, kiskotaan eräissä ammattiunioissa; $75 ja $50 on tavallinen sisäänkirjoitusmaksu ammattiunioiden kesken rakennusalalla. Korkeat jäsenmaksut ovat myöskin tavalliset. I. W. W:ssä ovat alhaiset sisäänkirjotusmaksut ja samaten jäsenmaksut sääntönä. Me haluamme avoimen union ja sitten me vaadimme suletun työpajan. Sisäänkirjotusmaksu I. W. W. ei saa koskaan olla yli $5 ja useimmissa tapauksissa se on 50c tai $1. Jäsenmaksut ovat melkein yleensä 50c kuukaudessa ja ne eivät koskaan saa mennä yli

$1 kuukautta kohti. Kaikki ehdot, mitä voidaan tarjota unioon yhtymiseksi työläisille, tarjotaan I. W. W:ssä.

Toinen piirre I. W. W:ssa on yleismaailmallinen muuttokortti. Me hyväksymme jokaisen työväenunion kortin maailmassa, sisäänkirjotusmaksun asemasta. Industrial Workers of the World liiton jäsen voi muuttaa yhdestä teollisuusuniosta toiseen, samalla toisella teollisuusalalla, ilman lisämaksua. Yksi unio, yksi kortti. Kun kerran on union mies, niin on aina union mies.

I. W. W. VOIMA.

Nyt muutama sana siitä, missä me olemme järjestyneinä. Muutamia vuosia sitten oli I. W. W. tuntematon tekijä. Se muodostui muutamista pienistä propagandaryhmistä, jotka työskentelivät yötä päivää levittäessään teollisuus unionismiin sanomaa. Tänä päivänä meidän agitatsionimme kantaa hedelmiä. Tänä päivänä me emme ole ainoastaan propagandisteja, vaan me olemme tärkeä tekijä Yhdysvaltain työväen liikkeessä.

Tänä päivänä herättää 1,000 lakossa olevaa I. W. W.:läistä enempi huomiota, kuin 20,000 lakossa olevaa ammattilaista. Miksi? Sen voiman takia, joka piilee I. W. W. järjestäytymisessä, voiman, joka jonakin päivänä tulee voittamaan heidän voimansa. Tänä päivänä on I. W. W. melkein täydellinen kontrollivalta kutomateollisuudessa. Puutavarapatroonit alkavat myöskin tuntea sen voiman. Suurilla merillä (ja näiden rantamilla) olem-

me me järjestäneet meriliikennetyöläisten union, jolla on voimakas järjestö Atlannin rannikolla. Melkein jokaisessa valtiossa on meillä paikallisia järjestöjä, jotka järjestävät lisää työläisiä meidän lippumme alle. Meillä on ollut viime vuonna enempi onnistuneita lakkoja, kuin A. F. of L. liitolla 27,000 paikallisunionsa kanssa.

Etelä Afrikassa, Johannesburgissa, johti I. W. W. sitä suurta katuvautyöläisten lakkoa, kaksi vuotta sitten. Uudessa Zelandissa ja Australiassa on meillä kansallinen järjestö, joka maksaa nimellistä jäsenveroa yleisjärjestölle. Alaskassa ja Hawaiissa syntyy uusia paikallisunioita. Europassa näyttää syndikalistinen liike I. W. W:lle uusine menettelytapoineen sekä taktikoineen.

UUDEN YHTEISKUNTA-JÄRJESTELMÄN LUOMINEN.

I. W. W. lähenee nopeasti tilannetta, missä se voi toteuttaa tarkotuksensa. Tämä tarkotus on vallankumouksellinen luonteeltaan.

I. W. W. peruslain esipuheessa sanotaan osittain seuraavasti: "Järjestymällä teollisuuksittain me muodostamme uuden yhteiskunnan perustetta vanhan kuoren sisällä." Tämä on pääkohta I. W. W. asemassa. Me emme ole tyydytettyjä kunnollisen päivätyön kunnollisella palkalla. Sellainen on mahdottomuus. Työ tuottaa kaiken rikkauden. Työläinen on siis oikeutettu saamaankin kaiken rikkauden. Me tulemme toimeen ilman kapitalismia, ottamalla haltuumme maan ja tuotantokoneiston. Me

emme myöskään aijo ostaa niitä. Kapitalistiluokka anasti ne siksi, että sillä oli voima kontrolleerata työläisten lihaksia ja aivoja teollisuudessa. Mutta järjestäytyneenä meillä työväenluokan jäsenillä tulee olemaan kyllä voimaa. Sillä voimalla me tulemme ottamaan takasin sen, minkä on meiltä varastettu. Me tulemme vaatimaan enempi ja yhä enempi palkkaa työnantajilta. Me vaadimme ja tulemme pakottamaan yhä lyhempiä ja lyhempiä työpäiviä. Ja voittaessamme näitä vaatimuksia, me vähennämme kapitalistien liikevoittoja. Me otamme siltä sen voiman. Me voitamme tätä voimaa itsellemme. Aina me tulemme yhä kurittomimmiksi. Me tulemme itseluottavaisiksi. Me käsitämme, että ilman meidän työvoimaamme ei rikkautta voida luoda. Me panemme käsivartemme ristiin. Myllyt pysähtyvät. Teollisuus seisahtuu. Sitten me teemme tarjouksemme entiselle herrallemme. Se on tämä: Me työläiset olemme raataneet kyllin kauvan pitääksemme yllä laiskuria. Tästä lähtien se, joka ei raada, ei myöskään syö. Me revimme alas, rakentaaksemme

Nykyisen yhteiskunnan sijaan, jossa rikokset, prostitutsioni ja köyhyys raivoavat, kohoaa uusi yhteiskunta. Ei enempi tule olemaan prostitueerattuja. Tytöt eivät enää sitten myy ruumiitaan kun he saavat täydet tulokset työstään. Rikokset katoavat, kuin niiden syyt hävitetään. Köyhyys ei voi menestyä siellä, missä kaikki ovat työläisiä ja eikä kukaan ole riistäjä. Sen sijaan, että lapset raataisivat myllyissä, tulevat he olemaan kouluissa. Äidit eivät

enää kauhistu äitiyden velvollisuutta taloudellisista syistä. Me kehitymme fyysilisesti, henkisesti ja moraalisesti. Uusi ihmisrotu tulee olemaan seurauksena, rotu, joka elää ilosta, saadessaan elää, rotu, joka katselee kauhulla historian lehtiä, jotka kertovat heille nykyajan yhteiskunnasta.

I. W. W. läiset laskevat uuden hallituksen perustetta. Tämän hallituksen lainlaatijahuoneina tulevat olemaan tehtaat, myllyt ja työpajat. Sen lainlaatijat tulevat olemaan miehiä, jotka työskentelevät myllyissä, tehtaissa ja työpajoissa; Sen laatimat lait tulevat olemaan niitä, jotka koskevat työläisten hyvinvointia.

Nämä seikat tulevat olemaan. Väkivalta ei voi niitä ehkäistä. Armeijoista ei tule olemaan hyötyä. Kapitalistit voivat julistaa määräyksiään turhaan. Teollisuuksittain järjestyneiden työläisten voima, on ainoa voima maailmassa, joka kannattaa ottaa huomioon, koska he kerran pääsevät tietoisiksi tästä voimastaan. Luokat tulevat häviämään ja niiden sijasta tulee olemaan ainoastaan yhteiskunnan jäseniä—työläisiä.

I. W. W. RAKENTAVA OHJELMA.

Kirjoittanut B. H. Williams.

Hyökkäyksiä nykyään tehdään ja niitä jatketaan lakkaamatta I. W. W. vihollisten taholta, että "meidän järjestömme perustuu pääasiallisesti rikolliseen hävitykseen;" että I. W. W. tahtoo hävittää

yhteiskunnan ja teollisuuden, jättämättä jälkiin mitään muuta kuin kaa'oksen! Suurella uutteruudella ja toitotuksella jatkaa työväen sanomalehdistökin tätä lorua, yhä uudelleen siksi, kunnes ei epäilystäkään, joutuu monta vilpitöntä työläistä harhaan johdetuksi sen kautta, ,joka luonnollisesti onkin vihollisen tarkotus. Tätä ehkäistääkseen ja varustaakseen omat kehittyneet jäsenemme raaka-aineilla, joilla voidaan kehittää ulkopuolisia työläisiä, koettavat järjestömme sanomalehdet jatkuvasti selittää Yhden Suuren Union perusmuotoa. Lukijaimme tulee ymmärtää, että ei ne ole I. W. W. agitaattorien mainitut, "äänekkäät puheet", jota kapitalistit niin suuresti pelkäävät, kuin on I. W .W. tarkotus **rakentaa tiiviisti ihmeellinen teollisen solidaarisuuden pohja,** joka tulee muuttamaan kapitalistien hallinnon järjestetyn teollisuuskontrollin kautta yhteiskunnassa, työläisluokalle.

Lyhykäinen selostus I. W. W. perusteista on tässä annettu niiden hyödyksi, jotka voidaan innostaa tutustumaan yksityiskohtaisemmin omien erikoisten teollisuuksiensa luonteeseen ja liittämään tämän saamansa tiedon propagantaansa järjestämistyöhönsä omien työläistovereidensa keskuudessa:

PAIKALLINEN TEOLLISUUSUNIO.

1) Alkeellisin yksikkö I. W. W. järjestössä on, kuten määrätään järjestömme perustuslaissa, **Paikallinen teollisuusunio,** mikä on järjestetty haaraosastoihin määrätyn teollisuuden vaatimusten mukaisesti. I. W. W. ottaa huomioon kehityksen ny-

kyajan teollisuudessa, aina pikkutyöpajojen aikakaudesta saakka, eroavine työkaluineen tai välineineen, joiden mukaan eri ammattilaiset olivat jaetut ryhmiinsä. Esimerkiksi sana "seppä" tai "kutoja", tarkoitti kerran alasimen ääressä, vasara kädessä olevan miehen henkistä kuvaa; tai kuvaa miehestä eli naisesta, kangastuoleissa. Käsitys erikoisesta **työläisten käyttämästä työkalusta** on huomattavana apuna, kun ammatti täten nimitetään. Ammattiunionismi seurasi loogillisesti, johdonmukaisesti tuotanto tavasta. Mutta kun me sanomme nykyään "metalli- ja konetyöläinen eli kutomatyöläinen" on käsitys toisenlainen. Työkalu on kadonnut näkyvistä ja sen sijaan tulee **tuote** mieleen, painotuote, tai pumpuli-, villa- tai silkkikangas. On olemassa monta erinäistä erikoistunutta tai alaosastoa "metalli- tai konetyöläisten keskuudessa", kuten on kutomatyöläistenkin keskuudessa, jotka ovat yhteistoiminnassa ko-operatsionissa keskenään määrättyjä tuotteita tuottaessaan. Esimerkiksi ei metalli ja konepajaa tahi kutomatehdasta voida enää oikein järjestää ammattiunioiden pohjalla, työläisten käyttämien työkalujen mukaan.

Ottaen huomioon perinpohjaiset muutokset teollisesta edistyksestä johtuneina, muodostaa I. W. W., järjestääkseen kaikki työläiset määrätyssä metalli- ja koneteollisuudessa tahi kutomatehtaassa, yhden työpajaosaston erikoisine virkailijoineen ja virastoineen, kuten työpajakomiteat ja yleiset työpajakokoukset tahi yleisäänestykset, joiden välityksellä käsitellään työpajojen erikoisia etuja yksis-

tään tällä tavalla me voimme osua työnantajaan tai työpajan omistajaan mahdollisimman lyhyeltä matkalta.

Mutta samalla alueella voi olla useita samanlaisia työpajoja. Useimmat kysymyksistä eivät koskekaan yksistään yhtä työpajaa, sillä esimerkiksi kahdeksan tunnin työpäivä tahi palkan ylennysvaatimus ovat kysymyksiä, joita ei oikeen hyvin voi sopia yksi työpaja tai yksi järjestö. Siis tätyy työpajaosastot järjestää sillä tavalla, että kaikki työläiset määrätyllä alueella tahi alueilla voivat toimia yhtenä työnantajaansa vastaan ja kaikkien työläisten eduksi, heti. Siis tätä tarkoitusta varten paikallisen kokonaisuuden saavuttamiseksi määrätyssä teollisuudessa, ovat kaikki työpajahaaraosastot sidottuna yhteen **paikalliseen teollisuusunioon,** kuten esimerkiksi metalli- ja konetyöläiset tahi kutomatyöläiset. Tämä paikallinen teollisuusunio toimii keskuskomitean tai neuvoston välityksellä, joka komitea on kokoonpantu jokaisen työpaja-haaraosaston edustajista, joilla on kaikki tarpeelliset oikeudet toimiakseen asioissa yhteiseksi hyödyksi; pitääkseen yllä toiminta ja tiedonantoyhteyttä haaraosastojen ja suurimpien alaosastojen sekä teollisuusnioiden kanssa jne. Kaiken yksityiskohtaisen työn lukuunottamatta suurempia kysymyksiä, jotka vaativat koko paikkakunnan työläisten huomion osakseen, toimittaa keskuskomitea eli neuvosto. Tärkeimmät kysymykset vedotaan yleisiin kokouksiin tai asetetaan yleisäänestykselle paikallisen jäsenistön keskuudessa. Tällä tavalla, I. W. W. järjestä-

mistavan mukaan, voidaan kaikki pienimmätkin yksityiskohdat huolehtia.

TEOLLISUUS PIIRINEUVOSTO.

2) Aivan samalla tavalla kuin paikallinen teollisuusunio on rengas I. W. W. järjestössä, on myöskin yleinen paikallinen yhteys erittäin tärkeäsmerkityksestä järjestön kehittymiselle. Ilman voimakasta, tervettä ja tärkeätä paikallista järjestöä, on yleinen heikkous voittamaton pitkin linjaa. I. W. W. ei voi toimia ylhäältä alaskäsin; sen täytyy toimia **ahlaalta ylöskäsin.** Sentähden muodostaa I. W. W. sen sangen tärkeän järjestön, joka tunnetaan **Teollisuus piirineuvoston** nimellä, jonka tehtävänä on pitää yllä ja edistää kaikkien teollisuusryhmien paikallista yhtenäisyyttä ja solidaarisuutta. Piirineuvosto on kokoonpantu kaikkien ja jokaisen paikallisunion edustajista määrätyllä alueella. Lakon sattuessa määrätyllä teollisuusalalla, joutuu neuvosto kaikkein tärkeimmäksi tekijäksi, kutsuen kaikki alueen työläiset kamppailuun, avustamaan taistelevia veljiään. Varojen kerääminen, propaganda työn ylläpitäminen sekä järjestäminen, työläisten lakkoon kutsuminen toisilla työaloilla, ovat muutamia niistä mahdollisista toimenpiteistä, joiden avulla teollisuus piirineuvosto voi toimia pian ja tehokkaasti paikallisen solidaarisuuden aikakan saamiseksi.

KANSALLINEN TEOLLISUUSUNIO

3) Mutta paikallinen järjestö ei ole riittävä. Paikallinen teollisuusunio ja piirineuvosto eivät ole

täydelliset yksistään. Kahdeksan tunnin työpäivä tahi palkankorotusvaatimus voi johtua paikallisista syistä, mutta niiden ollakseen tehokkaita Tehtailijan Liittoa vastaan, tahi tilaisuuden sattuessa, jolloin yksi kilpaileva kapitalisti toimii toista vastaan, niin sellaisen toimenpiteen toteuttamisen täytyy käsittää koko teollisuuden työläiset. Patersonin kutomatyöläiset esimerkiksi vaativat 1913 kahdeksan tunnin työpäivää ja onnistuivat täydellisesti pysäyttämään silkkitehtaat siinä kaupungissa. Työnantajat huusivat heti, että he eivät voi kilpailla Pennsylvanian, New Yorkin tahi muiden New Jerseyn myllyjenomistajien kanssa. Sentähden otti I. W. W. heidän sanansa täydestä ja kutsui 20,000 työläistä lisää lakkoon sanotulla alueella, halvauttaen silkkitavarateollisuuden kokonaan. Hudson kauntin lakkolaisille New Jerseyssä tarjottiin vaatimuksensa mukaiset ehdot je kehotettiin heitä palaamaan työhön. He kieltäytyvät siihen saakka, kunnes Patersonin lakkolaisillekin myönnetään kahdeksan tunnin työpäivä ja muut myönnytykset.

Tämän tähden on I. W. W. järjestö muodostanut **Kansallisen Teollisuus Union,** tarkotuksella yhdistää kaikki paikalliset teollisuusuniot määrätyssä teollisuudessa yhdeksi kansalliseksi rungoksi. Kaikki maan kutomatyöläiset yhdistetään yhteen kansalliseen teollisuusunioon. Hoitaakseen sen asioita' ylläpitääkseen toiminnan yhteyttä ja tiedonantovälitystä osastojen jnep. välillä, valitsee kansallinen teollisuusunio, kansalliset virkailijat ja kansallistoimeenpanevan komitean, pitää kansallis-

konventioneja ja hoitaa kansallisia asioita yleisäänestyksen kautta.

Tämän tapaisen järjestäytymisen välityksellä kutomatyöläiset esimerkiksi pyrkivät enempi ja yhä enempi anastamaan haltuunsa sen teollisuuden kontrollia ja käsittävät sen erikoisena **velvollisuutenaan,** suhteessaan teollisuus yhteiskuntaan kokonaisuudessaan. Tässä siis pohja kapitalististen kirjottajain otaksumiin (ja määrätty peruste joidenkin puoliksi kypsyneiden syndikalistien väitöksiin), että I. W. W. suunnittelee, jotta kaivostyöläisten tulee omistaa ja kontrolleerata kaivosteollisuus ja kutomateollisuustyöläisten kutomateollisuus jnep. Tämä ei ole totta, kuten selviää myöhemmin. Riittää, kun sanoo tässä, että kansallinen teollisuusunio I. W. W:n perustuslain mukaan sallii työläisten määrätyssä teollisuudessa yksityiskohtaisesti pitää yllä kansallista yhteyttä ja solidaarisuutta siinä teollisuudessa. Tämän muotoisen union on huomattu olevan käytännöllisen molempiin tarkotuksiin, puolustukseen ja hyökkäykseen kapitalistista vihollista vastaan ja rakennettaissa uuden yhteiskunnan käytännöllistä perustaa, joka pyrkii muodostumaan kapitalismin kuoren sisällä.

TEOLLISUUS TEPARDEMENTIT

4) Seuraten samaa teollista johtoa, läpi kapitalistisen teollisuus-suonen, me huomaamme, että vieläkin laajempi ryhmittyminen — läheisesti samankaltaisten teollisuuksien kesken — on tarpeellinen. Tämä tarve tyydyttetään nimen TEPARDE-

MENTTI, alla. Käsitellessämme tepartementtejä, emme voi puhua samalla varmuudella, kuin toisista järjestön alaosastoista puhuessamme. Samantapaisten teollisuuksien läheisen sisäisen samankaltaisuuden vuoksi, ei tepartementti rajoja ole tarkasti määritelty. Kuitenkin määrää I. W. W. peruslaki kokeelliseksi seuraavan tepartementti kaavakkeen:

1. Maanviljelys, maa, kalastus ja vesituotteiden tepartementti.
2. Kaivos tepartementti.
3. Liikennevälitys ja tiedonanto tepartementti.
4. Tehdastuotanto ja yleinen tuotanto tepartementti.
5. Rakennus tepartementti.
6. Yleisön palvelustepartementti.

Jokainen näistä kuudesta tepartementista hyväksyy kaikki kansalliset teollisuusuniot läheisesti samankaltaisissa teollisuuksissa siihen tepartementtiin, mihin ne oikeastaan kuuluvat. Tämän luokittelun alaisena, kuten nykyään on suunniteltu, tulisi kansallinen kutomatyöläisten teollisuusunio sisältymään Teollisuus ja yleiseen tuotanto tepartementtiin. Kunnallistyöläisten kansallinen teollisuusunio huolehtien valaistuksesta, lämmityksestä, katujen laskemisesta, ja kastelemisesta ja yleensä kaupungin hallinnosta, tulisi kuulumaan yleisön palvelus tepartementtiin. Mutta, kuten ylempänä huomautettiin, täytyy tepartementtiryhmityksen järjestää tarkemmin, kun järjestön rakentava työ enempi edistyy. Käsitys tepartementeista tuo ainoastaan esiin selvemmin yhden teollisuuden sisäisen suhteen toiseen

teollisuuteen ja saattaa samankaltaiset teollisuudet läheisempään yhteyteen keskenään.

YLEISJÄRJESTÖ-TYÖVÄENLUOKAN UNIO.

5) Tässä kysymyksessä "läheisempi yhteys" menee I. W. W:n perustuslaki vielä etemmä. Se siirtyy käsitykseen, että rikkauden tuottaminen tänä päivänä on yhteiskunnallinen prosessi, missä koko työväenluokka yhdistyy — ko-opereeraa ruokkiakseen, vaatettaakseen, suojatakseen ja varustaakseen koko mailman asukkaat sivistyksen tarpeilla. Yksityinen työväenryhmä ei voi menestyä yksinään. Yksi teollisuus ei ole riittävä menestyäkseen itsekseen; mikään teollisuuden ryhmä ei voi riippumattomasti johtaa toisia ryhmiä. Kutomatyöläiset esim. olisivat kykenemättömät vaatettamaan kansaa, elleivät toiset työläiset hankkisi heille ravintoaineita, rakentaisi koneita myllyihin, kasvattaisi pumpulia, villaa ja pellavaa raaka-aineiksi; kulettaisi tuotteita kutomatehtaaseen ja tehtaasta pois jnep. Pohjaltaan, kaikki työväenluokan jäsenet ovat yhteistoiminnassa ja auttavat joko suorasti tahi epäsuorasti jokaista työläisryhmää sen suorittaessa tehtäväänsä.

Siis, aivan samaten kuin paikallinen teollisuusunio sitoo yhteen haaraosastot; kansallinen teollisuusunio omat osastot ja tepartementti kansalliset teollisuusuniot — niin samaten tepartementit, olkoonpa niiden lukumäärä vähempi tahi enempi kuin kuusi, kun tämä ryhmittämismuoto on täytetty, tullaan yhdistämään YHTEEN YLEISEEN KOKO

TYÖVÄENLUOKAN UNIOON, jonka liittää ja sitoo toisiinsa kaikkien teollisuuksien, kaikki työläiset, yhdeksi ko-operativiseksi yhteiskunnaksi.

Tämä järjestämismuoto edustaa sitä ajatusta, että työläiset yhdessä teollisuudessa, "omistavat ja johtavat sitä teollisuutta omaksi hyödykseen tai itselleen". Tämän suunnitelman on kuitenkin huomattu olevan mahdottoman, tuotannon yhteiskunnallisen luonteen huomioon ottaen. I. W. W:n YLEINEN KESKUSJÄRJESTÖ, on olemassa siinä tarkotuksessa, että se turvaa ja ylläpitää yhteyttä kaikkien teollisuusryhmien välillä yhteiskunnallisten tuotteiden tuotannossa, kaikkien ihmisten käytettäväksi ja hyödyksi. Keskusjärjestöllä on myöskin nykyään toinenkin merkitys, nimittäin kaikkien järjestön työläisten yhdistäminen yhteistä puolustusta ja hyökkäystä varten kapitalistiluokkaa vastaan. Sen nykyinen menestys tällä alalla on aiheuttanut huudon, että: "I. W. W. tahtoo hävittää yhteiskunnan"!

Tämänkaltaisen järjestäytymisen kautta, kuten tässä on lyhykäisesti kuvattu, huomataan I. W. W:llä olevan rakentava ohjelma, harjottaessaan tuhoavaa toimintaansa kapitalistista vihollista vastaan, joka on näkymätön. Ja se on tämä RAKENTAVA OHJELMA, joka kauhistuttaa työnantajia ja heidän kannattajiaan enempi kuin kaikki "äänekkäät puheet", joista he syyttävät I. W. W. agitaattoreita. Tästä ohjelmasta tulisi väitellä, sitä tulisi oppia ja ymmärtää kaikkien I. W. W. jäsenten, ennen kaikkea. Ja edelleen osan jokaisen katupuhu-

jan puheesta tulisi käsitellä sitä. Ilman sitä ovat I. W. W. menettelytavat yhtä vähän arvoisia kuin mittausopilliset numerot ilman substansia — perustaa, jonka kautta niiden merkityksen voisi selittää. Menettelytavat ovat erottamattomat järjestöstä. Sentähden oppikaamme ja työskennelkäämme rakentaaksemme järjestö, joka iskiessään kapitalismiin kuolin iskun, samalla järjestää kapitalistisen yhteiskunnan sijaan uuden paremman yhteiskunnan.

MITEN LAKKOPETTUREITA SYNNYTETÄÄN

Kirj. Grover H. Perry.

Ammattiunionismi on suurin tekijä lakonrikkurien synnyttämisessä ja huomattavin lankeemuskivi työläisten tiellä, jotka haluavat parantaa olosuhteitaan. Oppilas systeemi on syypää useimpien lakonrikkurien syntymiseen kuin mikään muu tunnettu aihe.

Mies menee työhön, sanokaamme, työpajaan, missä yleistä rakennustyötä harjotetaan. Hän työskentelee katto- ja kattopelti-osastossa, joka on täydellisesti järjestetty?) A. S. M. W. I. A. (American Sheet Metal Workers International Associationiin-, joka on peltiseppäin ja kattotyöläisten ammattiunio. On mahdollisesti ensimäinen kerta, kun hänellä on tilaisuus työskennellä union työpajassa ja hän on sen ajatuksen innostama, että vihdoinkin voi tulla unionmieheksi ja sellaisena ollen voi, ei

ainoastaan parantaa omia olosuhteitaan, mutta myöskin avustaa työläistovereitaan olosuteidensa parantamisessa.

Ensimäinen isku häntä vastaan tulee, kun hän kysyy työläistovereiltaan tarpeellisia menettelytapoja, miten hän voisi tulla union jäseneksi. Hänelle sanotaan, ettei hän ole haluttua tavaraa ja ennenkun hän voi tulla jäseneksi, täytyy hänellä olla todistukset, jotka osottavat, että hän on kolme vuotta työskennellyt oppilaana. Jotensakin nolaantuneena kysyy hän sitten, että miten voi tulla oppilaaksi. Hänelle selitetään, että oppilaiden lukumäärä on rajotettu (yksi jokaista kolmea täysinoppinutta ammattilaista kohtaan) ja että työpajassa on täysi määrä oppilaita nykyään.

Koko tämän ajan ammattilaiset työskentelevät 8 tuntia päivässä ja saavat $3.25 päivältä palkkaa työstään, jotavastoin hän työskentelee 9—10 tuntia ja saa palkakseen mitä ikinä työnjohtaja haluaa hänelle maksaa. Hän huomaa, ettei unio vaivaa itseään sen suhteen, että saako hän palkkaa yliajastaan eli ei. Hän näkee, että kaikissa pyrkimyksissään ja tarkoituksissaan unio ei ota huomioon hänen olemassaoloaan ensinkään. Koko tämän ajan kasvaa hänessä ajatus, että unio ei ole olemassa koko työväenluokkaa varten, vaan niitä onnellisia varten, jotka jo ovat uniossa jäseninä.

Päivän kuluessa hän sattuu ottamaan käteensä työkalun, jota ammattilainen käyttää työskennellessään ja hänet komentaa heti mahtava ammattilainen, joka on työpajan taloudenhoitaja, panemaan

sanotun työkalun pois ja muistamaan, ettei hän tulevaisuudessa tule ottamaan sitä käteensä ja että hänen tulee tulevaisuudessa noudattaa union sääntöjä (union, jossa häneltä kielletään jäsenoikeus), joka koskee apulaisten ja muiden työläisten suhdetta työkalujen käsittelyyn. Nämä säännöt on painettuna kortille, joka riippuu jossakin huomattavalla paikalla työpajassa.

Hänen annetaan ymmärtää, että hän on yhteiskunnallisesti alempi olio ja että hänen ei sovi odottaa samanlaisia vapauksia kuin ammattilainen nauttii. Hän ei saa koskettaa vasaraa (paitsi erikoistilaisuuksissa, sellaisissa tapauksissa, kuin hän naulaa räystäitä) eikä pihtejä, saksia, juottorautoja tahi useita muita työkaluja, joiden käyttämiseen miehen täytyy olla tottunut, ennenkun hän voi toivoa omaavansa vähintäkään alkeistaitoa ammatista.

Hänen kernaasti annetaan kantaa katon valmistuksessa käytettäviä liuskakiviä, rakentaa tēlineitä, maalata peltejä ja tehdä kaikkea muuta tarvittavaa likasta työtä. Hänen vaaditaan olemaan ammattilaisten pienimpienkin viittausten ja käskyjen alaisena ja yleensä olemaan hyvä ja uskollinen eläin. Jos hän uskaltaa kysellä union viisautta, salliessaan hänelle nämä monet "etuisuudet", niin hyvät union ammattilaiset (jotka pelkäävät, että hän mahdollisesti oppii ammatin ja ryhtyy tekemään sitä työtä, jota he nyt tekevät) voivat ja tekevätkin hänen elämänsä ja toimintansa kurjaksi. Hänen käsketään pitää putken liitettä paikallaan, että ammattilainen voi liittää sen ja kädet kohotettuna niin ylös

kuin ylettyy, päänsä yläpuolelle (joka samalla on kaikkein vaikeinta ja väsyttävintä työtä mailmassa) odottaa hän ammattilaisen hyväntahtoisuutta, samalla aikaa kun tämä ammattilainen keskustelee jonkun toverinsa kanssa viimeisistä nrkkitaisteluuutisista. Työnjohtajalla on ollut silmät auki kaiken tämän ajan ja jos hän huomaa, oman harkintansa mukaan, miehestä tulevan hyvän työläisen, niin hän lähestyy häntä ehdotuksella, että ostaa osakkeita yhtiöstä, joka antaa hänelle mahdollisuuden työskennellä samassa työssä, kuin ammattilaisetkin ovat ja käyttää samoja työkaluja kuin ammattilaisetkin käyttävät ja niin oppia ammatti.

Sillä muistettakoon, että tämä sama ammattiunionismi, jolla on niin alhaiset käsitykset apulaisistaan ja niin täydellinen välinpitämättömyys heidän hyvinvoinnistaan, kunnioittaa työnantajaa siinä määrässä, että jokainen, joka ostaa osakkeita siitä yhtiöstä, **joka heitä riistää,** niin hänen sallitaan tehdä mitä työtä haluaa ja milloin haluaa ja mistä palkasta tahansa. Mies tähän mennessä täydellisesti tyytymättömänä unioon päättää, ja alkaa ajatella, että työnantaja kohtelee häntä tasapuolisemmin, kuin unio. Lyhyessä ajassa hän alkaa turmeltua sellaiseksi vanhain esi-isäin aikuiseksi työläiseksi, joka uskoo, että työläisen ja työnantajan edut ovat yhteiset.

Voi tapahtua niinkin, että työnantaja ei tee tätä tarjousta ja unio saman ajan kuluessa julistaa lakon. Sitten ja todella oikeuden mukaisesti, järkeilee mies näin: "Tämä unio ei hyväksynyt minua ja teki

kaiken voitavansa estääkseen minut parantamasta olosuhteitani. Nyt on minun tilaisuuteni. Minä otan yhden näiden miesten paikan ja opin, mitä voin tästä ammatista, jolloin olen paremmassa tilaisuudessa jatkamaan taistelua olemassaolosta tulevaisuudessa." Tämä järkeily puuttuu logiikkaa — johdonmukaisuutta, mutta on täydellisesti luonnollinen sellaisten olosuhteiden vallitessa.

Täten synnytetään lakonrikkureita. Nämä ovat täydellisesti olosuhteet, joiden alaisina työläiset työskentelevät. Tässä alempana on joitakin sääntöjä. A. S. M. W. I. A. osaston No. 266 säännöistä, New Castle, Pa

Sääntö 7. Jokaisessa työpajassa saa olla yksi oppilas, mutta kahta oppilasta ei sallita, ellei neljä eli useampia ammattilaisia ole siellä työssä.

Sääntö 8. Oppilaiden, jotka menevät työpajaan työhön, tulee työskennellä kaksi vuotta samalle pomolle, tahi eivät voi saada toista työpaikkaa ennenkun heidän kaksi vuottaan on täysi.

Sääntö 10. Oppilaiden täytyy palvella kolme vuotta, ennenkun he voivat tulla ammattilaisiksi.

Sääntö 12. Apulaisten sallitaan naulata räystäitä, maalata ja asettaa sirkkeliä paikalleen ja tehdä muullaista työtä, joka ei riko union sääntöjä.

Nämä säännöt ovat tyypillisiä, ei ainoastaan tässä järjestössä, mutta kaikissa ammattiunioissa. Viisastukaa ja yhtykää unioon, joka suojelee kaikkia työläisiä, olkoonpa hän ammatiton tai mekanikko. Toisin sanoen, yhtykää I. W. W:n.

MITÄ ON INDUSTIALISTINEN UNIONISMI?

Ensimäiseksi. — Se hyväksyy periaatteen, että työväenluokalla ja kapitalistiluokalla ei ole mitään yhteisiä etuja, vaan ovat ne ehdottomasti toisilleen vastakkaiset. . .Hyväksyessään tämän periaatteen, paljastavat industrialistisen unionismin kannattajat sen valheen mailmalle, joka on ammattiunioiden kesken tavallinen, nimittäin, että kahden vallitsevan luokan edut ovat yhtäläiset.

Työväenluokan köyhyyteen on syynä se, että työvoima on muuttunut tavaraksi, joka tosiasia tulee yhä enemmän tunnetuksi. Työläisen palkka on yksinkertaisesti hinta siitä tavarasta, jota hänen täytyy myydä työnantajalle, eläkseen tai tullakseen toimeen ja tämä palkka on ainoastaan pieni prosentti siitä rikkaudesta, minkä hän tuottaa työskennellessään ja tuottaessaan hyvinvointia kapitalistiluokalle. Nykyinen yhteiskunta muodostuu palkkatyöläisistä, jotka tekevät kaiken tarvittavan työn ja kapitalisteista, elämänvälineiden omistajista, jotka anastavat pääosan työläisten työntuloksista. Näiden kahden ryhmän edut EIVÄT voi olla samanlaiset. Niistä toinen ryhmä raataa ja tuottaa kaiken, mutta toinen elää ylellisyydessä ja riistää kaiken. Toinen saa palkkaa ainoastaan sen verran että hädin tuskin elää ja voi työskennellä ja toinen maksaa palkan jo ennemmin kiskomastaan ylituotannosta ja saa sen taasen takasin satakertaisesti. Toisella ei ole mitään tuotantovälineitä ja toisella ne ovat kaikki. Työväenluokka yksinään on tarpeellinen ja sen tulee hallita sekä johtaa teollisuut-

ta; kapitalistiluokka on tarpeeton ja sentähden sen täytyy hävittää.

Näiden kahden luokan välissä riehuu katkera luokkataistelu. Pääoma on järjestäytynyt ylläpitääkseen ja laajentaakseen hallitusvaltaansa, jotavastoin työväenluokka asettaa heitä vastaan hajanaisen rintaman, jota vielä ammattiuniot heikentävät, hajottamalla työläiset erinäisiin pikkuryhmiin ammattiensa perusteella. Industrialistisen unionismin kannattajat koettavat järjestää ja lujittaa kaikki palkkayöläiset yhteiseksi lujaksi rintamaksi vihollista vastaan, jatkaakseen luokkataistelua voitokkaaseen loppuun saakka, hyödykkäästi, taitavasti ja perääntymättä.

Toiseksi. Industrialistinen unionismi pitää, että kaikilla työläisillä täytyy olla Yksi Suuri Unio. Ainoastaan tämän kautta voidaan kapitalistiluokan harjottama työläisten elintarpeiden anastus lopettaa.

Nykyiset yhteiskuntaolot tekevät yhden suuren union tarpeellisuuden välttämättömäksi. Nykyajan teollisuus on kehittänyt olosuhteet sellaiset, missä useat ammatit tai ammattiryhmät joutuvat alistumaan yhden kapitalistisen tai kapitalististen ryhmien isännyyden alaiseksi. Yhden laajan tehdaslaitoksen voi omistaa yksi ihminen, mutta jos sellainen laitos tarvitsee useain erilaisten ammattilaisten työtä, niin siellä (jos ammattiunio on olemassa) ovat ammattilaiset hajallaan eikä yhdistyneinä. On aivan tavallista, että puolitusinaakin ammatttiunioa on yhdessä tehtaassa.

Edelleen, huomataan tänään eri tuotanto-osastojen keskuudessa, että missä useammat työläisryhmät ovat järjestettynä eri ammattiunioihin, niin melkein jokaisen näiden unioiden sopimukset ovat vastakkaiset toisten siinä laitoksessa olevien union sopimusten kanssa. Yksi ammattiunio allekirjottaa sopimuksen, joka päättyy tammikuussa ja toinen unio hyväksyy sopimuksen, joka päättyy vasta maaliskuussa ja kolmas ryhmä sitoo itsensä yhtiön kanssa aina marraskuuhun saakka jnep. Täten on vanhanaikuinen unionismi saanut aikaan epäjärjestyksiä täynnä olevn tilanteen. Koska tahansa yksi ammattiunio menee lakkoon, niin toinen ammattiosasto jää työhön ja täten avustaa lakossa olevien työläistoveriensa tuhoamista. Ammattiunionismin lipun suojissa tapahtuu oikein tukkukaupalla mustaa toimintaa. Me voisimme esimerkeillä täyttää tämän sivun ja monta muuta sivua ihan ääriään myöten. Kun esimerkiksi mallipuusepät menevät lakkoon yhdessä kaupungissa, niin toisen kaupungin mallipuusepät pysyvät työssä ja tuottavat niin paljon malleja, että riittää, mitkä voidaan huokeasti kulettaa lakon alaiselle paikkakunnalle ja täten avustavat valureitakin tuhoamaan taistelevat työläistoverinsa.

Industrialistinen unionismi pyrkii järjestämään kaikki työläiset yhteen unioon, joka tulee käsittämään kaikki teollisuuden alat ja kaikki maan teollisuudet. Mitä me tarkotamme, ei ole **ammatti,** vaan **luokkaunio;** ei hajanainen ammattiunioiden veljesliitto, vaan yksi unio, yhden perustuslain alaisena, joka on muodostettu teollisuus tepartemen-

teista, jotka jokainen käsittävät useita läheisesti samankaltaisia teollisuuden haaroja. Tämä on ainoa oikea ja todellinen tapa työläisten solidaarisuuden yhdistämiseksi. Sellaisen järjestön vallitessa, otetaan luokkaus yhtä vastaan loukkaukseksi kaikkia työläisiä vastaan, joka on oikeuden mukaista. Kapitalistit pyrkivät alentamaan työläisten palkkoja kaikkein alhaisimmalle tasolle ja edelleen he koettavat painaa tätä alhaisinta palkkatasoa vieläkin alemmaksi. Naistyöläisten palkkataso asetetaan määrätasoksi, johon tasoon miestyöläisten palkkojakin koetetaan alentaa, samaten kuin kiinalaisten orjain tai palkkatyöläisten palkkataso määritellään seisovaksi palkkatasoksi, jolle tasolle europalaisten valkoisten työläisten palkkatosa myöskin koetetaan alistaa. Industrialistisen unionismin mukaan pannaan lakko toimeen koko teollisuudessa, joka käsittää useita eri ammattialoja tahi jos on tarpeellista, niin tullaan lakkoon kutsumaan useita eri teollisuuden aloja, työläisten taistelun puolustamiseksi ja heidän etujensa turvaamiseksi. Teollisuusunionismi on luokkaunionismia.

Kolmanneksi. Teollisuusunionismin edustajat pitävät, että lopullinen ja unhottumaton teollisuustyöläisten union tarkotus täytyy olla, kaikkien tuotantovälineiden anastus ja niiden edelleen hallussaan pitäminen, omana työväenluokan kollektiivisena omaisuutena.

Kapitalismi, kaikkein korkeimpipalkkaisillekin työläisille on ainoastaan rosvous ja yhteiskunnallisten rikosten järjestelmä. Sen pääasiallisin muoto,

raaka-aineiden ja tuotantovälineiden yksityisomistusoikeus, on seuraus menestyksellisestä rosvouksesta, jota hallitseva luokka on menneisyydessä harjottanut ja joiden välityksellä kapitalistiluokka pakottaa työläiset luovuttamaan heille työvoimansa mitättömiä armopaloja vastaan. Kapitalismi tuomitsee työläisen elämään orjan elämää, jonka taakka kasvaa yhä raskaammaksi ja jonka palkka yhä pienenee. Eivät työläiset milloinkaan pääse tuotteidensa herroiksi, ennenkun he ovat tuotantovälineiden herroja. Siihen täydellisyyteen täytyy yhteiskunnan pyrkiä. Nopeasti ja jatkuvasti maan teollisuudet keskittyvät harvempiin ja harvempiin käsiin, jolla aikaa myöskin työnorjat pelloilla, tehtaissa, työpajoissa, myllyissä, kaivannoissa y. m. työmailla tulevat yhä ko-operatiivisemmiksi ja toisistaan riippuvaisemmiksi. Teollisuusunionismi valmistaa maaperää ja laskee varmaa pohjaa teollisel le tasavallalle, järjestämällä työväenluokan teollisuuksittain yli-, poikki-, ja ympäri koko maapallon.

Teollisuusunionismi yhdistää työläiset, niin, että he voivat itse johtaa ja kontrolleerata tehdaslaitoksia ja teollisuuksia suoranaisesti tosikansanvaltaisella tavalla. Uuden teollisuusarmeijan vallitessa on johtava määräämisvalta teollisuusparlamentilla, joka muodostuu useiden teollisuus ja tuotanto tepartementtien edustajista, jotka valitaan työläisten keskuudesta.

Neljänneksi. Teollisuusunionismi, perustuen luokkataistelun totuudelle, edistää työläisten politillistä yhtenäisyyttä edistämällä työläisten teollis-

ta yhtenäisyyttä. Uusi unio tulee järjestäytymään yksinkertaisesti **työväenluokan** taloudellisena järjestönä ja sen kautta taistelemaan tarvittavia parannuksia työväenluokalle ja hyökkäämään kapitalistiluokkaa vastaan yhtenäisenä, lujana rintamana ja kukistamaan sen lopullisesti. Ja vasta sitten kun kapitalismi on täydellisesti kukistettu, voidaan teollinen yhteiskunta perustaa kokonaisena ja täydellisenä. Tie teolliseen yhteiskuntaan on pitkä ja vaivaloinen ja sitä vaellettaessa kohtaavat työläiset lukemattomia vastuksia, mutta tämä on ainoa tie, jota työläiset voivat vapauteensa vaeltaa ja siksi on YHDEN SUUREN UNION lippu ainoa lippu, joka johtaa työläisiä varmasti ja ehdottomasti siihen päämäärään, mihin heidän on pyrittäväkin — Teolliseen yhteiskuntaan. Työläisillä on yksi vahva vihollinen — **kapitalismi,** jonka he voivat kukistaa vain yhden tehoisan taisteluaseen avulla, joka on YKSI SUURI UNIO — I. W. W.

INDUSTRIALISTISEN UNIONISMIN AAVE

Kirj. Archibald Crawford.

Aave ihmetyttää mailmaa — industrialistisen unionismin aave. Kapitaali pelkää omaa varjoaan; tyhjää heijastusta omasta tyhmästä kehityksestään. Ja hyvä se lieneekin.

Industrialistinen unionismi on suurin inspiratsiooni — innostus, joka milloinkaan on tullut työläisarmeijalle, sillä se on innostus, eikä ainoastaan tämän tai tuon työväenjohtajan keksimä suunnitelma.

Se kuuluu työväen-armeijalle, jokaiselle jäsenistön yksilölle, eikä ainoastaan tälle tai tuolle työväen Moosekselle.

Se sanoma, joka on vuosisatojen marttyrien henkien lävistämä, sanoo työläisille: "Mooses ei tule teitä ulos johtamaan. Kehitys on teidän, mutta teidän myöskin täytyy omaksua se itsellenne."

Tämä sanoma ei kuulu ainoastaan **joillekin** työläisille, vaan **kaikille** työläisille. Se leviää voimakkaammin kodittomien, omaisuudettomien, äänestysoikeudettomien, työttömien ja uskottomien keskuudessa. Mitä enempi työläiseltä puuttuu kaikkia, mikä elämää rakentaa, sen vaikuttavimmin tämä sanoma häneen vaikuttaa siitä yksinkertaisesta syystä, että tämä innostava sanoma saapuu, ei niinkuin menneisyyden työläisten toivot, ylhäältä, kiiluvien tähtien keskuudesta, vaan alhaalta varmasta maankamarasta.

Sen kuulevat ensimäisenä ja ymmärtävät halveksitut hylkiöt, kuleksijat, maankiertäjät ja jätkät, sillä he ovat lähempänä niitä lähteitä, mistä se tulee. Mutta sen toivon sanoma, kaikille orjuutetuille työläisille, kohoaa ylöspäin ja se liikuttaa koko mahtavan työväenarmeijan sielua.

Ja siksi, että se tulee alhaalta eikä ylhäältä päin, on sen filosofia, sen etiikka-siveysoppi ja sen moraali sellaista, jota jotkut kutsuvat ylösalaiseksi, nurinkuriseksi. Mailman kaikkeudessa ei ole ylös tai alaspäin menoa muuten kuin relatiivisesti — suhteellisesti ja industrialistisen unionismin filosofian ylösalaisuus esiintyy parhaiten sanassa "vallan-

kumouksellinen". INDUSTRIALISTINEN UNIONISMI ON VALLANKUMOUKSELLISTA UNIONISMIA."

VANHA UNIONSMI

Tähän saakka on työläisiä järjestetty ammatti tai kraftiunioihin. Ammattiuniot eivät salli työnantajain liittyä unioihinsa, sillä kapitalistit ovat sen vihollisia, ei myöskään se salli kaikkien työläisten liittyä unioonsa, sillä kaikki työläiset, joita on enempi kuin työpaikkoja, ovat myöskin sen vihollisia.

Toisinsanoen, ammattiunio on sellaisten työläisten järjestö, jotka kuuluvat johonkin erikoiseen ammattiin tai virkaan ja järjestön tarkotus on rajottaa niiden työläisten lukumäärä, jotka mahdollisesti oppisivat ammattia tai tulisivat työskentelemään sillä määrätyllä alalla. Miksi niin? Siksi, että se auttaa työttömyys-probleemin ratkaisua **ammattilaisille,** mutta sensijaan lisää kirjaimellisesti työttömyys probleemia **jälelläolevalle työväenluokalle.**

Tavara on arvoesine vaihtoa varten mailman markkinoilla. Voi, munat, kengät jne., jotka ovat asetetut myytäväksi kauppoihin, ovat tavaroita. Työvoima on myöskin tavaraa.

Kysynnän ja tarjonnan laki sanoo, että kun tavaroiden tarjonta menee kysynnän yli markkinoilla, niin sen tavaran hinta laskee. Päinvastoin, kun tavaran kysyntä on suurempi kuin tarjonta, niin tavaran hinta kohoaa.

Ammattiunionismi vähentää ammattityövoiman tarjontaa ja kohottaa sen hintaa. Tämän tähden on

ammattiunioissa suuret sisäänpääsymaksut ja korkeat palkat ammattilaisilla, sekä pitkä oppiaika oppilailla.

Mutta ammattiunionismi, kuten olemme osottaneet, lisää työvoiman tarjontaa, joka joutuu menemään muille aloille ja täten saattaa muut työväenluokan jäsenet epäedulliseen asemaan kysynnän ja tarjonnan lakiin nähden. Tämän tähden on niin alhaiset palkat ammatittomien ja järjestymättömien työläisten keskuudessa.

Ammattiuniot taistelevat työväenluokkaa vastaan ja lamauttavat sitä. Miten käytännöllisiä ne olivatkin aikakausi sitten, niin ne ovat tänä päivänä täydellisesti vaarallisia ja epäjärjestystä aikaan saavia työväenluokan keskuudessa.

"Ammattiunion tunnustaminen työnantajien taholta, union leima, ammattisopimukset, sovittelu ja harkintalautakunnat sekä oikeuslaitokset y. m., ovat jokainen ja kaikki kokonaan liitossa ammattiunioiden kanssa ja orjuuttavat ne yhä enempi koko työväenluokkaa.

Ammattiuniot ovat hyviä ammattilaisille ja jos olisi suurempi määrä ammattityöläisiä kuin muita työläisiä, niin ammattiunionismi pysyisi vieläkin voimassa.

Mutta taloudellinen kehitys on hävittänyt ammatit ja painanut melkein kaikki työläiset nälkätasolle. Kaikki työläiset ovat kylliksi alas poljettuja ja kurjia ymmärtääkseen etujemme yhtäläisyyden. Ei yksikään meistä voi nousta, ellemme kaikki nouse yhdessä. Tämä on tullut **luokkakysymyk-**

seksi, eikä **yksilö** tai **ammattikysymykseksi.** Uudet ajat ovat tuottaneet uusia esteitä ja vaativat uusia parannustapoja.

UUSI UNIONISMI

Oikeus ei ole koskaan ollut eikä tule koskaan pysymään vallassa ilman voimaa. Olemassaolo on loppumatonta taistelua, jossa heikot joutuvat seinää vastaan. Eivät ne ole muutamat **harvat,** jotka joutuvat seinää vastaan, vaan ne ovat **heikot.** Kapitalistit ovat harvat ja työläiset monilukuiset. Kuitenkin ovat työläiset heikot ja kapitalistit voimakkaat. Työläiset joutuvat seinää vastaan. Todellisuudessa ne jo ovat "sitä vasten".

Miksi ovat harvat voimakkaat ja monilukuisemmat heikot? Miksi lapsi voi taluttaa elefanttia? — Elefantilla, työväestöllä on voima molemmissa käsissä, mutta siltä puuttuu sen jumalallisen valonlähteen, harmaan aineksen, jota me kutsumme aivoiksi, ko-operatsionia. Lihakset ja aivot! Mahdoton sopusointu. Riittävästi lihaksia, mutta liian vähän aivoja.

Suurin voima mailmassa on **tuotantovoima,** mutta se ei särje jäätä, **paitsi silloin kuin se pysähtyy!** Työväestöllä on suurin voima käsissään, suurin voima mitä koskaan on ollut olemassa. Mikä on vuori? Eivätkö työläisen kaksi kättä ole siihen tunneleita kaivaneet. Mikä on meri? Eivätkö työläisen kädet ole siistineen, muodostaneet ja liittäneet yhteen rautoja, mitkä uiskentelevat laivoina raivokkaimpien merienkin päällä. Työläiset nauravat rai-

vokkaalle merelle. Ja Niagara? — Eivätkö työläiset ole jo hillinneet tuota mahtavaa kohinaa? Sadattaosaa tuota mahtavaa, kookasta kuohua, johdetaan kuin elefanttia korvasta, palvelemaan yhteiskunnan tarpeita. Se syöksee kuin karjuva leijona putouksien alla olevien kivien päälle, kuten se on tehnyt lukemattomia aikoja, mutta työläinen johtaa keveästi sen kuohut pyöriviin myllyjen rattaisiin ja rajotettuaan sen mahtavan voiman, johtaa rauhallisen virran, kuten suopean lampaan, yhtymään kaukana alapuolella oleviin kuohupäihin ja pyörteisiin. Ja mitä työläinen on tehnyt tälle yhdelle sadannes osalle voi se tehdä koko sadannesosallekin, koko virralle.

Mitä voidaan tehdä, jota ei työläinen pystyisi tekemään? Ei mitään. Mitä voidaan tehdä ilman työläistä? Ei mitään. Mitä on työ? Se on se voima, jota työväenluokka kontrolleeraa. Mitä tämä voi tarkottaa? Sitä, että yhteiskunta ei voisi olla olemassa ilman sitä. Mikä voima on olemassa ilman sitä. Mikä voima on olemassa ilman työvoimaa. Ei mikään tuottava voima. Mitä tapahtuisi, jos työväestö lakkaisi käyttämästä työvoimaansa? Kapitalistit, papit, politikot, sanomalehtien palkatut koirat, pyssyhurtat, heittiöt, hirttäjät, sotilaat, poliisit ja kaikki matelijat ja luikertelevat oliot, jotka imevät työläisten verta, kuolisivat nälkään. Kuten Simpson temppelissä, voivat työläisten käsivarret murskata pilarit, mitkä kannattavat tätä yhteiskuntaa ja kukistaa koko tämän yhteiskuntahuoneen.

Uusi unionismi sanoo työläisille, että niin väsyneet, vuosikausien kärsimyksissä, alaspoljetut ja näännytetyt kuin te olettekin, olkaapa niin sorretut kuin tahansa, teidän äitinne, vaimonne, siskonne pakotettuna porttoelämään, teidän lapsenne näännytetty nälkään ja kidutettu, niin te sittekin pidätte näissä kahdessa kädessänne voimaa, jolla voitte pelastaa ei ainoastaan itsenne, vaimonne, äitinne, siskonne ja lapsenne, mutta koko ihmiskunnan. Mailma lepää teidän likaisen, mustan ja känsäisen oikean kätenne kourassa — pelastakaa se!

MITENKÄ ENNEN HÄVISIMME.

Ennen kun palkkaorjalla oli valittamista, niin hän valitti ja ellei hänen vaatimuksiaan otettu huomioon, niin hän aika ajottain raivostui ja agiteerasi sekä lausui sanoja, joitten johdosta työnjohtaja hänet erotti ja otti toisen miehen hänen sijaansa.

Jonkun ajan kuluttua kun tätä olivat kaikki orjat kokeilleet jollakin ammattialalla tai työpajassa, otettiin kollektiivinen toiminta käytäntöön. Ensin työnantaja nolostui, mutta kun työläisten, joita hän riisti, saanti kasvoi kansainväliseksi, niin hän yllytti ammatin ammattia vastaan ja työpajan toista työpajaa vastaan, kuten hän ennemmin oli yllyttänyt yhdet yksilöt toisia yksilöitä vastaan ja siten saanut ylijohdon heidän keskuudessaan käsiinsä.

Industrialistinen unionismi hväksyy mailman äärimmäisimmät miehet äärimmäisine vaatimuksineen ja kun työnantajakaan ei pääse etemmä, niin häneltä on—niin sanoakseni—"tie pystyssä."

Vanhat ammattiunionistit perustivat filosofiansa ja moraalinsa yksityisomaisuuden ja yhteiskunnan käyttämien esineiden pyhyyteen. Hän uskoi **kunnollisen** päivätyön **kunnolliseen** palkkaan. **Tyydyttävään** korkoon, **tyydyttävään** liikevoittoon ja **kohtuulliseen** vuokraan. Hän ei halunnut iskeä työnantajaa vyön alapuolelle ja jos työnantaja asetti vyön päänsä ympärille, niin hän ei iskenyt häntä ensinkään. Hän ei halunnut mennä lakkoon antamatta ensin työnantajalle riittävän aikaseen tiedon urakkain peruuttamisesta, hyljätä uudet sopimukset ja hankkia lakonrikkuria tai toisinsanoen valmistautua taisteluun.

Sitte vanhat ammattiunionistit kävelivät ulos työpajasta, nostivat hattuaan kunnioittavasti työnantajalle ja pyysivät anteeksi, jos heidän päänsä sattui rikkomaan poliisin kapulan.

He olivat lakossa viikkokausia ja söivät union säästöjä, mitkä olivat edellisenä 30 vuotena koottu; sitten he kokeilevat nälkälakkoa ja kun siihen väsyivät palaavat työhön takasin ja kirjottavat uuden sopimuksen, jonka mukaan he eivät mene lakkoon mistään asiasta eikä ketään vastaan.

UUSI MORAALI

Uusi moraalisuus sanoo:

Kirotut edut! Kirotut vuokrat! Kirotut liikevoitot! Kirotut sopimukset! Meillä on kirotun tarpeeksi tekemistä katsoessamme omien kirottujen itsemme ja perheidemme toimeentulon eteen. Työn-

antaja ei välitä meistä perkelettäkään ja hänellä oikeastaan on myöskin katsottavana oman perheensä toimeentulo. Me olemme kirottuja, ellemme itse katso omien rakkaitten vaimojemme ja pienokaistemme eteen.

Vaimo ja lapset ovat yhtä "rakkaita" työläiselle, kuin mitkään sellaiset ovat koskaan olleet hänen työnantajalleen. Ja 90 pros. vaimoista ja lapsista kuuluu työväenluokalle. Meidän moraalimme kysyy, mikä heitä auttaa? Mikä ehkäisee heidät miljoonittain nälkään kuolemasta? Ja mikä tahansa lasketaan auttavan meidän luokkaamme, on puhdasta ja hyvää moraalia. Mutta, mikä loukkaa meidän luokkaamme, on epämoraalista ja sitä vastaan tulee taistella viimeiseen saakka.

Me emme ole alkaneet taistelua kapitalistiluokkaa vastaan, mutta kuitenkin se on käynnissä ja meidän tulee puolustaa omia etujamme, ellemme halua kokonaan alistua. Voima poliisin kapulasta täytyy ottaa pois! — Miten? — Miten tahansa! — Miksi? — Siksi, että se loukkaa meidän luokkaamme ja on sentähden epämoraalista. Pyssyt eivät saa tähdätä meihin päin, elleivät ne ole naulassa, sillä ne voivat laueta ja loukata meitä ja se on epämoraalista. Siis meidän täytyy panna pyssyt naulaan tai kääntää ne toisin päin. Miten tahansa, koska se loukkaa meidän luokkaamme ja on epämoraalista. Jos me menemme lakkoon, niin meidän täytyy lakkoutua äkisti, nopeasti ja varmasti. Älkää antako työnantajalle aikaa miettiä ja valmistautua. Sillä hän voi käyttää tilaisuutta hyväkseen

ja voittaa meidät, joka olisi paha meille ja epämoraalista. Lakkoutukaa, kun hänellä on suuri tilaus, jonka hänen tulee täyttää. Se loukkaa häntä enempi ja meitä vähemmän ja se on moraalista.

Pysäyttäkää koko teollisuus kaupungissa, kaikissa kaupungeissa, koko maassa ja koko maailmassa, jos se on tarpeellista. Lakko silloin päättyy pikemmin ja me näemme nälkää vähemmin, joka on hyvä meille ja on sentähden moraalista.

MITEN VOITTAA

Älkää antako lakon syödä teidän varojanne. Se on huonoa teille ja sentähden epämoraalista. Vaan antakaa sen maksaa työnantajalle summan. Hänen voimansa johtuu siitä, mitä hän omistaa ja jos hän omistaa vähemmän, niin hänen voimansakin on vähäisempi. Hänen heikkoutensa on teidän väkevyytenne ja on hyvä teille ja siis moraalista. Pultti, otettuna pois koneesta voi olla suurena apuna lakossa, vaikkapa ei sanottu pultti ole haudattuna muuta kuin 6 tuumaa syvään reikään. **Viattomuus on usein rikos.** Katsos, kun kapitalistiset tuomiolaitokset tuomitsevat viattomia työläisiä ja vapauttavat syyllisiä kapitalisteja. Tehdä lakko, jättämällä teollisuuden ja nääntyä nälkään, on narrimaista, jos te kerran voitte olla lakossa työmaalla ja syödä. Lakkoutuminen työmaalla tarkottaa sellaisen toimenpiteen tekemistä — se on — tehdä, mitä tahansa, mikä vain pakottaa työnantajan tekemään jotain, minkä te ajattelette olevan hyvän itsellenne. Jos te voitatte, niin se on hyvä teille ja siis moraalista,

vaikkapa monta pientä tärkeää työnantajan esinettä katoaakin tai miten vähän tahansa te työtä teettekin. Kerran sai Erin-saarelta (Irlanista) kotoisin oleva Patrick työtä ystäviensä suureksi hämmästykseksi. "Siis sinä olet työssä, Patrick?" kysyivät ystävät. "Pitäkää ilveenne miehet," sanoi Patrick, "minä vain narraan työnantajaa. Varmasti! Minä olen kantanut koko päivän samaa tiilenkanniketta ylös ja alas rappusia ja poosu uskoo, että minä teen työtä."

Patrick lie työskennellyt, mutta hän tiesi, miten iskeä poosua.

Toinen epämoraalinen teko on pysähtyä tehtaan ulkopuolelle ja katsella kun skääpit menevät työhön. Jos ette voi ehkäistä niitä menemästä työhön, niin menkää mukaan itsekin ja ellei poosu tee sovintoa kanssanne, niin palatkaa vasta myöhemmin takasin, senjälkeen, kun skääpit ovat tehtaan jättäneet. Luonnollisesti kaikki nämä asiat tarvitsevat sekä aivojen, että lihasten toimintaa. Jos te aijotte yhä mennä sen mukaan kuin oikeuslaitokset selittävät, niin samalla voitte itse nimittää oman työnjohtajanne, lakonjohtajan ja lakonkin. Nykyään on lakivastaista lakkoutua missään maassa. Paljon muita seikkoja on myöskin rikollisia ja jos kiinni joudut, niin sinut varmasti rangaistan, sillä rangaistus loukkaa, se ei ole moraalista.

MUUTAMIA OHJEITA

Ole isänmaallinen siinä hengessä, että sinä olet uskollinen sille luokalle, mistä olet syntyisin. Ole

moraalinen ja äläkä tee mitään loukataksesi yhtä kään oman luokkasi jäsentä. Älä vaadi lakon kautta enempää kuin sinulla on oikeus vaatia. Sinulla on oikeus vaatia niin paljon kuin voimasi voi pakottaa.

Jos koetat nostaa 200 paunan painoa 150 paunan lihaksilla, niin sinä voit kärsiä ainoastaan kipua ja se ei ole moraalista. Jos sinä päätät mennä lakkoon lyhemmän työpäivän ja paremman palkan saavuttamiseksi ja huomaat, että sinulla ei ole sitä voimaa, kuin luulit, niin palaa takasin työhön parhailla ehdoilla. Älä ajattele mennä takasin vähemmällä kuin ennen sait, ennen sinut on voitettu. Työläisiä ei ole koskaan voitettu. Ei voi sanoa kuka on voittaja, ennenkun taistelu on päättynyt. Älä iske työnantajaa kahdesti samaan paikkaan, sillä hän viisastuu siitä ja varustaa itsensä siltä kohtaa pantsarilla. Kun työnantaja voittaa sinut, niin älä matele. Anna hänelle tunnustus ja koeta uudelleen ja voita hänet seuraavalla kerralla. Älä itke skääpin menestyksen takia. — Albanyn New Yorkin valtion sanomalehti sanoi eräänä päivänä: "Kun valitat työnantajallesi työpaikkasi suhteen, niin muista, että työnantajasi ei **pakota** sinua työskentelemään hänelle."

Industrialistisen unionismin kannattajat sanovat vastaukseksi poosulle: "Kun kansa valittaa työläisten kiittämättömyyttä, niin muista, että sinun ei tule olla kiitollinen. Edelleen: jos työväki tekee sinulle vaikeaksi elämän välineet, niin muista, että sinun ei tarvitse näitä välineitä omistaa. Jos sinä annat nii-

den mennä, niin sinun huolesi katoaa, koska sinä et itse niitä käytä ja harvoin niitä näetkin, niin sinulla ei voi olla niihin paljon kiintymystäkään. Älä pelkää tulevaisuutesi suhteen. Jos työ on kovaa, niin me kyllä muistamme sen ja annamme sinulle helpomman tehtävän. Ellet sinä kykene työskentelemään, niin me kyllä katsomme, että sinä tulet saamaan toimeentulosi. Teollinen kansanvalta on välttämätön kumminkin ja jos sinä kärsit, niin sinä saat tyydytyksen ajattelemalla, että sinä kärsit hyvän asian puolesta."



Teitkö niinkuin Ajattelit?

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I. W. W. KAIKKIEN TYÖLÄISTEN YKSI SUURI UNIO.

Teollisuus — maassa löytyvien raaka-aineiden muuttaminen ihmisten elämään, terveyteen ja hyvinvointiin välttämättömiksi tavaroiksi — on yhteiskunnallisen elämämme keskus ja perustus. Ne, jotka omistavat luonnonrikkaudet — raaka-aineet — ja ne, jotka omistavat koneet, joilla tavaroita tuotetaan ja kuljetetaan, muodostavat yhden yhteiskunnallisen luokan; ne ihmiset, jotka omistavat ainoastaan työvoimansa, työläiset, muodostavat toisen luokan yhteiskunnassa. Kaikki yhteiskunnalliset laitokset, lait, tavat, poliittiset hallitukset j. n. e., ovat ainoastaan heijastusta siitä järjestelmästä, jonka alaisena rikkauksia tuotetaan. Nämä kaikki muuttuvat sitä mukaa kuin menettelytavat tuotannossa muuttuvat.

Yksi luokka omistaa ja hallitsee tuotannon välineet, s. o. ne välineet, joilla maailman rikkaudet tuotetaan. Se luokka — yleensä tunnettu nimellä kapitalistiluokka — käyttää kaikkia laitoksia pitääkseen itseään vallassa ja ajaakseen omia luokkaetujaan. Toiselta puolen taas on olemassa luokka — työväenluokka — joka tulee lopulta muuttamaan koko tuotantovälineiden omistus- ja tuotantojärjestelmän ja tämän muutoksen kautta se tulee aiheuttamaan suuria muutoksia kaikissa yhteiskunnallisissa laitoksissa.

Tietoiset työläiset käsittävät, että niin pian kuin tuotannon välineet joutuvat työnantajien käsistä työläisten käsiin, tulee tapahtumaan perinpohjainen uudelleen järjestely kaikissa yhteiskunnallisen elämän haaroissa.

Koko yhteiskunnallisen elämän ja tapojen ynseä rakenne, koska se riippuu kokonaan vissistä teollisuuden omistusjärjestelmästä, tulee välttämättömästi ja perinpohjaisesti muuttumaan heti kun omistus tuotannon ja jaon välineisiin siirretään yhdeltä luokalta toiselle. Mutta tämä uusi yhteiskuntajärjestelmä ei synny yhtäkkiä muutamien harvojen aivoissa lyhyellä rauhattomuuksien aikakaudella. Se on pitkän muutoksien aikakauden tulos, joka loppuu siihen mitä kutsutaan vallankumoukseksi: siihen vissiin hetkeen, jolloin lopullinen muutos tuotannon välineiden suhteen on saavutettu.

Juuri samoin kuin lahoutuvat ainekset kasvielämässä ja muissa olemassaolon muodoissa ravitsevat maata ja valmistavat sitä luomaan esiin uusia elämän muotoja, samoin lannoittaa kuolevan yhteiskuntajärjestelmän lahoutumat yhteiskunnallista maaperää uudelle ja paremmalle muodolle. Ei mitään sellaista, joka todella on ollut jostain arvosta kapitalismissa, tule katoamaan silloin kuin kapitalismi katoaa. Ainoastaan pienen omistavan luokan valta — meidän teollisuuksiemme itsevaltiaiden valta — poistetaan, ja teollisuudet jätetään vapaan teollisuusyhteiskunnan käsiin, joten sille aukeavat kaikki esteettömän kehityksen mahdollisuudet.

Teollisuuksien kontrolli tuli kapitalisteille entisen feodaalisen vallan kukistumisen kautta, jolloin maanomistajaluokka joutui pois vallasta porvariluokan, tehtailijjain ja kauppiaiden luokan onnistuneen vallankumouksen kautta.

Työväenluokan teollisuuksien kontrollin tulee olla perustettuna eheälle tieteelliselle tuotantomenettelytapojen tuntemukselle. Työläisten täytyy, silloin kun heidän vuoronsa tulee johtaa teollisuuksia, olla valmiina järjestämään teollisuudet laajemmalle ja tehokkaammalle tasolle kuin mitä ne ovat olleet liikevoittoja kiskovien kapitalistien hallitessa.

Kun kapitalistiluokka yli sata vuotta takaperin riisti maailman kontrollin feodaaliherroilta, olivat tuotannon välineet — *työkalut* — tasaisemmin jaettuina kuin nykyään.

Silloin oli olemassa suuri joukko pikkukapitalisteja — pikkutehtailijoita — omistaen liikeyrityksiä, joita meidän päivinämme pidettäisiin mitättöminä. Tämä suuri pikkukapitalistien luokka kilpaili vapaasti keskenään kaupasta. He luulivat, että tällainen vapaa kilpailu pikkukapitalistien kesken ja pikkukapitalistien hyvinvoinnin aika tulisi kestämään iankaikkisesti. Siihen aikaan ei työkalu ollut kehittynyt siksi jättiläismäiseksi ja monimutkaiseksi koneeksi, jollaisena se on tänä päivänä. Käsityö, joka oli luonteeltaan korkeaa ammattitaitoa vaativa, oli päätekijä isoisiemme pienissä tehtaissa.

Mutta sen jälkeen ovat tuotantotavat luonnollisesti suuresti muuttuneet. Tuotannon koneisto on tullut yhä enemmän keskitetyksi. Toisin sanoen pikkukapitalistien suuren joukon kilpailuista keskenään oli seurauksena se, että muutamat voittivat suuren joukon kilpailijoitaan sillä seurauksella, että taistelun tuloksena olivat nykyajan suurteollisuudet, joita hallitsevat kaikkivaltiaat suurkapitalistit. Sitä mukaa kun kapitalistiluokan voima kasvoi harvojen omistusoikeuksien kautta tuotannossa, koetti se tehdä valtaansa yhä lujemmin turvatuksi. Tätä se teki vahvistamalla niitä laitoksia, joilla se hallitsi joukkoja: kapitalistisen vallan poliittista ja laillista puolta. Tämän ohella se järjesti monimutkaisen koneiston sokaistakseen työläisiä, ja peittääkseen harjoittamaansa työvoiman riistäntää. Tällaisia laitoksia ovat sanomalehdet ja kouluja käytetään melkein yksinomaan samojen tarkoitusperien saavuttamiseksi kasvatuksellisella alalla.

Tämän menettelyn jatkuessa tuli luokkaraja omistavan luokan ja työväenluokan välillä yhäti selvemmäksi. Hallitseva luokka tuli alituisesti voimakkaammaksi ja lujitti alituisesti diktaattorivaltaansa ja työväenluokkaa rajoitettiin yhä enemmän ja enemmän luokan asemaan, joka elää ja on olemassa ainoastaan raataakseen riistäjien hyödyksi.

Olemme nähneet, että hallitsevana tekijänä historiassa on teollinen kehitys. Sitä mukaa kun tuotantotavat muuttuvat, sitä mukaa ilmenee vaikutukset yhteiskunnallisessa rakenteessa. Tämän tähden on turhaa koettaa parantaa yhteiskunnallisia paheita — sellaisia kuin köyhyyttä, asuntokurjuutta, nälkiintymistä, kasvatuksen puutetta — jättä-

mällä huomioon ottamatta teollisia syitä: harvojen omistajien kontrollia tuotannossa. Hyvää tarkoittavien, mutta pintapuolisten reformistien yritykset tulevat tällä tavoin todistetuiksi turhiksi; pahemmiksi kuin turhiksi, sillä ne kääntävät työläisten huomion vaikutelmiin sen sijaan että näyttäisivät työläisille syiden juuret.

Ammattiuniot, ollen järjestettyjä vanhan ammattitaitoisen teollisuuden perustalla eikä nykyisen koneteollisuuden mukaisesti, eivät voi vaikuttaa teollisuuksien raudanlujaan nousuun. Ainoa minkä ne voivat tehdä, on saada muutamia pieniä palkankorotuksia muutamille valituille ammattitaitoisten ryhmille. Nämäkään merkityksettömät voitot eivät ole pysyväisiä, erikoisesti siksi, että yksi ammattitaitoinen ryhmä toisensa jälkeen menettää etuisan asemansa työmarkkinoilla kun kehittynyt koneisto astuu ihmisellisen näppäryyden tilalle tuotannossa.

Nykyaikainen keskiluokka, johon kuuluvat suurimmaksi osaksi ne, jotka hävisivät kilpailevassa taistelussa aikaisemman ajanjakson kapitalistien välillä, alkavat myöskin tuntea kiristystä. Heidät jauhetaan hiljalleen ylemmän suurkapitalismin myllynkiven ja alemman, yhä sotaisemmaksi käyvän, työväenluokan myllynkiven välissä. Heidän ihanteenaan on päästä takaisin entiseen pikkukapitalistiseen aikakauteen, ja he ovat liian lyhytnäköisiä käsittääkseen, että on hulluutta yrittää kääntää takaperin kehityksen kellon viisareita. Se on kuitenkin onnistunut värväämään reformistisiin riveihinsä, joukon työläisiä, jotka ovat vieläkin niin henkisen sekaannuksen vallassa, että eivät voi käsittää pelastuksensa olevan mahdollisen ainoastaan heidän oman luokkansa toiminnan kautta luokkana. Tästä seuraa, että sellaisilla poliittisilla puoskarilääkkeillä, kuten "trustien murskaamis"-yrityksillä, on vieläkin kannattajia.

Työläisten ei tulisi ottaa osaa näihin lahoavan keskiluokan viimeisiin epätoivoisiin yrityksiin luokkariippumattomuuden saavuttamiseksi. Näiden reformiliikkeitten pohjana ovat entiset pienemmät työnantajat, jotka ovat menettäneet riippumattomuutensa nerokkaampien ja onnistuneempien yrittelijäin syrjäyttäminä. Työläisillä ja heidän pyrkimyksillään ei ole mitään yheistä. Työläisten ei tulisi antaa kannatustaan tämän yhteiskunnallisen aineksen alkuunpane-

mille liberaalisille poliittisiile liikkeille, sillä nämä ainekset toivovat ainoastaan pääsevänsä etuoikeutettuun asemaan hankkimalla työläisten kannatuksen itselleen. Heidän omat etunsa ovat aina näiden poliittisten ristiretkien pohjasyinä.

Työläisten tulisi käsittää, että heidän luokallansa on kaikkein tärkein historiallinen tehtävä täytettävänä. Historiallisella tehtävällä me tarkoitamme, että teollisuuksien kehitys tulee väkisinkin saavuttamaan sen pisteen, jolloin kapitalistinen kontrolli pakostakin murtuu ja silloin on työväenluokka — entisaikain teollisuuksien historian tuote — ainoa saatavissa oleva aines, joka kykenee ottamaan kontrollin käsiinsä. Historian tutkiminen on opettanut meille, että kehitys saavutetaan luokkataistelussa, yhden luokan taistelussa toista luokkaa vastaan. Läpi historian aikakausien, kun yksi luokka on nostanut itsensä toisen luokan orjuudesta voittoisalla vallankumouksella, on se aina jättänyt jonkun toisen taloudellisen luokan itsensä alapuolelle. Esimerkiksi kun kauppiasluokka kapinoi onnistuneesti ja kumosi feodaalisen ylimysvallan, jäi kuitenkin työväenluokka, proletariaatti, alamaisuuteen. Nyt syöksyy maailma uuteen luokkataisteluun: raatajain taisteluun teollisuuden hallitsijoita vastaan. Ja tässä viimeisimmässä luokkien yhteentörmäyksessä on hyvin tärkeä piirre: EI OLE ENÄÄN MITÄÄN LUOKKAA TYÖVÄENLUOKAN ALAPUOLELLA. Tällä tavoin näyttää historia meille, että työväenluokka on AINOA luokka, joka voi lopullisesti poistaa kapitalismin. Se näyttää meille myöskin, että työväenluokan, viimeisen orjuutetun luokan, vapautuksella LAKKAA ORJUUTETTUJEN LUOKKIEN OLEMASSAOLO. Tällä tavoin on työväenluokan historiallinen tehtävä — historian sille asettama tehtävä — rakentaa uusi, luokaton yhteiskunta kapitalistisen luokkayhteiskunnan tilalle.

Siksi on työläisten velvollisuus valmistautua hallitsemaan tuotantoa. Meidän velvollisuutemme on järjestyä nyt, kapitalismin vallitessa, sillä tavoin, että me voimme tehokkaasti, johtaa teollisuuksia kun kapitalismi on kukistettu.

Teollisuudet ovat nyt saavuttaneet korkean mekanillisen ja järjestyneisyyden täydellisyyden asteen. Se on valmis työläisten johdettavaksi ja hallittavaksi. Nyt on meidän mobilisoitava inhimillinen tuotantovoimamme siten, että me

voimme jatkaa tuotantoa tehokkaasti, keskeytymättä ja häiriöttä valtaan nousumme aikakaudesta alkaen.

Tehdäksemme tämän meidän tulee tuntea nykyaikainen teollisuus perinpohjaisesti. Meidän täytyy tuntea erilaisten suurten teollisuuksien luonne ja niiden suhteet toisiin teollisuuksiin. Me, työläiset, tulemme perimään tämän suuren ja monimutkaisen teollisuuskoneiston. Meidän täytyy tutkia sitä ja oppia tuntemaan se yksityiskohtaisesti, niin että me voimme rakentaa nyt, palkkaorjuuden vallitessa, sellaisen tuotannon armeijan, joka voi ottaa tuotannon johdon haltuunsa heti palkkaorjuuden kukistuttua.

Työläistoverit! Me rakennamme tulevaisuuden yhteiskuntaa. Kohta kohdalta on meidän rakennettava sitä järjestelmää, jonka kautta Työläisten Tasavallan vapaa yhteiskunta hankkii itselleen kaikki elämän välttämättömyydet. Järjestymällä teollisuuksittain me täydellistytämme sitä teollisuusarmeijaa, joka tulee ottamaan tuotannon haltuunsa silloin kuin työläiset kertakaikkiaan tekevät lopun kapitalistisesta riistosta ja sitä seuraavasta kurjuudesta. Me huolehdimme nyt jo tulevaisuuden maailmasta, vapaiden miesten ja naisten yhteiskunnasta, jossa jokainen saa työnsä tulokset ja jossa raatajat saavat elää rauhassa, tarvitsematta taistella alituisesti edesvastuuttomia, ahneita ja rosvoilevia orjavouteja vastaan.

Ymmärtäen tehtäviemme vakavuuden ja ne pyhät velvollisuudet, jotka meillä ovat maailman tarpeiden tuottajina ja maailman tulevien kohtaloiden vallankumouksellisina haltioina, on meidän ryhdyttävä tutkimaan uudenaikaista teollisuusrakennetta.

TEOLLISUUKSIEN JÄRJESTELYN ANALYYSI.

Kartan yksityiskohtainen selostus.

Tämän kartan selostuksen päätarkoitus on osoittaa kuinka teollisuudet ovat ryhmitetyt yhteen tieteellisessä järjestyksessä.

Tuotanto alkaa luonnonrikkauksien riistännällä. Työtä käytetään eristämään aineita, jotka luonto on tallettanut tai synnyttänyt. Tuotanto jatkuu näiden tuotteiden kuljetuksella, jotka ovat enimmäkseen raaka-aineita tai polttoaineita, tehdasteollisuus- ja liikekeskuksiin. Suojien rakentaminen ihmisille ja esineille, tietojen välitysvälineiden rakentaminen, ovat järjestelmän toisen teollisuushaaran tehtäviä. Huomaamme lopuksi kuinka huolenpito, kasvatus ja yleisön palvelus joutuvat toisen osaston tehtäviksi tässä toisistaan riippuvassa teollisuuselämän toiminnassa.

Esittäessämme tämän teollisuuksien järjestämisehdotuksen sellaisena kuin se on nykyään, on meillä mielessä ainoastaan yllämainittu tarkoitus. Ollessaan kapitalistien tuotannonvälineiden omistuksen takia pakotetut tekemään palvelusta näissä teollisuuksissa, tulee työläisten järjestäytyä oikeille paikoilleen niissä teollisuuksissa, joissa he työskentelevät. Jokainen työläinen, joka tutkii tätä karttaa, löytää siitä hänelle sopivan paikan teollisuudessa silloin kun teollisuudet ovat järjestetyt työläisten kontrollia varten teollisuusjärjestöjen kautta.

Tietysti on tämän järjestelyn lopullisena tarkoituksena, että jokaisella työläisellä tulee olla yhtäläiset oikeudet sekä yhtäläiset velvollisuudet toisten työläisten kanssa sen teollisuuden johdossa, jossa hän työskentelee tuottajana.

Mutta toinen tarkoitus, joka on yhtä tärkeä, on järjestää työläiset niin, että *jäsenet missä hyvänsä teollisuudessa,*

taikka kaikissa teollisuuksissa, jos se nähdään tarpeelliseksi, lakkaavat työstä milloin hyvänsä lakko tai työsulku vallitsee missä hyvänsä sen teollisuuden osastossa, siten tehden loukkauksen yhtä vastaan loukkaukseksi kaikkia vastaan.

Tämä on tietysti mahdollinen ainoastaan silloin kuin työläiset ovat järjestyneet teollisuuksittain, s. o. työläisten jokaisessa tuotantolaitoksessa tai teollisuudessa tulee olla järjestyneinä yhteen järjestöön — ei mitään ammattijakoa. Kapitalistien laitokset nykyään ovat järjestetyt täydelleen samoja periaatteita noudattaen. Teollisuudet, siten ryhmitettynä kuin ne ovat nykyään, läheisessä yhteydessä toinen toisensa kanssa, antavat työläisille perustan, jolle he voivat rakentaa järjestönsä jokapäiväisiä taisteluita varten työolojen parantamiseksi sekä teollisuuksien hallinnon ja johdon varalta työläisten ja tuottajain teollisessa yhteiskunnassa.

TUOTTEIDEN JAKO ON OSA TUOTANNOSTA.

Kaikki maan, kaivoksien ja vesien luonnolliset rikkaudet saavat ensimäisen arvonsa silloin kun niihin kohdistetaan työtä, muuttamaan ne käyttökelpoisiksi tavaroiksi.

Mutta kaikki nämä tuotteet saavat enemmän yhteiskunnallisa arvoa kun ne kuljetetaan liikenne- ja tehdaskeskuksiin, joissa ne muovaillaan ja muutetaan vaihdettaviksi käyttötavaroiksi.

Ihmisolioiden elämä ei tule olemaan yksistään alituista raadantaa silloin, kuin luodut hyvyydet tulevat kaikkien työläisten käytettäviksi.

Kaikkia tarkoituksia varten nykyään sekä tulevaisuudessa, tulee yleisön palveluslaitosten olla määriteltyinä ja niissä työskentelevien ihmisten tulee saada paikkansa teollisuusjärjestössä aivan samoin kuin ne, jotka pitävät huolta sairaista ja kykenemättömistä. Niiden, jotka antavat yleisölle ja yhteiskunnalle hyödyllistä palvelusta, tulee olla tietoisia siitä, että he ovat hyödyllisessä työssä, vaikkakin useimmat niistä laitoksista, joissa he nyt palvelevat, ovat saastutetut suojelemaan kapitalistien etuja.

Yhtenäistä toimintaa varten ovat teollisuudet järjestetyt yleisen suunnitelman mukaan, joka esitetään kartalla, seuraavaan tapan:

1. Maanviljelys- ja Kalastuslaitosten departementti 100.
2. Kaivoksien ja Mineraalien departmentti 200.
3. Yleinen Rakennuksien departementti 300.
4. Tehdasteollisuuden ja Yleisen Tuotannon departementti 400.
5. Kuljetuksen ja Tietojenvälityslaitosten dept. 500.
6. Yleisön Palvelus dept. 600.

Departementtien nimiä seuraavat numerot ovat departementtien numerot. Kaikki departementtiin kuuluvat uniot numeroidaan niin, että departementin numeron ensimäinen numero on union numeron ensimäisenä numerona. Esim. kaikki uniot departementissä No. 200 numeroidaan 210-220-230 jne. Ottamalla huomioon "sadan" union teollisuusunion numerossa, voidaan heti huomata mihin departementtiin teollisuusunio kuuluu.

Departementeillä on taas vuorostaan alaosastonsa. Kun kerran esitetään, että työläisten on järjestyttävä niiden teollisuuksien mukaisesti, joissa he työskentelevät, niin on tärkeätä käyttää yleistä määrittelyä. Tämän kautta käsitetään selvemmin, että jokainen näistä teollisista alaosastoista laatii itselleen työläisten alajärjestöjä, joiden kautta työläiset voivat hallita yksistään sitä teollisuutta koskevia asioita.

Jokainen näistä alajaostoista tulee muodostumaan teollisuusunioon järjestyneistä työläisistä. Nämä eivät kuitenkaan ole eristettyinä ja itsenäisinä kakista muista, kuten nimitys "jaosto" ehkä edellyttäisi.

Nykyään on vielä mahdotonta poistaa käytännöstä niitä sanontatapoja, joita käytetään määritellessä niitä vissejä tehtäviä, joita työläisryhmät toimittavat kussakin teollisuudessa. Mutta tulee tarkoin ottaa huomioon, että nimitykset työalaryhmille teollisuuksissa eivät tarkoita järjestymistä eristettyihin ammattiunioihin kuten tähän asti, eikä niiden työkalujen mukaisesti, joita kukin työläisryhmä käyttää. Sehän tarkoittaisi jakamista toisen nimen varjossa. Työläiset teollisuuksissa järjestetään niihin järjestöihin, jotka edustavat kunkin teollisuuden tuotteita. Yleisen teollisuus-

union jokainen alaosasto järjestetään tämän periaatteen mukaisesti.

Kun työläiset missä hyvänsä tuottavassa teollisuudessa järjestyvät teollisuuksittain, ovat kaikki samojen sääntöjen alaisia, jotka vallitsevat kussakin teollisuudessa. Mutta yksikään kokonaisuuden osa ei voi loukata vissejä perussääntöjä ja kaikkia "työläisten yhden suuren union" osia hallitsevia periaatteita tekemättä vahinkoa koko järjestölle.

On vielä yksi asia, joka on tehtävä selväksi: *Tuotantoprosessi ei lopu ennenkuin valmistettu tuote saapuu kuluttajalle. Kaikki tuotteen jaossa työskentelevät työläiset ovat jäseniä samassa teollisuusuniossa, departementtijärjestössä, jossa tuotteen tekijät ovat järjestyneinä.*

Tietysti ovat rautatie- ja vesiliikennetyöläiset Kuljetus departementissä, vaikka voitaisiin sanoa, että he työskentelevät tuotteiden jaossa. Mutta tässä on ero. He kuljettavat tavaroita ainoastaan toisille paikkakunnille ja toisiin maihin, mutta todellinen jako kuluttajille tapahtuu vasta sitte kun tuotteet ovat saapuneet kauppiaalle.

Ottakaamme esimerkki. Myymämies eli palvelija kenkäkaupassa tulisi olemaan jäsen siinä järjestössä eli sen järjestön haaraosastossa, johon kaikki kenkäteollisuustyöläiset ovat järjestyneet. Kuorma-ajuri, joka kuljettaa lihoja tai muita tavaroita ruokakauppiaalta, kuuluisi jäsenenä siihen union, johon kaikki ruokatarvetyöläiset, jotka työskentelevät sillä erikoisella alalla, ovat järjestyneinä. Mutta kuorma-ajuri, joka voi kuljettaa yhdellä kertaa joukon vaatetustarpeilla täytettyjä laatikoita yhdeltä asemalta toiselle ja toisella matkallaan kuljettaa ehkä nauloja välittäessään kuljetusta ja jakoa, tekee kuljetustyöläisen työtä ja sellaisena ollen on järjestynyt kuljetustyöläisten teollisuusunioon.

Edellä annettujen tarpeellisten selostusten kautta, jotka antavat selvemmän käsityksen järjestösuunnitelmasta, voidaan helpommin nähdä kuinka teollisuudet ovat ryhmitetyt kartalla.

MAANVILJELYS JA KALASTUS DEPT. NO. 100.

A. Maanviljelystyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 110.

Kaikki työläiset farmeilla, kastelutöissä, pumpuli- ja sokeri-istutuksilla. Kaikki työläiset, jotka työskentelevät nautaeläinten ja teuraskarjan kasvatuksessa j. n. e., kana- ja lintufarmeilla, meijerilaitoksilla j. n. e.

B. Puutavaratyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 120.

Kaikki työläset metsissä, metsänvartijat, metsänviljelystyöläiset j. n. e.; kaikki tukkien ulosottotöissä työskentelevät työläiset; sahalaitosten, päremyllyjen työläiset; puutavaran valmistajat polttoaineiksi ja tehdastarkoituksiin, parkin y. m. kokoojat j. n. e.

C. Kalastustyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 130.

Kaikki työläiset meri-, joki- ja järvikalastuksessa; osteri- ja simpukkaviljelyksen hoitajat. Työläiset, jotka työskentelevät helmien, korallien ja sienien kokoamisessa. Työläiset kalojen siitoslaitoksissa, sukeltajat j. n. e.

D. Kukkaviljelystyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 140.

Kaikki työläiset, jotka työskentelevät hedelmätarhois:a, puutarhoissa, viinitarhoissa, juurikasfarmeilla, vihannestarhoissa ja ansareissa. Kaikki silkin viljelyksessä työskentelijät j. n. e.

KAIVANTOJEN JA MINERAALIEN DEPT. No. 200.

A. Metallikaivostyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 210.

Kaikki kullan, hopean, kuparin, lyijyn, sinkin, tinan, platinan, raudan y. m. metallien kaivamisessa työskentelevät työläiset sekä työläiset kaikissa metallien puhdistuslaitoksissa, survimoissa ja sulimoissa. Tällä kertaa kuuluvat tälle jaostolle myöskin murtimoiden työläiset kuten ne, jotka työskentelevät suolan, rikin, saven, boraksin, katinkullan, bromiidin, grafiitin, soodan, kipsin, asfaltin, kalkin, hiekkakiven, taulukiven, marmorin, onyksin, liuskakivien, rakennuskivien, graniitin y. m. kivennäisaineiden ja ki-

vien kaivamisessa. Kaikkien jalokivien kaivajat ja suolojen ja suolapitoisten ainesten puhdistus- ja jalostuslaitosten työläiset y. m.

B. Hiilenkaivajien Teollisuusunio No. 220.

Kaikki hiilikaivoksissa työkentelevät työläiset. Kovan ja pehmeän, kivi- ja puuhiilen tuotannossa työskentelijät. Koksin, brikettien ja polttoturpeen valmistajat ja näiden tuotteiden jaossa työskentelevät työläiset.

C. Öljytyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 230.

Kaikki työläiset, jotka työskentelevät öljytuotannossa ja jalostuslaitoksissa, kaasulähteillä j. n. e. sekä näiden tuotteiden jaossa työskentelevät työläiset.

YLEINEN RAKENNUKSIEN DEPT. NO. 300.

A. Rautateiden, Teiden ja Tunnelinrakentajien Teollisuusunio No. 310.

Kaikki työläiset, jotka työskentelevät laiturien, rautateiden, maanteiden, katujen, siltain, likaviemärien, maanalaisten rautateiden, tunnelien, kanaalien, viertoteiden ja kastelulaitoksien rakentamisessa.

B. Laivain Rakentajain Teollisuusunio No. 320.

Veneiden, moottoripaattien, höyrylaivojen ja laivojen rakentamisessa ja korjauksessa työskentelevät työläiset, telakoiden työläiset j. n. e.

C. Rakennustyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 330.

Kaikki talojen ja liikerakennusten rakentamisessa ja rakennusaineiden kuljetuksessa työskentelevät työläiset. Putkityöläiset, höyryputkien ja kastelulaitosten asettajat, piirustajat, perustuksen kaivajat, kivimiehet, muurarit, tiilien ja ruukinkantajat, sähkötyöläiset, maalarit, rautatyöläiset jne.

TEHDASTEOLLISUUDEN JA YLEISEN TUOTANNON DEPT. NO. 400.

A. Kutomotyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 410.

Kaikki pumpuli-, villa-, silkki-, liina-, pellava- ja kuitumyllyissä työskentelevät työläiset. Myöskin kaikki vaatetusten valmituksessa vaatteesta, turkiksista, oljista, kummista ja kaikista muista aineista, työskentelevät työläiset.

B. Puunjalostustyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 420.

Kaikki höyläyslaitoksissa, pianotehtaissa, huonekalutehtaissa, luuta- ja harjatehtaissa työskentelevät työläiset.

C. Kemiallisten Tuotteiden Teollisuustyöläisten Unio No. 430.

Kaikki lääkkeiden, maalien, kummin, kuttaperkkatavarain, ruudin, dynamiitin ja muiden räjähdysaineiden, kemiallisten aineiden, hajuvesien, musteiden y. m.; paperin, sulfiidin, selluloosan, paperimassan, y. m. valmistuksessa työskentelevät työläiset.

D. Metalli- ja Konetyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 440

Kaikki työläiset, jotka työskentelevät valimoissa, teräsmyllyissä, peltimyllyissä, valmistavat maanviljelys- y. m. koneita, lastivaunuja, vetureita, koneita, autoja, polkupyöriä, ilmalaivoja j. n. e. Työkalujen tekijät, koristeiden ja kellojen tekijät erilaisten instrumenttien tekijät, sähkötyöläiset ja sähkölaitteiden tekijät.

E. Kirjapaino- ja Julkaisutyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 450.

Kaikki työläiset, jotka valmistavat sanomalehtiä, kirjoja, hintaluetteloja, kaivertajat, latojat, kuvain kaivertajat, painajat, stereotypeeraajat, elektrotypeeraajat, valokuvaajat, taiteilijat y. m.

F. Ruokatarvetyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 460.

Kaikki työläiset jauhomyllyissä, leipomoissa, sokeritehtaissa, makeis- ja siirappitehtaissa, lihan ja kalain pakkauslaitoksissa, säilytyslaitoksissa, meijereissä, virvotusjuoma-

tehtaissa, olutpanimoissa, etikkatehtaissa y. m.; tupakkatyöläiset, sikaarien, savukkeiden, purutupakan, nuuskan y. m. valmistajat, kannutuslaitosten, hotellien ja ravintolain työläiset, perhepalvelijat j. n. e.

G. Nahkatyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 470.

Kaikki työläiset nahkan valmistuksessa, kenkä-, saapas- ja käsinetehtaissa; valjaiden tekijät, laukkujen, reppujen, arkkujen, vöiden y. m. tekijät.

H. Lasi- ja Saviastiatyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 480.

Lasitehtaiden, saviastiatehtaiden ja terra-cottatehtaiden työläiset; tiilintekijät, savenvalajat ja porsliinityöläiset sekä näiden tuotteiden jakajat.

KULJETUS- JA TIETOJENVÄLITYSDEPT. NO. 500.

A. Meriliikennetyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 510.

Kaikki työläiset ,jotka työskentelevät kuljetuksessa merillä, höyry-, moottori- ja seililaivoilla, vedenalaisilla y. m.; laitureilla ja satamissa; satamatyöläiset ja konttoorityöläiset, kaikki tämän teollisuuden työläiset.

B. Rautatietyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 520.

Kaikki työläiset pitkillä rautatielinjoilla, sähkö- sekä höyryteillä, kolmannen kiskon sekä yläpuolisen voimajohdon teillä, tavarainkuljetus- sekä matkustajaliikenteessä; veturien ja vaunujen korjauspajojen työläiset, matkustaja-asema- ja tavara-asemien työläiset, vaunujen puhdistajat, pikatavarain käsittelijät, matkustaja-asemien ja virastojen henkilökunnat j. n. e.

C. Puhelin ja Sähkölennätintyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 530.

Kaikki työläiset, jotka ovat posti-, sähkösanoma-, puhelin-, langattoman lennätinlaitoksen y. m. palveluksessa.

D. Kunnallisten Kuljetuslaitosten Työläisten Teollisuusunio No. 540.

Kaikki paikallisen kuljetusliikenteen palveluksessa olevat

työläiset, jotka työskentelevät katuraitioteillä, ilmaradoilla, maanalaisilla radoilla, käytävillä j. n. e.

E. Ilmalaivatyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 550.

Kaikki ilmapurjehduksen alalla työskentelevät työläiset.

YLEISÖN PALVELUSDEPARTMENTTI NO. 600.

A. Terveydenhoitotyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 610.

Kaikki sairaaloissa ja parannuslaitosten palveluksessa toimivat työläiset, kuten lääkärit, kirurgit, hoitajat, palveljat, kirjanpitäjät, talonmiehet j. n. e.

B. Puistojen ja Teiden Ylläpitotyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 620.

Kaikki katujen puhdistamisessa, puistoissa ja ylikäytävillä työskentelevät työläiset.

C. Kasvatustyöläisten Teollisuusunio No. 630.

Kaikki kasvatuslaitoksissa, kouluissa, opistoissa, yliopistoissa ja muissa opetuslaitoksissa työskentelevät työläiset.

D. Yleisen Jaon Työläisten Teollisuusunio No. 640.

Kaikki yleisen jaon palveluksessa ja osastokaupoissa työskentelevät työläiset; pakkaajat, ajurit, kirjanpitäjät, myyjät, j. n. e.

C. Yleisten Laitosten Työläisten Teollisuusunio No. 650.

Kaikki työläiset, jotka työskentelevät kunnallisten vesi- ja sähkölaitosten palveluksessa ja yleisön palveluslaitoksissa.

F. Huvituslaitosten Työläisten Teollisuusunio No. 660.

Kaikki teattereissa liikkuvakuvanäyttämöillä ja muissa huvittelu- ja virkistyslaitoksissa työskentelevät työläiset.

PÄÄTELMÄ.

Kun paremman yhteiskuntajärjestelmän edustajat silloin tällöin mainitsevat uudesta unionismista, tekevät he sen useimmissa tapauksissa käsittämättä täydelleen sitä eroavaisuutta, mikä on olemassa vanhan unionismin ja sen unionismin välillä, jonka puolesta he puhuvat, nimittäin koko

maailman työväenluokan Yhden Suuren Union! Mutta vaikka tämänlaisen toimintasuunnitelman arvostelijat ovatkin eri mieltä tämän kirjasen kirjoittajan kanssa haluttuun päämäärään johtavista keinoista, eivät he voi kuitenkaan enää väittää, että ei olisi olemassa kirjallisuutta, mikä tarkalleen selittäisi teollisuusunionistien ohjelman.

Järjestykää teollisuuksittain; järjestykää oikein! Tämä on kehoitus, joka on kuulunut kaikille sorronalaisille yli koko maailman. Yhä suuremmat köyhälistön joukot kaikissa maissa tekevät itselleen selväksi tämän kysymyksen ja kaikkialla työläiset valmistautuvat yhtymään järjestöön, missä he tulevat löytämään yhdistyneen voimansa selvän ilmenemismuodon ja suoran toiminnan käytäntöönpano välineen, aina sen mukaan, kuinka tilanne ja olosuhteet kulloinkin määräävät. Kaikkia maailman maita hallitaan pääasiallisesti pienen, teollisuusyhtymiä kontrolleeraavan luokan etujen mukaisesti. Milloin hyvänsä työläiset suuntasivat raskaita iskuja näitä eturyhmiä vastaan suoranaisesti, se on, milloin he kieltäytyivät väliaikaisesti toimimasta näiden teollisuuksien tuotantoprosessien palveluksessa, silloin, koko maailman riistäjäluokka hyökkäsi kiihkeästi tuomitsemaan niitä voimia, jotka eivät antaneet sen enempää arvoa yksityiselle omaisuudelle.

Teollisuusunionistit tahtovat järjestää työläiset jyrkkäpiirteisempään toimintaan tämänpäiväisen yhteiskunnan sisällä, että jokaisen saavutuksen vaikutuksesta työläisten halu saada yhä enemmän ja viimein kaikki, lisääntyisi ja teollisuusunionismi tulee löytämään keinot tämän päämäärän saavuttamiseksi.

Ja näinä taisteluiden ja rauhattomuuksien aikana valmistelevat teollisuusunionistit teollisen yhteiskunnan hallitusta ja hallitustoimistoja. Teollisuusjärjestöihin järjestyneiden työläisten valitsemat edustajat tulevat muodostamaan tulevaisuuden teollisuusparlamentin, työläisten kommuunin, kunnallisissa, kansallisissa ja kansainvälisssä asioissa.

TUTKI KARTTAA.

Ota huomioon kuinka kommersialismi, tärkein tekijä kapitalistisen tuotantojärjestelmän kehityksessä, sulkee piiriinsä koko maapallon, käytettävissään olevien apukeinojen kautta.

Liikennevälineet, eri maiden ja maanosien tuotteiden vaihdon välittäjinä, eivät tunne valtakuntain rajoja. Maa, vesi ja ilma on valloitettu ja asetettu nykyisen tuotannon ja vaihdon takana olevien jättiläismäisten voimien palvelukseen.

Teollinen kehitys on pyyhkinyt näkymättömiin eri maa-alueiden välille vedetyt rajalinjat.

Kansalliset rajaviivat katoavat tämän valloittajan vastustamattoman voiman edessä.

Eri maanosat, jotka niin kauvan ovat olleet luonnon asettamien esteiden toisistaan eristäminä, yhdistyvät ja liittyvät toisiinsa tämän kansainvälisen vaihdon ja jaon välittäjän yhteensulattavasta vaikutuksesta.

Mutta tämän yhteiskunnallisen välittäjän toiminta on vielä tänäpäivänä rajoitettu muutamien harvojen liikevoitoksi toimivan tuotantojärjestelmän palvelukseen.

Se mitä ihmisten mielissä vielä on jäljellä eri kansallisuus käsitteistä, on enään vain mielkuvituksellista.

Perinnäiskäsityksellisten epätotuuksien, joita sanomalehdistö, kirkko ja koulu tänäpäivänä opettavat ja jotka pitävät miehiä ja naisia henkisessä sekä siitä johtuvassa teollisessa orjuudessa, täytyy kadota. Kansallinen eristäytyminen täytyy tulla kansainvälisen yhteistoiminnan tieltä syrjään sysätyksi ennenkuin teollisen kehityksen ja yhteiskunnallisen edistyksen korkeimmat asteet voidaan saavuttaa, luonnon voimien täydellinen alistaminen ihmiskunnan luomiskyvyn palvelukseen toteuttaa ja korkeampi sivistysmuoto tehdä pysyväiseksi.

UUSI KANSAINVÄLINEN YHDYSSIDE.

Ottakaamme myöskin huomioon kuinka eräs uusi maanosain välinen yhdysside liittää kaikki maailman eri osat yhdeksi eroittamattomaksi kokonaisuudeksi. Tiede, tieteel-

liset tutkimukset ja keksinnöt ovat niitä kansainvälisiä tekijöitä, joiden kautta maailman arvoitukset ja ihmeet ratkaistaan ja selvitetään. Oppilaitokset, koulut ja yliopistot ovat yhdistetyt toisiinsa niiden peruslakien yhtäläisyyden kautta, jotka hallitsevat tiedettä ja keksintöjä, sekä opetusta niiden tuntemisessa.

Samoin on laita onnettomuuksien ja kärsimysten, jotka saavat alkunsa samoista lähteistä ja aiheuttavat samanlaisia kärsimyksiä kaikille eläville olennoille yli maailman. Johdonmukaisesti täytyy parannus- ja estämiskeinojen muodostua luonteeltaan samanlaisiksi kansainvälisiksi tekijöiksi; epäkohtien parantamisen tarve tehden välttämättömäksi niiden syiden poistamisen, joista epäkohdat aiheutuvat.

Sairaalat parantamislaitoksina; puhdistus, terveys- ja suojelustoimistot tautien levenemisen estämislaitoksina; vesi- ja valoasemat, sekä muut yleisiä tarpeita tyydyttävät laitokset ovat siitä syystä yhdistettyinä oppilaitosten, samoin kuin virkistys- ja huvittelulaitosten kanssa suureen, toinen toisistaan riippuvaan kansainväliseen ketjuun. Ne muodostetaan ja pidetään yllä niin estämis- kuin avunantotoimenpiteinäkin, yleisten etujen ja yleismaailmallisen hyvinvoinnin edistäjinä ja turvaajina.

NELJÄ PÄÄTEHTÄVÄÄ.

Huomaamme siis, kuinka elämän välttämättömyyksien tuotannon yhtämittaisessa sarjassa neljä päätoimintaa muodostavat yhteen kutoutuneen teollisen toiminnan sarjan, joiden lävitse rikkauksien on kuljettava tullakseen käyttökelpoisiksi.

Kaikki tuotantoa varten tarvittavat raaka-aineet maasta, metsistä ja vesistöistä saadaan yksilöiden työn kautta, jotka toimivat yhteiskunnallisessa tuotantoprosessissa, kasvattaen ja hankkien ravintoon, vaatetukseen ja suojaan käytettäviä raaka-aineita.

Maan sisällä sijaitsevasta aarteistosta työ ottaa esille poltoaineet ja ne välttämättömät raaka-aineet, joista valmistettuna muodostuu tuotannon ja jaon välineet ja koneisto.

Siten hankittujen tarpeiden ja välineiden kautta pidetään yllä varsinaisten välttämättömien elintarpeiden ja mukavuusvälineiden tuotantoa erilaisissa, mutta toisistaan riippuvissa tuotantolaitoksissa, myllyissä ja tehtaissa.

Kaikkien näiden välineiden kautta työn luova käsi rakentaa asuinhuoneet elämän ja omaisuuden suojaksi luonnon voimien väkivaltaisuutta vastaan ja valjastaa ne yhteiskunnallisen hyödyn palvelukseen.

TYÖ AINOA TUOTTAJA.

Kaikkien näiden yhteiskunnallisten laitosten luomiseen työläiset, ja työläiset ainoastaan, uhraavat henkistä sekä ruumiillista työvoimaansa. He ovat luoneet ne välineet, joilla hyvinvointia tuotetaan, sekä aikojen kuluessa kehittäneet niitä.

Nämä laitokset on järjestetty tuottamaan liikevoittoa muutamille harvoille, jotka eivät ole nyt, eivätkä ole koskaan olleet apuna niiden luomisessa ja ylläpitämisessä, paitsi käyttäen niitä, pitääkseen hallussaan jotain, jota he eivät ole tuottaneet.

Ne inhimilliset voimat, jotka valmistavat nämä koko yhteiskunnalle hyödylliset koneistot ja välineet, siten lisäten luonnon voimien ja aineiden arvoa, ovat tulleet eristetyiksi työnsä tuotteista loiseläjäluonteisten, voimakkaiden yhtymien kautta, jonka avulla muutamat harvat kykenevät hallitsemaan kaikki teollisen elämän johtavat asemat, käyttäen palvelukseensa niitä voimia, jotka he ovat järjestäneet ja alistaneet hallintovaltansa alle. Näitä vihamielisiä voimia vastaan työläisten täytyy järjestää omat taistelukeinonsa ja yhteiset voimansa järjestöön, joka sulkee itseensä kaikki yhteiskunnan hyödylliset ja hyvinvointia tuottavat jäsenet.

TYÖVÄENLUOKAN TEHTÄVÄ.

Työväen järjestön, edustaakseen oikein työväenluokkaa, on pidettävä silmällä kahta seikkaa.

Ensiksi: Sen on järjestettävä palkkatyöläiset yhteen sillä tavalla, että he voivat mahdollisimman menestyksellisesti käydä taisteluaan ja puolustaa etujaan tämänpäiväisessä kamppailussaan lyhemmästä työajasta, korkeammasta palkasta ja paremmista olosuhteista.

Toiseksi: Sen on kyettävä esittämään lopullinen ratkaisu työväen kysymykselle — kuinka työväestö voi vapautua lakoista, estetuomioista, vankiloista ja toinen toistaan vastaan skääppäämisestä.

Huomaa.

Kuinka tämä järjestö antaa huomiota työmaa-asiain hallinnolle, muodostaa virheettömän teollisuusunionismin ja kohdistaa kaikkien järjestyneiden työläisten voiman yhteiseen keskiöön, mistä voidaan turvata ja vahvistaa heikkoja kohtia.

Huomaa myöskin.

Kuinka tämän järjestön kasvaminen ja kehittyminen rakentaa sen itsensä sisälle teollisen kansanvallan rakenteen, jonka lopullisesti on rikottava kapitalistisen hallituksen kuori ja muodostuttava siksi välineeksi, jonka kautta työläiset tulevat käyttämään teollisuuksia ja ottamaan sen tuotteet itselleen.

Samanlaiset velvollisuudet kaikilla.

Union mies kerran yhdessä teollisuudessa on union mies aina kaikissa teollisuuksissa. Yleismaailmallinen muuttokorttijärjestelmä; yleismaailmallinen tunnusmerkki.

Kaikki saman teollisuuden työläiset yhdessä uniossa; kaikki työläisten uniot yhdessä suuressa, maailman laajuisessa työväestön liitossa.

Teollisuusunionismi ei rajoitu yhteen maahan. Sen paras ilmenemismuoto löytyy Amerikassa Industrial Workers of the World järjestössä, vaikkakin se voi vielä näyttää

heikolta numerollisesti. Mutta olosuhteet vallankumouksellisen teollisuusunion muodostumiselle ovat suotuisat, sillä korkealle kehittyneen teollisen tuotantojärjestelmän on pakko löytää vastaava mutonsa yhtä täydelliseksi kehittyneessä työväenluokan teollisuusjärjestössä.

Kuten tässä kirjasessa on selitetty, osoittavat nämä hyvin järjestetyt, mestarillisesti kokoonpannut rikkauksien luomislaitokset työläisille parhaimman teollisuusjärjestön muodon.

Teollisuudet ovat järjestetyt kuuteen suureen departementtiin, jotka muodostuvat kahdestakymmenestä yhdeksästä alaosastosta, tai teollisuusuniosta.

Tämä järjestys ei ole sattuman mukaan laadittu, eikä myöskään yhden miehen mielijohteen tuote. Sitä laatiessa on tutkittu etevien tilastotieteilijäin laatimia, eri maita koskevia tilastoja ja niiden mukaan laadittu järjestys kestää tieteellisen tutkimuksen.

On luonnollisesti sanottu, ja kerrattakoon se tässä, että täten järjestäytynyt työläisten teollisuusjärjestö tulee myöskin takaamaan kaikkien tuottavien voimien tehokkaimman solidaarisuuden sekä puolustavassa että hyökkäävässä taistelussa niiden epäkohtien korjaamiseksi, joiden alaisina työläiset kärsivät ja jotka ovat oleellisia työn tuotteiden jaossa kapitalistisen järjestelmän aikana.

Kun työläiset järjestävät teollisuusunioita, käyttäen mallinaan niitä laitoksia, joissa he työskentelevät, tulee heille mahdolliseksi pysyä yhtenäisenä, voimakkaana teollisuusryhmänä taistellessaan parempien olosuhteiden puolesta missä teollisuudessa tahansa. Ei ollen ammattirajojen eikä työnantajain kanssa tehtyjen työsopimusten toisistaan eroittamina, ovat he kykenevät, ei ainoastaan supistamaan tuotannon määrää pienessä mittakaavassa ja työnantajain liikevoittoa samassa suhteessa, mutta pysäyttämään tuotannon kokonaan missä teollisuudessa tahansa, tai jos tarpeellista, kaikissa teollisuuksissa jollain paikkakunnalla, tai jossain maassa. Myöskin kykenevät he, tultuaan tarpeeksi voimakkaiksi, *sulkemaan tehtaat kokonaan nykyisiltä työnantajilta* ja alkamaan tuotannon *käyttöä varten.*

Ensimäisenä velvollisuutenaan itseään kohtaan täytyy kuitenkin työläisten repiä rikki ammattien väliset rajaviivat,

jotka ovat jäännöksiä menneiltä ajoilta. Vapautuneena näistä edistyksen jarruista, voivat he vasta kehittää ja järjestää tuotannollista voimaansa. Mutta sen voiman käyttöä täytyy johtaa joukkojen harkintakyvyn, mikä tulee kehittymään yhtä rinnan joukkovoiman kehityksen kanssa. Varustettuna teollisen järjestön voimalla ja jokapäiväisessä taistelussa orjuuttajaa vastaan saavutetuilla kokemuksilla, kykenevät työläiset menestyksellisesti taistelemaan korkeamman elämäntason saavuttamiseksi tämän järjestelmän vallitessa, sekä oppivat hallitsemaan voimia ja tilanteita siten, että kaikkien heidän pyrkimystensä lopullisen päämäärän saavuttaminen — täydellinen teollinen vapautuminen — käy mahdolliseksi.

Sadat tuhannet työläiset kaikissa sivistysmaissa oppivat ymmärtämään teollisuusunionismin periaateita. Tuhannet järjestäytyvät tämänpäiväistä taistelua varten, parempien olosuheiden saavuttamiseksi, sekä lopullista taistelua varten tulevaisuudessa, jolloin ei-tuottavien loiseläjien ulossulkeminen tulee lopettamaan taistelun tuotantolaisten omistuksesta sekä poliittisesta ylivallasta.

Jos sinä olet yksi niistä miljoonista, joita tarvitaan tämän tehtävän suorittamisessa, liity teollisuusunioon, mikä muodostuu sinun työpaikallasi työskentelevistä työläisistä. Jollei sellaista ole, ryhdy ensimäisenä toimeen sen perustamiseksi. Kehoita toisia mukaasi ja järjestä heidät. Opi käsittelemään tuotannollsia kysymyksiä. Osoita toisille työläisille, kuinka heille on mahdollista käyttää paikallisia, kansallisia, tai kansainvälisiä teollisuuslaitoksia itse luomiensa laitosten kautta kaikkialla maailmassa.

Järjestöjä löytyy kaikkialla ja missä niitä ei vielä ole, tullaan pian perustamaan. Teollisuusunionistisessa liikkeessä ainoastaan takovat työläiset vapautuksensa miekkaa ja harjoittavat itseään käyttämään jokaista ja kaikkia aseita, joita voidaan käyttää taistelussa valoisamman tulevaisuuden saavuttamiseksi. Teollisuusunionistisessa liikkeessä ainoastaan noudattavat työläiset tarkalleen tuota suurta, kieltämätöntä selviötä:

"Työläisten vapautuminen täytyy tapahtua työväenluokan itsensä kautta."

"Kaikkien maiden työläiset, yhtykää!"

Lue Industrial Workers of the World'in julkaisema manifesti. Tutki karttaa, jota selvitetään tässä kirjasessa.

I. W. W. LIITON ESIPUHE.

Työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla ei ole mitään yhteistä. Mitään rauhaa ei voi olla niin kauan kuin nälkää ja puutetta on olemassa miljoonilla työläisillä ja niillä harvoilla, jotka muodostavat työnantajain luokan, ovat kaikki elämän hyvyydet.

Näiden kahden luokan välillä täytyy taistelun jatkua niin kauan kunnes maailman työläiset järjestyvät luokkana, ottavat haltuunsa maan ja tuotantokoneiston ja poistavat palkkajärjestelmän.

Me huomaamme, että teollisuuksien johdon keskittyminen yhä harvempiin ja harvempiin käsiin tekee ammattiyhdistykset kykenemättömiksi pitämään puoliaan työnantajain luokan aina kasvavaa valtaa vastaan. Ammattiyhdistykset pitävät yllä sellaista asiaintilaa, että se katkeroittaa yhden työläisjoukon toista vastaan ja siten auttaa työläisiä tuhoamaan toinen toisensa palkkataistelussa. Tämän lisäksi ammattiyhdisykset auttavat työnantajain luokkaa johtamaan työläisiä siihen harhaluuloon, että työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla on yhteisiä etuja.

Tämä asiaintila voidaan muuttaa ja työväenluokan edut säilyttää ainoastaan siten muodostetun järjestön avulla, että kaikki työläiset yhdellä teollisuusalalla, tai kaikilla aloilla, jos välttämätöntä, lakkaavat työstä milloin lakko tai työnsulku on julistettu jossakin järjestön osassa, siten tehden loukkauksen yhtä vastaan loukkaukseksi kaikkia vastaan.

Vanhoillisen mielilauseen: "Tyydyttävä päiväpalkka tyydyttävästä päivätyöstä" asemasta meidän on kirjoitettava sotalippuumme vallankumoukselliset tunnussanat: "Palkkajärjestelmän poistaminen."

Työväenluokan historiallinen tehtävä on kapitalismin kukistaminen. Tuotannon armeija on järjestettävä ei ainoastaan jokapäiväistä taistelua varten kapitalisteja vastaan, vaan myöskin jatkamaan tuotantoa sitten kun kapitalismi on voitettu. Järjestymällä teollisuuksittain me muodostamme uutta yhteiskuntarakennetta vanhan kuoren sisällä.

LOPPULAUSE.

Työläisveli! Ollen molemmat työväenluokan jäseniä, ryhtykäämme keskustelemaan näistä asioista vähän.

Ensiksikin: Mitä yhteistä meillä on keskenämme?

Me olemme molemmat palkkatyöläisiä, sinä sekä minä. Se merkitsee, että me kumpikin työskentelemme jollekin toiselle, isännällemme, joka pidättää itselleen suurimman osan siitä mitä me tuotamme ja antaa meille juuri senverran mitä tarvitsemme pysyäksemme hengissä ja kyetäksemme luomaan uuden työläisen ottamaan meidän paikkamme sitten kun me olemme kuluneet ulos ja olemme valmiita heitettäväksi romuläjään.

Mitä meidän isäntämme tahtoo?

On selvästi nähtävissä, että hän haluaa saada meidän työvoimamme mahdollisimman halvalla. Mitä halvemmalla hän sen saa, sitä suurempi on oleva hänen liikevoittonsa.

Mitä sinä ja minä tahdomme?

Ennen kaikkea me haluamme niin hyvän elämän, kun suinkin on mahdollista itsellemme, vaimoillemme, lapsillemme ja kaikille, jotka ovat meistä riippuvaisia.

Elämä on jotain korkeampaa, kuin yksinkertaisesti olemassaoloa. Sentähden me tahdomme enemmän "elämää". Me tahdomme elää, sen sanan täydellisimmässä ja todellisimmassa merkityksessä. Me tahdomme nostaa elintasoamme niin korkealle kuin kykenemme. Me tahdomme elää, ei kuten eläimet, mutta sillä tavalla, kuin ihmisten todella tulisi elää.

Se merkitsee, että meidän täytyy saada kunnollista palkkaa. Se merkitsee myöskin, että kun elämänkustannukset kohoavat, täytyy meidän saada enemmän palkkaa.

Me myöskin vaadimme kohtuullisen määrän lepoaikaa. Me emme halua kuluttaa niin paljoa aikaa elämämme an-

saitsemiseen, että ei meille jää ollenkaan aikaa, eikä voimia elämiseen.

Se tarkoittaa, että meidän täytyy saada niin lyhyt työaika, kuin sunkin on mahdollista.

Taloudellisten olojen tutkijat ovat laskeneet, että jos koko maailma kuuluisi työväenluokalle — sé tahtoo sanoa, tuottavalle luokalle — että jos ei löytyisi yhteiskunnallisia loiseläjiä, voitaisi maailman työt suorittaa kaksituntisessa työpäivässä. Tämä voi, tai ei voi olla aivan kirjaimellisesti totta, mutta siitä ei ole epäilystäkään, että jos maailma kuuluisi tuottajain luokalle, voitaisiin välttämättömään työhön tarvittavaa aikaa suuressa määrin lyhentää. Perusajatus on siis totta.

Siispä kun sinun kapitalisti-isäntäsi, suuttuneena työajan lyhennysvaatimuksestasi, heittää sinua vastaan syytöksen itsekkyydestä ja väittää sinun tahtovan supistaa tuotantoa, elä anna hänen pettää itseäsi!

Kysy häneltä, mikä on syynä siihen, että jos kerran tuotanto on niin äärettömän suuresta merkityksestä, miksikä ei hän itse ja muut hänen kaltaisensa pue ylleen työvaatteita.

Kysy häneltä, minkävuoksi eivät salonkivetelehtijät ja teekekkerisankarit — syöpäläiset, joiden olemassaololle ei löydy enempää oikeutusta kuin luteen tai kärpäsen — mene kaivantoihin, myllyihin, viljakentille, tukkimetsiin, ratapihoihin, pajoihin tai konttoreihin. Ne eivät voi edes tuoda esille sitä tekosyytä, joka isännälläsi on aina valmiina, nimittäin, että hänen täytyy hallita ja johtaa sinun työvoimaasi.

Me myöskin vaadimme kunnollisia työsuhteita. Me vaadimme, että työpaikkamme ovat puhtaita ja terveellisiä ja työskenteleminen turvallista.

Mitä paremmat työsuhteet sinulla ja minulla ovat, sitä enemmän tulee se maksamaan isännällemme. Muista siis!

Isäntä ei harjoita liikettään terveytensä vuoksi!

Tehdäksemme siis pitkän tarinan lyhyeksi, työläistoveri, etkö huomaa, että sinulla ja isännälläsi ei ole mitään yhteistä?

Sinun etusi eivät ole hänen etujaan. Kun hän siis tulee luoksesi omien etujensa ajamistarkoituksessa ja neuvoo

sinulle, että jos haluat "menestyä" ja "päästä eteenpäin" on sinun valvottava työnantajasi etuja aivan kuin omiasi, tuletko silloin nielasemaan tämän isäntäsi pötyannoksen?

Asia on todellisuudessa niin, että isäntäsi on itsekäs ja se merkitsee, että sinun ja minun on myöskin oltava itsekkäitä.

Me, työläistoveri, tahdomme yhä suuremman ja suuremman osan elämän hyvyyksistä.

- Maailma kuuluu työläisille, niille, jotka kaiken työn maailmassa suorittavat.

Mutta työläiset eivät tule saavuttamaan oikeuksiaan, he eivät tule saamaan takasin sitä, mikä heille kuuluu, ilman taistelua. Ei voida odottaa rosvon luopuvan saaliistaan tappelutta.

Sinä et voi tätä taistelua suorittaa yksin. Jos luulet voivasi, niin koeta. Tulet ennenpitkää löytämään itsesi työttömänä, samalla aikaa kun joku skääppi, hurtta, joku toinen työläinen, joka samoin kuin sinäkin, yrittää yksin taistella olemassaolon taistelua ja on halukas myymään työvoimaansa halvemmasta kuin sinä, ottaa sinun työpaikkasi. Huomenna sinä vuorostasi teet alemman tarjouksen kuin hän ja siten jatkuvasti.

Amerikan ja koko maailman työläiset ovat juuri oppineet läksynsä, sen läksyn, että "yksimielisyys on voimaa". Suuri osa heistä on tullut käsittämään työväen järjestäytymis aatteen. Toivottavaa olisi, että sinun kehityksesi yhteiskunnallisten asiain käsittämisessä olisi edes ennättänyt niin pitkälle.

Mutta vaikka monet työläiset ovatkin oppineet tietämään, että järjestöissä on voimaa, paljon useammalle on vielä oppimatta, että —

Mitä suurempi on järjestö, sitä enemmän siinä on voimaa.

Vasta kun he ovat tämän viimeisen läksyn oppineet, on heidän varustautumisensa taloudelliseen taisteluun, luokkasotaan, jossain määrin tarkoitustaan vastaava. He tulevat silloin käsittämään vanhojen uloskuluneiden ammattirajojen mukaisen järjestymisen tehottomuuden. He tulevat näkemään sen, mikä heidän nyt jo pitäisi kyetä näkemään, nimittäin, että jokaisessa lakossa tai työsulussa (se on: jokaisessa kärjistyneessä taistelussa taloudellisella alalla,

työnantajat tulevat tekemään kaiken voitavansa käyttääkseen yhtä ammattiuniota toista vastaan, pelata niitä vastakkain, kuin nappuloita tammipelissä. Työläiset kyllästyvät näkemään, kuinka yhden ammattiunion jäsenet, vähäisen tilapäisen edun vuoksi skääppäävät saman teollisuuden toisessa ammatissa työskenteleviä työläistovereitaan. He tulevat käsittämään koko teollisuuden työläisten yhteen suureen unioon järjestämisen tarpeellisuuden.

He ovat, lyhyesti sanottuna, oppineet *teollisuusunionismin* läksyn.

He ovat, lyhyesti sanottuna, oppineet tuntemaan taisteluaseen, jota sopii verrata isännän omaan taisteluaseeseen. On muistettava, että isännällä on käytetävänään kaikki kapitalistisen, omistavan luokan kontrolleeraaman hallitusmahdin voimat, joita edustaa poliisin kapula, sotilaan pistin ja kuula, tuomarin lakkovastainen estetuomio, liittohallinnon välityslautakunnan puolueelliset päätökset, j. n. e. Ne ovat hänen aseitaan.

Työläiset, teidän aseenne on *teidän taloudellinen voimanne.*

Mutta jos tämä voima on järjestymätön ja hajanainen, on sen käyttäminen samanlaista, kuin vanhan, ruostuneen rihlapyssyn käyttäminen nykyaikaista konekivääripataljoonaa vastaan.

Luokkasota on käynnissä, huolimatta siitä, oletko sinä valmiina sen varalta eli et. Työläistoveri, *oletko sinä varustautunut?*

Muistakaamme, että jokaisessa sodassa on kaksi taistelevaa puolta. Sinä et voi taistella molempien armeijain mukana. Jos sinä olet työnantaja, niin sinä taistelet työnantajain puolella. He ovat jo kauvan sitten oppineet läksynsä. He ovat valmiina, järjestyneinä. Isännillä on heidän yksi suuri unionsa. Jos et usko sitä, niin katso Standard öljytrustia, International Harvester trustia, tai Wallkadun rahatrustia. Kaikkien näiden kesken on enemmän tai vähemmän selvästi nähtävissä yksi suuri unio.

Jos sinä olet työläinen, niin *järjesty luokkasi riveihin!* Se ei tarkoita ainoastaan järjestymistä niiden työläistovereittesi kanssa, jotka työskentelevät samassa ammatissa

kanssasi. Se tarkoittaa järjestymistä koko teollisuuden työläisten kanssa.

Kun olet ennättänyt näin pitkälle, työläistoveri, on sinun seuraava tehtävästi ottaa Industrial Workers of the Worldin jäsenkortti. Se on ainoa tehokas, taloudellisella alalla toimiva, työväen luokan järjestö.

Sen tehtyäsi annetaan sinulle kopio I. W. W:n perustuslaista. Tämän perustuslain esipuheessa sanotaan:

"Työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla ei ole mitään yhteistä. Mitään rauhaa ei voi olla olemassa niin kauvan kuin nälkää ja puutetta on olemassa miljoonilla työläisillä ja niillä harvoilla, jotka muodostavat työnantajaluokan, ovat kaikki elämän hyvyydet."

"Näiden kahden luokan välillä täytyy taistelun jatkua niin kauan kunnes maailman työläiset järjestyvät luokkana, ottavat haltuunsa maan ja tuotantokoneiston ja poistavat palkkajärjestelmän."

Se on I. W. W:n sodanjulistus nykypäiväistä kapitalistista yhteiskuntaa vastaan. Se merkitsee sotaa sen katkeraan loppuun saakka. Se merkitsee, että mitkään sovittelut vihollisen kanssa eivät voi tulla kysymykseen.

Kun siis työnantaja ja hänen palvelijansa, pappi, opettaja, yliopiston professori, luennoitsija tai pahin kaikista, kapitalistinen sanomalehdistö, tahtoo selittää sinulle että "työn ja pääoman edut ovat yhteiset", sano heille silloin, että he valehtelevat.

Kun "johtajasi" A. F. of L:ssä tai muissa samanlaisissa vanhanaikaisissa ammattijärjestöissä, yrittäessään pettää ja myydä sinua työnantajallesi, selittävät sinulle samalla tavalla, leimaa heidätkin valhettelijoiksi.

Anna I. W. W:n esipuheen, tuon työväenluokan mahtavan taistelu- ja voittokutsun sanat kaikua aina korvissasi:

"Työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla ei ole mitään yhteistä. . . . Näiden kahden luokan välillä täytyy taistelun jatkua. . . ."

Oletko jo ottanut I. W. W:n korttisi? *Tee se tänään!*

OHJEITA JÄRJESTYMISEEN.

Industrial Workers of the Worldin lupakirjan saamiseksi on hankittava kaksikymmentä varsinaisen palkkatyöläisen nimeä, sellaisten, jotka ansaitsevat elämänsä työskentelemällä palkan edestä.

Kaikki, jotka allekirjoittavat lupakirjahakemuksen, sitoutuvat siten tunnustamaan I. W. W:n periaatteet, semmoisina kuin ne selitetään esipuheessa.

Lupakirja maksaa kymmenen dollaria. Tähän summaan sisältyvät kaikki kustannukset kirjoista ja tarpeista kaksikymmentä viisi jäsentä käsittävän unio-osaston perustamiseksi.

Unio maksaa yleisjärjestölle kaksikymmentä viisi senttiä jokaista jäsentä kohti kuukaudelta

Jos kaikki ne, jotka allekirjoittavat lupakirjahakemuksen, työskentelevät samassa teollisuudessa, annetaan heille teollisuusunion haaraosaston lupakirja, sekä järjestämisoikeus kaikkiin sen teollisuuden työläisiin nähden paikkakunnalla.

Menettelytavat union perustamisessa riippuvat suuressamäärin paikallisista olosuhteista. Jos joukossa löytyy joitakin, jotka ovat kykeneviä selittämään I. W. W:n periaatteita, annettakoon heidän selittää niitä kokouksessa olijoille.

Kun semmoinen selitys on tehty, kehoitettakoon kaikkia läsnäolevia, jotka hyväksyvät järjestön periaatteet, allekirjoittamaan lupakirjahakemuksen. Tai voidaan lupakirjahakemusta tehdä tunnetuksi niille, joiden kanssa joudutaan kosketuksiin ja selittää heille I. W. W:n periaatteita pääpiirteissään. Jos he haluavat järjestäytyä, annettakoon heidän kirjoittaa nimensä ja osoitteensa lupakirjahakemuksen alle.

Kun on saatu kahdenkymmenen tai useamman henkilön nimet, kutsutaan heidät kokoukseen, jossa muodostetaan väliaikainen järjestö, valitsemalla väliaikainen kirjuri ja puheenjohtaja Niiltä, jotka ovat allekirjoittaneet lupakirjahakemuksen, kootaan siihen tarvittava rahasumma, mikä on lähetettävä tähän virastoon hakemuksen kanssa. Lupakirja ja tarpeet lähetetään heti.

Lupakirjahakemusta lähetettäessä on välttämättä nimitettävä missä teollisuudessa sen allekirjoittajat työskentelevät, että täällä tiedetään kuinka lupakirja on tehtävä.

Kaikki kirjevaiho on osoitettava:

General Secretary-Treasurer Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

HINTA:

Yhdysvalloissa..... 15c
Canadassa kurssin mukaan.

14

TEOLLISUUSUNION MANIFESTTI

Yhteiskunnalliset suhteet ja ryhmittymät ovat ainoastaan heijastuksia mekanillisesta kehityksestä ja teollisista oloista. Nykyajan teollisuuden suur-ilmiöinä ovat: koneiden astuminen inhimillisen taidon tilalle ja rikkauksien tuottamiseen sekä jakoon tarvittavien välineiden omistuksen keskittämisestä johtunut kapitalistien vallan lisääntyminen.

Näiden tosiasiain vuoksi ovat sekä ammattieroitukset työläisten keskuudessa että kilpailu kapitalistien kesken yhtärintaa häviämässä. Luokkarajat tulevat aina pysyväisemmiksi ja selvemmiksi sekä luokkavastaisuudet yhä kärjistyvät. Kaikkien työläisten joutuminen hoitamiensa koneiden orjiksi on hävittänyt ammattirajat. Alituisesti uusien koneiden käytäntöön ottaminen vähemmän tuottavien tilalle pyyhkäisee olemattomiin kokonaisia ammattialoja ja syöksee yhä uusia työläisryhmiä ammatittomaan, toivottomaan, alituisesti kasvavaan joutilaiden armeijaan. Kun mekanillinen kehitys astuu inhimillisen taidon tilalle, tarvitsee kapitalistin käyttää työläisiä ainoastaan sen lyhyen ajan, jolloin työläisen hermot ja lihakset voivat toimia mahdollisimman tehoisasti. Sillä hetkellä kun työläinen ei enään voi tuottaa suurinta liikevoittomäärää, heitetään hänet roskaläjään yhdessä kuluneen koneen kanssa ja hän saa nääntyä nälkään. Rajaviiva on vedetty, ikäraja määrätty, jonka ylimeno tässä monopoliseerattujen mahdollisuuksien maailmassa tarkoittaa tuomiota tuotannolliseen kuolemaan.

Kun työläinen on täydellisesti eristetty maasta ja työkaluista, hänen ammattitaitonsa tehty arvottomaksi, sortuu hän suureen palkkaorjien joukkoon. Hän nakee kuinka luokkarajoittelut, jotka ovat säilyneet entisiltä teollisuusasteilta, murtavat hänen vastustusvoimansa. Hänen palkkansa laskee alituisesti, hänen työpäivänsä tulee aina pitemmäksi ja monopoliseerattujen elintarpeiden hinnat nousevat korkeammalle. Liikevoittojen riistäjän vaatimuksien pakoittamana hän kuljeskelee sinne tänne ja lopulta työläisellä ei ole enään kotiakaan. Avuttomassa tilassaan on hän pakotettu hyväksymään mitä tahansa alentavia ehtoja hänen isäntänsä asettaakin hänen siedettäväkseen. Hänen on alistuttava paljon alentavampaan ja tarkempaan ruumiilliseen ja henkiseen tarkasteluun kuin mihin niiden henkiorjain tarvitsisi koskaan alistua, jotka myytiin huutokaupalla enimmän tarjoovalle. Työläisiä ei enään lajitella ammatin ja taidon mukaisesti, vaan jakaa työnantaja heidät niiden koneiden mukaisesti, joiden palvelukseen hän palkkaa työläisen. Tällaisia lajitteluja ei tehdä siksi, että se edustaisi työläisten ammattitaitoa tai etuja, vaan siksi, että työnanajat saavat tällä tavoin työläiset kilpailemaan keskenään ja lisäämään työnopeutta jotta kapitalismin tyrannihallitus näyttäisi lievemmältä keinotekoisten eroavaisuuksien valossa.

Samalla aikaa kun he koettavat edistää näitä uloskuluneita luokkajakoja työväen keskuudessa, sovelluttavat kapitalistit itsensä huolellisesti uusiin olosuhteisiin. Kapitalistit jättävät sivuasiaksi keskinäiset riitaisuutensa ja järjestävät rintamansa yhtenäiseksi sodassaan työläisiä vastaan. Liittyneinä työnantajainyhdistyksiinsä, käyttävät työnantajat raakaa väkivaltaa, tuomiolaitoksia, estetuomioita ja sotavoimaa apunaan murskatakseen kaiken vastustuksen. Tai kun toisenlaiset menettelytavat näyttävät hyödyllisemmiltä, peittävät he tikarinsa Kansalaisten Liittojensa taakse, narratakseen ja pettääkseen niitä, joita he haluavat hallita ja riistää. Molempien menettelytapojen menestys riippuu työväenluokan sokeudesta ja sisäisistä erimielisyyksistä. Työnantajien taistelurintama ja menettelytavat tässä sodassa ovat yhdensuuntaisia mekanillisen ja teollisen solidarisen keskityksen kanssa, mutta työläiset muodostavat vieläkin taistelujärjestönsä uloskuluneiden ammattijakojen mukaisesti. Ennen käydyt taistelut painostavat tämän läksyn antamaa opetusta. Kutomotyöläiset Lowellissa, Philadelphiassa ja Fall Riverissä, teurastajat Chigagossa, ammattirajoittelun hajoittavan vaikutuksen heikentäminä; Santa Fe rautatien masinistit, joita eivät kannata heidän samoille isännille työskentelevät työläistoverinsa; kauan taistelleet kaivosmiehet Coloradossa, joita haittaa solidaarisuuden ja yhtenäisyyden puute teollisella taistelutantereella; tuhannet maanalaisten rautateiden työläiset New Yorkissa, jotka ovat tuomitut häviöön Civic Federationin, tuon saastaisen teollisuusparoonien ja työväenjohtajain yhteisen yhdistyksen määräyksestä; hattujen tekijät pitkäaikaisessa taistelussaan vastustajiensa teollisuusvoimaa vastaan menneiden aikojen aseilla; rauta- ja terästyöläiset, jotka ovat hävinneet yrityksissään voittaa jättiläismäisen kapitalistisen etujen yhtymän vannanaikaisilla, hajanaisilla ja voimattomilla mekaniikkojen ammattiunioilla; Pohjoislännen vaihdemiehet, jotka menettivät taistelun siksi, että heidän työtoverinsa menivät yhteisen vihollisen puolelle; Pensylvanian ja Illinoisin kärsivät hilenkaivajat, nänden nälkää toivottomassa taistelussa sillä aikaa kun toiset unioon kuuluvat kaivostyöläiset tayttävät hiilimarkkinain kysynnän; hävinneet raitiotietyöläiset Philadelphiassa, joita heidän ammattiunionistiset toverinsa eivät auttaneet; kymmenet tuhannet kapinalliset työlaisnmenet ja naiset tuossa samassa kaupungissa, ei ollen sidottuna ammattiunionistisilla siteillä, pitäen parempana antaa tukensa taisteleville raitiotietyöläisille ja mieluummin antautuen murskatuksi seurauksena hajaannuksesta työläisten riveissä kuin skäapatä sorrettuja tovereitaan vastaan; Bethlehemin rauta- ja terastyöläiset jaaden yksinään taisteluun ja häviöön vaikka yhteistoiminta olisi taannut varman voiton ja niiden vääryyksien oikaisemisen, joita vastaan he olivat nousseet kapinaan; merimiehet, työskennellen samalle korporatsioonille, jonka avulla kerran terästyöläisten ammattiuniot murskattiin, turhaan anoen kannatusta taistelussaan vapaiden miesten oikeuksien puolesta, kaikki nämä ovat todistuksena työväen avuttomuudesta ja kykenemättömyydestä nykyiseen tapaan järjestyneinä.

Tämä uloskulunut ja mädännäinen järjestelmä ei tarjoa mitään toivoa paremmasta eikä sopivammuudestaan tulevaisuudessa. Ei löydy hopeista hohdetta niissä mustissa epätoivon pilvissä, jotka raskaina laskeutuvat maailman työväen päälle.

Tämä järjestelmä tarjoaa ainoastaan iankaikkista taistelua pienien huojennuksien voittamiseksi palkkaorjuudesta. Se on sokea näkemään sellaisen teollisen kansanvallan perustamismahdollisuutta, jossa ei tule enään olemaan palkkaorjuutta, vaan jossa työläiset omistavat käyttämänsä tuotannon välineet sekä tuotteet, joita ainoastaan he ovat oikeutetut nauttimaan.

Tällainen järjestelmä lyö hajalleen työläisten rivit ja jättää heidät avuttomiksi ja voimattomiksi tuotannon taistelukentille.

Ammatin eroittaminen ammatista tekee teollisen ja finanssisen solidaarisuuden mahdottomaksi.

Järjestöjen jäsenet rikkovat toisten järjestöjen lakkoja; työläisten vihamielisyys toisia työläisiä vastaan herää ja työläiset jätetään tällä tavoin avuttomina ja auttamattomasti hajoitettuina kapitalistien armoille.

Ammattikateus johtaa yrityksiin luoda ammattimonopooleja. Liian korkeita sisäänpääsymaksuja määräillään, jotka pakottavat työläiset tulemaan lakonrikkureiksi vasten tahtoaan. Miehiä, joita miehuus tai vallitsevat olot pakottavat muuttamaan toisesta ammatista toiseen, sakotetaan kun he yrittävät saada muuttokortin uuteen ammattiinsa.

Ammattijako ylläpitää poliittista tietämättömyyttä työläisten keskuudessa, jakaen siten heidän luokkansa äänestysuurnalla samoin kuin työpajoissa, kaivoksissa ja tehtaissa. Ammattiunioitavoidaan käyttää ja on käytettykin auttamaan työnantajia monopolioikeuksien hankkimisessa ja hintojen korottamisessa. Tällä tavoin käytetään yhtä työläisryhmää tekemään elämän vaikeammaksi toisille työläisryhmille.

Ammattijako estää luokkatietoisuuden kasvattamista työläisten keskuudessa, ja pitää yllä sellaista väärinkäsitystä, että työnantajana toimivan riistäjän ja työtä tekevän orjan edut ovat yhtäläiset. Ne sallivat työväen harhaanjohtajien ja kapitalistien yhteistoimintaa Kansalaisten Liitossa, jossa kapitalismin iankaikkiseksi tekemissuunnitelmat laaditaan ja päätellään miten työläiset voitaisiin alistaa vakituisesti palkkaorjuuteen.

Entiset yritykset työläisten luokka-aseman parantamiseksi ovat epäonnistuneet siksi, että niiden toiminta-ala on ollut rajoitettu ja toiminta hajanaista.

Työväenluokkaa rasittavat yleismaailmalliset taloudelliset paheet voidaan poistaa ainoastaan yleismaailmallisella työväenliikkeellä. Mutta sellainen työväenliike on mahdoton niin kauan kuin tehdään eristettyjä ammatti- ja palkkasopimuksia, jotka ovat työnantajan eduksi ja saman teollisuuden toisille ammateille vahingoksi, ja kun voimia haaskataan taisteluihin vaikutuspiireistä, joilla edistetään ainoastaan ammattiliittojen virkailijoiden henkilökohtaista mainetta.

MAAILMAN TEOLLISUUSTYÖLÄISTEN LIITTO (I. W. W.)

on järjestö, joka täyttää ajan vaatimukset. Se on nykyaikaa vastaava, tieteellinen työväenluokan liike kohti vapautumista *Teollisuusunionismin kautta.* Kaikki työläiset missä hyvänsä teollisuuden osassa ovat järjestyneinä *Teollisuusunioon,* joka on jaosteltu teollisuuden vaatimusten mukaisesti; nämä *Teollisuusuniot* ovat vuorostaan järjestetyt *Teollisuusdepartementteihin,* jotka yhdistävät sukulaisteollisuudet ja kaikki nämä liittää yhteen *Maailman Teollisuustyöläisten Yleinen järjestö — Maailman Työväenluokan yksi Suuri Unio,* tehden mahdolliseksi maailman laajuisen työväenluokan *Solidaarisuuden.*

Se on perustettu luokkataistelun pohjalle ja sen yleishallintoa johdetaan yhdensuuntaisesti tunnustetun ja heikkenemättömän käynnissä olevan kapitalistiluokan ja työväenluokan välisen luokkataistelun kanssa. Se on perustettu työväenluokan teollisuusjärjestöksi, ilman yhteyttä poliittisten tai poliittisvastaisten ryhmien kanssa ja hakematta kannatusta niiltä.

Kaikki valta on jäsenistöllä kokonaisuudessaan.

Teollisuushaaraosastot, teollisuusuniot, departementillinen ja yleinen hallinto, union leimat, napit, merkit ja leimasimet, muuttokortit, sisäänkirjoitusmaksut ja pääverot ovat samat läpi koko järjestön.

Kaikki jäsenet kuuluvat jäseninä siihen teollisuusunioon, jossa teollisuudessa he työskentelevät mutta on olemassa yleinen vapaa muuttokorttijärjestelmä kaikkien teollisuusunioiden välillä.

Työläiset, jotka kantavat korttia teollisuusunioissa muissa maissa, otetaan vapaasti järjestöön.

Yleinen hallinto julkaisee koko uniota ja sen periaatteita edustavia julkaisuja, jotka saapuvat säännöllisten väliaikain kuluttua kaikille jäsenille kaikissa teollisuuksissa.

Sadat tuhannet työläiset kaikissa sivistysmaissa alkavat käsittää teollisuusunion periaatteita. He järjestyvät tämän päiväisiä taisteluja varten parempien olojen voittamiseksi ja lopullista yhteentörmäystä varten kapitalistiluokan kanssa tulevaisuudessa, jolloin mitään tuottamattomain loiseläjäin luokka tulee suljetuksi ulos ja jolloin taistelu tuotannon omistamisesta loppuu.

Jos sinä olet yksi niistä miljoonista työläisistä, joita tarvitaan tähän työhön, niin yhdy sen työmaan tai tehtaan, jossa työskentelet, työläisistä kokoonpantuun teollisuusunioon. Jos ei sellaista ole olemassa, niin ole sinä ensimmäinen ryhtymään toimenpiteisiin. Hanki toisia, järjestä heidät. Opi käsittelemään teollisuuspulmia, näytä toisille työläisille kuinka työläiset itse voivat järjestyneinä hoitaa ja johtaa teollisuuksia.

Lisäselostuksia voidaan saada kirjoittamalla allaolevalla osoitteella:

GENERAL SECRETARY TREASURER.
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

YKSI SUURI UNIO

MAAILMAN TEOLLISUUSTYÖLÄISTEN LIITTO



Teollisuusjärjestelmän Rakenne

Edustaakseen työväenluokkaa oikein, tulee työväenjärjestön ottaa tarkoin huomioon kaksi asiaa.

Ensiksi. — Sen tulee yhdistää palkkatyöläiset niin että se voi tehokkaimmin taistella työläisten taistelut ja suojella heidän etujansa nykyaikana taistelussa lyhempien työpäivien, korkeampien palkkojen ja parempien työolojen puolesta.

Toiseksi. — Sen täytyy tarjota lopullinen ratkaisu työväenkysymykselle — vapautus lakoista, estetuomioista, vankiloista ja toinen toistaan vastaan sääppäyksestä.

Tutki tarkoin tätä karttaa ja ota huomioon kuinka tämä järjestö tnunustaa kontrollin työmaa-asioissa, luo täydellisen teollisuusunionistisen järjestön ja keskittää työläisten järjestyneen voiman yhteiseen keskukseen, josta mikä hyvänsä heikko kohta voidaan suojella ja vahvistaa.

Huomaa myöskin kuinka tämän järjestön kasvaminen ja kehittyminen rakentaa itsensä sisällä Teollisen Kansanvallan rakenteen — Työläisten Ko-operatiivisen Tasavallan — joka lopulta tulee murskaamaan kapitalistisen hallinnon kuoren ja tulee olemaan sinä välikappaleena, jonka kautta työläiset käyttävät teollisuuksia ja ottavat tuotteet itselleen.

Samat velvollisuudet kaikille.

Union miehenä kerran jossakin teollisuudessa — ja työläinen tulee olemaan union miehenä aina ja jokaisessa teollisuudessa.

Yleiset muuttokortit.

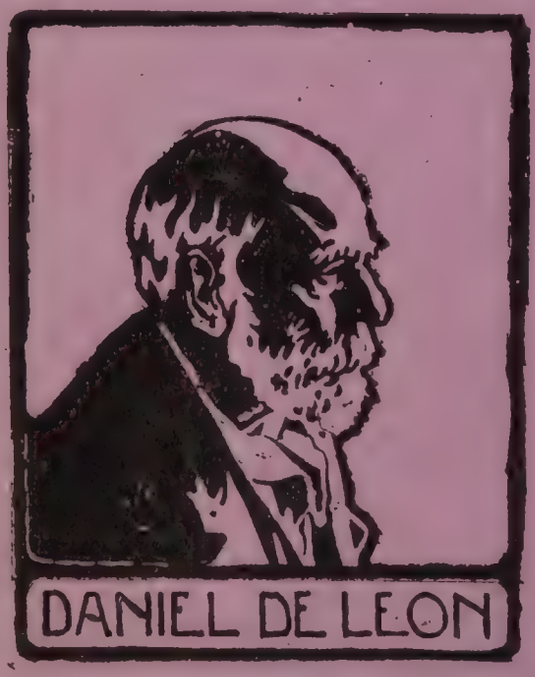
Yleinen union leima.

Kaikki yhden teollisuuden työläiset yhteen unioon; kaikki työläisten uniot yhteen koko maailman käsittävään työväenliittoon.

Sozialistische Rekonstruktion der Gesellschaft

Das Industrielle Votum

Von Daniel DeLeon — Uebersetzt von Richard Koeppel



1920

Herausgegeben von der Workers International Industrial Union,

P. O. Box 651 Detroit, Mich.

Mit Genehmigung der Sozialistischen Arbeiter-Partei.

Preis 20 Cents.

UNCLE SAM'S BALANCE SHEET

1894
SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS
$1,747,961,280



"Oh, those terrible times of 1857 and 1894! I pray that our people will not again vote for Free-Trade Calamity."

1903
SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS
$2,935,204,845



"Behold the splendid results of Protection under the Morrill, McKinley and Dingley Tariffs."

	Year	Excess of Revenue over Expenditure	Excess of Expenditure over Revenue	Amount owing (less cash in the Treasury)	Bank No. Banks	Bank of U. S. Bank	Value of Domestic Exports	Value of Imports	Wages Paid	Capital of Manufactures
Democratic Administration. Free-Trade.	1856	$4,485,673			. .	3,642	$266,438,051	$310,432,310		
	1857	1,169,604			. .	2,487	278,906,713	348,428,342		
	1858		$27,529,904		. .	2,465	251,351,033	263,338,654		
	1859		15,574,511		. .	1,521	278,302,060	331,333,341		
	1860		7,065,990		$514	1,837	316,242,423	353,616,119	$378,878,966	$1,855,861,676
Republican Administration. War of the Rebellion.	1861		25,036,714		. .	660	204,899,616	289,310,542		
	1862		422,774,369		. .	834	179,644,024	189,356,677		
	1863		602,043,434		. .	1,050	186,003,912	243,335,816		
	1864		600,695,870		. .	738	143,504,027	316,447,283		
	1865		963,540,619	$2,381,530,295	. .	1,177	186,940,248	238,745,580		
Period of Republican Protection to American Labor and Industries.	1866	37,223,203		2,332,331,208	. .	1,716	337,518,102	434,812,066		
	1867	133,091,335		2,248,067,388	. .	2,249	279,786,809	385,761,096		
	1868	28,297,798		2,202,086,728	. .	2,979	269,389,900	357,436,440		
	1869	48,078,469		2,162,060,522	. .	4,615	275,166,697	417,506,379		
	1870	101,601,916		2,046,455,722	780	6,075	376,616,473	435,958,406	775,564,343	4,232,32[illegible],442
	1871	91,146,756		1,934,696,750	. .	7,379	428,398,908	520,223,684		
	1872	96,588,904		1,814,794,100	. .	5,878	428,487,131	626,595,077		
	1873	43,392,959		1,710,483,950	. .	4,097	505,033,439	642,136,210		
	1874	2,344,882		1,738,830,750	. .	2,117	569,433,421	567,406,342		
	1875	13,376,658		1,722,676,300	. .	1,711	499,284,100	533,005,436		
	1876	29,022,241		1,710,685,450	. .	2,712	525,582,247	460,741,190		
	1877	30,340,577		1,711,888,500	. .	2,274	589,670,224	451,323,126		
	1878	20,799,551		1,794,735,650	. .	2,665	680,709,268	437,051,532		
	1879	6,879,300		1,797,643,700	. .	4,809	698,340,790	445,777,775		
	1880	65,883,653		1,723,993,100	870	6,706	823,946,353	667,954,746	947,953,795	5,369,579,191
	1881	100,669,404		1,639,567,750	. .	9,846	883,925,947	642,664,628		
	1882	145,543,810		1,463,810,400	. .	11,569	733,239,732	724,639,574		
	1883	132,879,444		1,338,229,150	. .	6,745	804,223,632	723,180,914		
	1884	104,393,625		1,226,563,850	. .	3,923	724,964,852	667,697,693		
	1885	63,463,771		1,196,150,950	. .	2,975	726,682,946	577,527,329		
	1886	93,956,588		1,146,014,100	. .	8,018	665,964,529	635,436,136		
	1887	103,471,097		1,021,692,350	. .	12,876	703,022,923	692,319,788		
	1888	111,341,273		950,522,500	. .	6,900	683,862,104	723,957,114		
	1889	87,761,080		829,853,990	. .	5,167	730,282,609	745,13[illegible],852		
	1890	85,040,271		725,313,110	1,838	5,378	845,293,828	789,31[illegible],409	1,591,228,321	9,372,457,283
	1891	36,835,541		610,529,120	.	4,075	872,270,252	844,916,196		
	1892	9,914,453		585,029,330	.	4,441	1,015,732,011	827,402,462		
Democratic Administration.	1893	2,341,674		585,037,100	. .	2,346	831,030,785	866,400,922		
	1894	Free Trade	69,803,261	635,041,890	. .	1,899	869,204,937	654,994,622	Free Trade	
	1895	Free Trade	42,805,223	716,292,060	.	1,650	793,392,599	731,969,965	Free Trade	
	1896	Free Trade	25,203,246	847,363,890	. .	1,704	863,200,437	779,724,674	Free Trade	
Eight Years of Republican Protection Prosperity.	1897	.	18,052,454	847,365,130	. .	1,822	1,032,007,603	764,750,412		
	1898	Spanish War	38,047,248	847,387,470	. .	2,219	1,210,291,913	616,049,654		
	1899	Spanish War	89,111,560	1,046,048,750	. .	3,996	1,203,931,222	697,148,489		
	1900	79,527,060		1,023,478,880	1,236	3,503	1,370,763,571	849,941,184	2,230,578,010	13,000,[illegible]79,500
	1901	75,713,262		937,141,040	. .	4,518	1,460,462,806	823,172,165		
	1902	91,287,376		931,070,340	. .	4,364	1,355,481,861	903,320,948		
	1903	54,297,867		914,541,410	. .	4,500	1,392,231,902	1,025,719,237		
	1904		*41,063,441	895,157,440	. .	. . .	1,435,151,285	990,743,094		

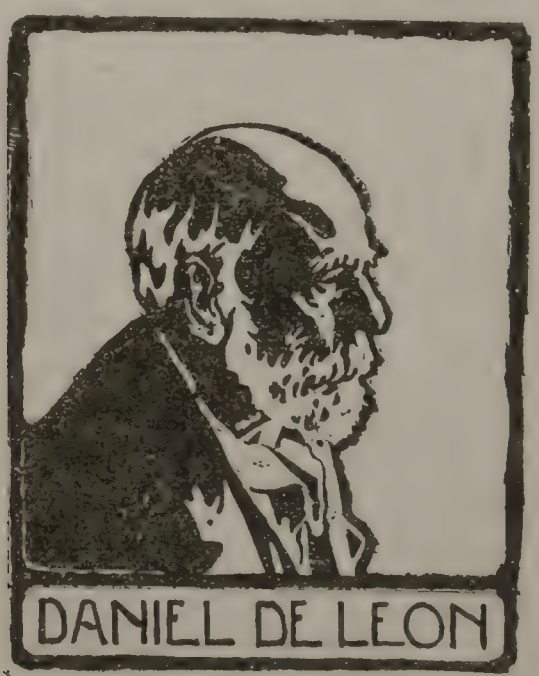
* Expenditures include $40,000,000 paid on account of Panama Canal.

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Sozialistische Rekonstruktion der Gesellschaft

Das Industrielle Votum

Von Daniel DeLeon — Uebersetzt von Richard Koeppel



1920

Herausgegeben von der Workers International Industrial Union,

P. O. Box 651 Detroit, Mich.

Mit Genehmigung der Sozialistischen Arbeiter-Partei.

Preis 20 Cents.

Vorbemerkung

Bei der Vorbereitung einer neuen Auflage der Rede, die Daniel De Leon in 1905 unter dem Titel "Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World" hielt, fand das National Exekutiv Komite der Sozialistischen Arbeiter Partei nach gehöriger Beratung es notwendig, ihren Titel zu ändern. Von jetzt an wird sie als "Socialist Reconstruction of Society" („Sozialistische Rekonstruktion der Gesellschaft") bekannt sein. Es ist kein gebräuchliches Verfahren, sogar kaum ein geeignetes, sich die Freiheit zu nehmen, den Titel des Werks eines Mannes zu ändern, wenn er nicht mehr darum befragt werden kann. Aber in diesem Fall sind wir überzeugt, daß es nicht nur der Absicht und dem Interesse des Verfassers keine Gewalt antut, sondern daß eine Aenderung sogar dringend geboten ist, um ihm gerecht zu werden. Dafür gibt es zwei Gründe:

Erstens: Die Industrial Workers of the World (Verband der Industriearbeiter der Welt) hat sich seit ihrem Anfang so fundamental geändert, in Prinzipien sowohl wie in der Taktik, daß die Organisation, die heute unter jenem Namen paradiert, nur ein gemeines Zerrbild der Organisation ist, die De Leon in diesem Pamphlet so treffend schildert.

Die Organisation erkannte, als sie gegründet wurde, die Natur ihrer Endforderungen—den Sturz des gegenwärtigen Regimes—und anerkannte die Notwendigkeit, sich den Methoden anzupassen, die die zivilisierte Gesellschaft für die Einführung eines solchen fundamentalen Wechsels vorsieht, nämlich politische Aktion, und sie handelte dementsprechend. Sie nahm ein Vorwort zu ihrer Konstitution an, in welchem sie sich für die Notwendigkeit politischer sowohl als ökonomischer Aktion erklärt, um den Wechsel zu vollziehen. Der Gesellschaft muß Gelegenheit gegeben werden, diese Frage in zivilisierter Weise zu entscheiden, durch Diskussion und das Ballot. Auf ihrer vierten Konvention, welche in 1908 in Chicago stattfand, verwarf die I. W. W. mit Vorbedacht die Idee der politischen Aktion. Das anti-politische Element, nachdem es die Kontrolle der Konvention mit Gewalt an sich gerissen und offenkundig rechtmäßig gewählte Delegaten ausgeschlossen, strich aus dem Vorwort den Satz, der politische Aktion vorsah. Damit stellte sich die Organisation auf die anarchistische Basis, direkt zur Gewalt zu greifen. — zum Dynamit, zur

Bombe — um die Frage eines Wechsels zu entscheiden — eine in der organisierten Gesellschaft geächtete Basis. So gestellt, hat sie sich in Uebereinstimmung mit ihrem anarchistischen Charakter benommen. Diese Organisation hat durch die Verkündigung von direkter Aktion und Sabotage, die Schlagworte des Anarcho-Syndikalismus, eine zusammengewürfelte Masse von Abenteurern und „Slummisten" an sich gezogen und hat die Idee des industriellen Unionismus in Orten, wo er temporär Fuß gefaßt hatte, in Verruf gebracht.

Es ist selbstverständlich, daß auf einer solchen lockeren Basis die Arbeiter nie vereinigt werden können, weder ökonomisch noch politisch, und die Sozialistische Arbeiter-Partei hat längst jede Verbindung mit dieser anarchistischen Organisation verworfen. Statt dessen hat sie die wahre und legitime Nachfolgerin der ersten I. W. W. von 1905, nämlich die Workers' International Industrial Union, befürwortet und widmet sich mit aller Energie dem Aufbau derselben. Dies ist die Organisation, die auf den Prinzipien ruht, die in diesem Pamphlete niedergelegt sind.

Zweitens: Dieses kleine Pamphlet ist jetzt eine sozialistische klassische Schrift geworden. Es ist über allen Zweifel hinaus die klarste und bündigste Darstellung der Gründe, warum die kapitalistische Gesellschaft verurteilt ist abzutreten und warum der Sozialismus ihr Nachfolger werden muß, desgleichen auch der Methoden und Taktik, welche die Arbeiterbewegung befolgen und anwenden muß, um jenes Ziel in ordentlicher und zivilisierter Weise zu erreichen. Der alte Name, "The Preamble" etc., gab diesem Werk eine spezielle, eine temporäre Würze." Der neue Name „Sozialistische Rekonstruktion der Gesellschaft" gibt ihm einen Titel, den es wahrlich verdient, einen Titel, der auf seinen hohen und bleibenden Wert und auf seine wirkliche Bedeutung hinweist.

Für den neuen Schüler des Sozialismus gibt es keinen besseren und umfassenderen Lesestoff als die vier De Leon Pamphlete "Reform or Revolution," "What Means This Strike," "The Burning Question of Trade Unionism" und "Socialist Reconstruction of Society." Diese vier Pamphlete bilden wirklich eine vollständige Serie, welche die Prinzipien und Taktik der Sozialistischen Arbeiter-Partei behandelt. Kein Arbeiter, sei er auch kein Schüler, und kein Schüler, sei er auch kein Arbeiter, darf sich die Information entgehen lassen, die in diesen vier Pamphleten enthalten ist.

National Exekutiv Komite
Sozialistische Arbeiter-Partei.

New York, 1920.

Sozialistische Rekonstruktion der Gesellschaft

Das Industrielle Votum

Von **Daniel De Leon.**

Deutsch von **Richard Koeppel.**

Vortrag, gehalten am 10. Juli 1905 im Union Tempel, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen von Minneapolis!

Unser Vorsitzer hat nicht übertrieben, wenn er sagte, daß die Konvention der Industrialisten, welche vorgestern in Chicago ihre Sitzungen nach zwei Wochen angestrengter Arbeit schloß, eine Epoche in den Annalen der Arbeiterbewegung von Amerika markirt. Ich mag, obwohl seine Worte dasselbe in sich schließen, hinzufügen, daß die Chicagoer Konvention auch einen Wendepunkt in der Geschichte des Landes markirt.

Was wurde dort getan? Sie werden im Stande sein, eine annähernde Idee davon, einen Wink aus der öffentlichen Erklärung — dem Vorwort der Konstitution — zu erhalten, welches die Konvention annahm. Das Dokument ist kurz und ich werde es noch kürzer machen, indem ich nur drei seiner Grundsätze herausgreife und zwar diejenigen, die ich für die wichtigsten halte und in deren Beleuchtung die Bedeutung nicht nur all der anderen Grundsätze, nicht nur des ganzen Dokuments selbst, sondern auch die Bewegung, die durch dasselbe spricht, gewürdigt, ermessen und verstanden werden mag.

Diese drei Grundsätze sind (liest):

„Es kann keinen Frieden geben, so lange Hunger und Noth unter Millionen des arbeitenden Volkes herrschen und die Wenigen, welche die Arbeitgeberklasse bilden, alle guten Dinge des Lebens haben."

Der zweite Grundsatz erklärt (liest):

„Die Arbeiterklasse und die Arbeitgeberklasse haben nichts mit einander gemein."

Und der dritte Grundsatz endlich lautet wie folgt (liest):

„Zwischen diesen beiden Klassen muß ein Kampf toben, bis alle Arbeiter auf politischem sowohl als auf industriellem Felde zusammenkommen und das in Besitz nehmen und halten, was sie durch ihre Arbeit produzieren und zwar durch eine ökonomische Organisation der Arbeiterklasse, ohne Verbindung mit irgend einer politischen Partei."

Diese drei Grundsätze will ich mit Ihnen in der Reihenfolge besprechen, in der ich sie verlesen habe. Ich halte

Den ersten Grundsatz

für die Angel, um die sich die anderen drehen. Enthält er die Wahrheit oder erklärt er eine Unwahrheit? Ist es wahr, daß der Zustand der Arbeiterklasse ein Zustand des Hungers und der Not ist? Oder ist die gegentheilige Behauptung, die man so oft hört, richtig? Wegen dieser Frage sind die Männer, die sich mit der sozialen Frage befassen, unversöhnlich getrennt. Die Kluft, die sie trennt, ist tief. Auf der einen Seite stehen die, welche in Chicago versammelt oder vertreten waren. Sie behaupten, daß der Zustand der Arbeiterklasse ein Zustand des Hungers, der Noth und Entbehrung ist, daß dieser Zustand sich beständig noch verschlechtert; daß der Raub, der an ihr verübt wird, sich immer höher anhäuft und daß nicht nur ihr relativer Antheil an dem Reichthum, den sie produzirt, abnimmt, sondern daß auch der absolute Betrag von Reichthum, den sie genießen, zu immer kleineren Quantitäten in ihren Händen zusammenschrumpft. Das ist die Stellungnahme der Sozialisten.

Ihr entgegengesetzt ist die Stellungnahme unserer Gegner der verschiedenen Gattungen — vom ausgesprochenen Kapitalist bis herunter zum Verfechter der American Federation of Labor. Diese Gegner behaupten, daß die Lage der Arbeiterklasse eine des Wohlergehens ist; sie behaupten, daß diese Lage vom guten sich beständig zum bessern wendet; sie behaupten, daß sowohl der absolute Betrag von Reichthum, den der Arbeiter genießt, als auch sein relativer Antheil am Reichthum, den er produzirt, im Zunehmen begriffen ist; einige von ihnen, wie das englische Organ der New Yorker Volkszeitung Korporation, der „Worker", in seiner Ausgabe vom 5. Februar dieses Jahres, gehen in ihrem Angriff auf den sozialistischen Standpunkt so weit, die Behauptung, daß „das kapitalistische System der Arbeiterklasse vier Fünftel alles dessen, was sie produzirt, stiehlt", als „eine furchtbare Uebertreibung" zu erklären. Diese zwei Standpunkte sind unversöhnlich. Wenn die letztere richtig oder auch nur annähernd richtig ist, dann fallen die beiden anderen Grundsätze des Vorworts, die ich besprechen will, ja, das ganze Vorwort selbst, zusammen mit der ganzen Arbeit der Chicagoer Konvention, zusammen wie das grundlose Gebäude eines Traumes. Wenn andrerseits der erste Standpunkt, der des Sozialisten, richtig ist, dann sind alles übrige Schlußfolgerungen, die sich nicht umgehen lassen und die Chicagoer Konvention hat auf solidem Fundament gebaut. Es dreht sich demnach alles um den ersten Grundsatz. Ist er richtig oder ist er falsch? Wir wollen sehen.

(Hier wendet sich der Redner zu einem großen gelben Plakat, das an eine Tafel geheftet ist und in in's Auge fallender Weise auf der Platform zu seiner Rechten Platz gefunden hat.)

Lassen Sie mich Sie mit diesem Dokument bekannt machen. Sie werden es außerordentlich interessant finden. Wie Sie sehen, ist es „Uncle Sam's Balance Sheet" betitelt. Es ist voll mit Zahlen bedeckt, aber lassen Sie sich dadurch nicht beunruhigen. Ich werde nur zwei dieser Zahlenreihen, die letzten beiden, für meinen Zweck brauchen. Ich hätte die anderen Reihen herausschneiden können, that es aber nicht, um mich gegen die Beschuldigung zu schützen, ich lege ein „zurechtgestutztes" Dokument" vor. Dieses Plakat hat den Zweck, eine überzeugende, sowohl statistische wie bildliche Darstellung des Fortschritts zu geben, den das Volk dieses Landes in der Reichthumserzeugung machte. Erlauben Sie mir, daß ich Sie ein wenig näher mit dem Dokument bekannt mache. Diese Reihen von Zahlen, die Sie hier sehen, wurden nicht von mir gesammelt, überhaupt von keinem Sozialist. Ganz im Gegentheil. Dieses Dokument wurde herausgegeben und in Umlauf gesetzt vom National Exekutiv Komite der Republikanischen Partei während der letztjährigen Präsidentschafts-Wahlkampagne. Da aber außerdem hier in der ersten Spalte die aufeinander folgenden demokratischen und republikanischen Administrationen aufgeführt sind, die während der letzten 50 Jahre den Geschicken dieser Nation vorstanden, so ist es nur billig, anzunehmen, daß diese statistische und bildliche Darstellung der Zustände auf diesem Plakat das gemeinschaftliche Produkt der beiden herrschenden Parteien ist. Sie mögen mich nun fragen, warum ich vor Ihnen die Zahlen des Feindes aufführe und nicht meine eigenen präsentire. Das will ich Ihnen sagen. Wenn ich sage: „Gottlieb Schulze ist ein Dieb", dann mag diese Beschuldigung geglaubt werden oder nicht. Ich würde es zu beweisen haben. Wenn aber Gottlieb Schulze selbst sagt, daß er ein Dieb ist, dann bleiben mir alle weiteren Schwierigkeiten erspart. (Beifall.) Es ist ein Grundprinzip des Gesetzes der Beweisführung, daß eines Mannes eigene Aussage gegen sich selbst das möglichst beste Beweismaterial ist. (Beifall.) Indem ich dieses Plakat hier vor Ihnen aufhänge, habe ich die höchsten Wortführer der Kapitalistenklasse auf den Zeugenstand gerufen. Ihre eigenen Worte können sie nicht verleugnen. (Beifall.) Ich beabsichtige, sie zur Selbstüberführung zu zwingen. (Beifall.) — Ich muß Sie ernstlich ersuchen, vom applaudiren abzustehen. Die Hitze in diesem Saal bei der großen Menschenmenge ist intensiv. Wir müssen alle darauf bedacht sein, sobald als möglich hier hinauszukommen und diese häufigen Unterbrechungen durch Beifall verzögern nur die Stunde unserer gemeinsamen Befreiung. — Ehe ich mich zu den Zahlen wende, möchte ich Sie noch mit einem anderen Punkt auf diesem Dokument bekannt machen. Wie ich bereits erwähnte, ist dieses Dokument neben einer statistischen auch eine bildliche Darstellung der Dinge. Lassen Sie mich Ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf dieses Bild zur äußersten Rechten des Plakats lenken. Sie bemerken, es ist Onkel Sam, — aber wie mager, wie hungrig, wie arm, wie abgeschabt, wie dürr er aussieht! Diese Figur soll das Land in seinem Anfang darstellen. Und nun

blicken Sie auf dieses Bild zur äußersten Linken. An dem Ziegenbart und anderen Merkmalen werden Sie bemerken, daß es wiederum Onkel Sam ist — aber wie hat er sich verändert! Seine Hosen sind nicht mehr lumpig, sondern müssen aus gutem Material sein, weil sie trotz seines riesigen Bauchumfanges nicht platzen. (Gelächter.) Er sieht vergnügt und heiter aus; danach zu urtheilen und wie er den Hut auf eine Seite und die Feder daran schiefgerückt hat und das eine Auge zukneift, scheint er auf einer Trinktour zu sein und sein Gesicht glänzt förmlich vor Zufriedenheit. Dieses Bild ist als das Symbol des Landes von heute bezweckt. Nun wollen wir einmal sehen, wer denn eigentlich dieser Onkel Sam ist — der Arbeiter oder der Müßiggänger, der Kapitalist. Die Zahlen werden uns genauen Aufschluß darüber geben.

Diese erste Zahlenreihe ist überschrieben „Produkt der Manufaktur". Sie giebt, von Dekade zu Dekade, den Werth der fabrizierten Waaren im Lande von 1860 bis 1900. Ich werde die Zahlen nicht detaillirt ablesen, da sie zu schwer im Gedächtnis zu behalten sind und es auch nicht nothwendig ist. Ich werde sie daher nur in runden Summen nennen.

Für die Dekade 1860 betrug der Werth der fabrizierten Produkte nahezu $2,000,000,000 in runder Summe.

Für die Dekade 1870 betrug er über $4,000,000,000.

Für die nächste Dekade, 1880, betrug er über $5,000,000,000.

Für die folgende Dekade, 1890, betrug er über $9000,000,000.

Und endlich für die Dekade 1900 betrug der Wert der fabrizirten Produkte über $13,000,000,000. *)

Das ist ein ausgezeichneter Fortschritt, wie Sie sehen. Von nahezu $2,000,000,000 in 1860 nahm der von der Arbeit produzirte Reichthum beständig zu, bis er in 1900 die gigantische Zahl von beinahe sieben Mal so viel erreichte — 13,000,000,000! Dies deutet zweifellos auf eine riesige Zunahme des Reichthums mit einer entsprechenden gewaltigen Zunahme der Wohlfahrt hin. So weit so gut, aber seien Sie bei Zeiten gewarnt. Die Existenz eines guten Dinges ist noch kein Beweis, daß die Arbeiterklasse es genießt. Ich muß Sie gleich hier ersuchen, Ihr Denkvermögen bereit zu halten. Lassen Sie mich eine Illustration benutzen. Angenommen, ich sage, daß in diesem Saal mit tausend Personen $10,000 vorhanden sind. Diese Thatsache allein zeigt aber noch nicht, wie diese $10,000 vertheilt sind. Es mag sein, daß im Durchschnitt jede Person etwa $10 hat. Es könnte aber auch sein, daß von jenen $10,000 ich allein $9,999.99 in meiner Tasche hätte, in welchem Fall ein einzelner einsamer

*) Die genauen Zahlen sind:
In 1860—$1,885,861,676.
„ 1870—$4,232,325,442.
„ 1880—$5,369,579,191.
„ 1890—$9,372,437,283.
„ 1900—$13,039,279,566.

Cent in den Taschen der übrigen 999 Personen zu finden wäre. Diese erste Zahlenreihe auf dem Plakat theilt uns mit, was der Werth der produzirten Waaren ist, sagt uns aber nicht, wie dieser Reichthum vertheilt ist. Sie giebt uns nur eine Idee von der zunehmenden Größe der Produktivität der Arbeit. Wegen der Vertheilung müssen wir uns hier an die zweite Zahlenreihe wenden und nun machen Sie sich auf die außerordentlich interessanten Tatsachen gefaßt, die ich Ihnen versprochen habe.

Die zweite Zahlenreihe ist überschrieben: „Bezahlte Löhne". Auch hier sind die Zahlen von Dekade zu Dekade gegeben.

In der Dekade von 1860 war der Totalbetrag der den Arbeitern gezahlten Löhne über $300,000,000.

In der nächsten Dekade, 1870, stiegen die bezahlten Löhne um $400,000,000, betrugen also über 700,000,000.

In der Dekade von 1880 stiegen sie um weitere $200,000,000 und betrugen demnach über 900,000,000.

In der Dekade von 1890 war eine doppelte Zunahme zu verzeichnen, so daß der Totalbetrag der den Arbeitern bezahlten Löhne $1,800,000,000 war.

Und endlich, in der Dekade von 1900 war der Totalbetrag $2,300,000,000, oder $500,000,000 mehr als in 1890. *)

Wenn wir diese Spalte der Löhne aus der Vogelperspektive ansehen, wird ihr Zweck klar. Wie die Zahlen arrangirt sind, sind sie beabsichtigt, zwei Ideen zu verkünden — erstens, daß der Antheil des individuellen Arbeiters am produzirten Reichthum ein großer ist; zweitens, daß sein steigen zum Wohlstand beständig und weitreichend ist. Man erwartet, daß ein Arbeiter, wenn ihm gesagt wird oder er es schwarz auf weiß sieht, daß seine Klasse in 1860 die riesige Bezahlung von $300,000,000 erhielt, das sichere Gefühl hat, daß er einen großen Theil dieses Betrags hat. Die Größe der Totalsumme soll bezwecken, als Betäubungsmittel auf seine schmerzlich angegriffene Börse zu wirken. Und wenn gar, schwarz auf weiß, zu sehen ist, wie jene erste Gesamtsumme von Dekade zu Dekade anschwillt und sich verdoppelt, bis sie eine schwindlige Höhe in 1900 erreicht, dann muß der Arbeiter doch sicher so gründlich geblendet und verwirrt werden, daß er gar nicht mehr weiß, ob er auf dem Kopf oder auf den Füßen steht und absolut unfähig ist, zu denken. Der riesige Reichthum, von dem er annimmt, daß er ihm gehört, bringt ihn tatsächlich aus dem Häuschen. Nun lassen Sie uns die Zahlen aber mal etwas genauer betrachten.

*) Die genauen Zahlen sind:
In 1860—$378,878,966.
„ 1870—$775,584,343.
„ 1880—$947,953,795.
„ 1890—$1,891,228,321.
„ 1900—$2,330,578,010.

Von nun an bis zum Schluß muß ich Sie ersuchen, ihre ganze Aufmerksamkeit anzuspannen.

Wenn Ihnen Lohnzahlen unterbreitet werden, müssen Sie dieselben zwei Prüfungen unterwerfen. So lange wir das nicht getan haben, können Sie von den Zahlen keine praktische Information erhalten. Ich beabsichtige nun, die Zahlenreihe der Löhne den beiden Prüfungen zu unterwerfen, die ich erwähnte.

Die erste Prüfung besteht darin, die relative Größe oder den Prozentsatz der Löhne festzustellen, in dem sie sich zum produzirten Gesammtreichthum verhalten. Das ist leicht. Es bedarf bloß eines einfachen Rechenexempels, das irgend ein vierzehnjähriges Kind lösen kann. Lassen Sie uns diese Prüfung anwenden.

Das Plakat sagt uns, daß in der Dekade von 1860 der Betrag der bezahlten Löhne über $300,000,000 war. Es sagt uns ferner, daß der in derselben Periode von der Arbeit produzirte Reichthum nahezu $2,000,000,000 betrug. Bei Anwendung unserer Berechnung auf die beiden vollen Zahlengruppen stellen wir fest, daß die bezahlten Löhne 20 Prozent vom produzirten Reichtum betrugen. Jetzt sind wir im Besitz einer Thatsache, keiner sehr erfreulichen zwar, aber einer für unser Wissen sehr nützlichen Thatsache und der ersten, die uns praktische Information giebt. Im Lichte dieser Thatsache schrumpft der riesige Totallohn von $300,000,000 auf seine wirklichen, seine sozialen Dimensionen zusammen. Wir wissen jetzt, aus den auf dem Plakat angegebenen Zahlen selbst, daß in 1860 der Arbeiter von jeden $100, die er produzirte, nur $20 erhielt; irgend jemand anders bekam die übrigen $80. Daraus lernen wir, daß in 1860 der Arbeiter von jeden $100 werth Reichthum, die er produzirte, um $80 geprellt wurde. Sofort steigt ein Verdacht in uns auf, wer dieser fette und vergnügte Onkel Sam sein muß. Aber wir unterdrücken diesen Verdacht. Freilich, 20 Prozent vom eigenen Produkt zu erhalten, ist nicht viel, thatsächlich ist es sehr wenig, aber wir erinnern uns, daß es nur ein Anfang ist, und daß die sich aufschwingenden Zahlen Fortschritt versprechen. Ermuthigt durch diese Hoffnung, legen wir unseren Prüfstein an die Zahlen der nächsten Dekade.

Wieder wenden wir unsere Berechnung auf die im Plakat für die Dekade von 1870 gegebenen Zahlen an und wieder stellen wir nach Prozentsatz den Antheil der Arbeit an ihrem Produkt fest — die Beziehungen zwischen den zugenommenen Totallöhnen und der zugenommenen Totalproduktion. Und was wir dabei entdecken, versetzt uns einen förmlichen Schlag, so daß uns fast der Bleistift aus der Hand fällt. Erinnern Sie sich, daß in der voraufgehenden Dekade der Antheil der Arbeit an ihrem Produkt 20 Prozent betrug und daß wir uns Fortschritt versprachen. Die Hoffnung war berechtigt, daß wir doch wenigstens einen Prozent mehr erhalten würden. Vergebliche Hoffnung! Der Antheil der Arbeit an ihrem Produkt, der sich aus der Prüfung der Zahlen ergiebt, die uns das

Plakat selbst zur Verfügung stellt, ist — achtzehn Prozent! Ein sonderbarer Fortschritt das. In 1860 betrug der Antheil der Arbeit $20 an jeden $100 werth Reichthum, die sie produzirte; in 1870 finden wir, daß ihr Antheil auf 18 Prozent heruntergegangen ist. In 1860 betrug der an der Arbeit verübte Raub $80 von jeden $100 und in 1870 stieg der Raub, wie die Zahlen des Plakats selbst ergeben, auf $82 an jeden $100 werth Reichthum, den die Arbeiter produziren. Der Verdacht, der durch den Befund der Zahlen von 1860 hinsichtlich der Frage in uns aufstieg, wer dieser wohlbeleibte und joviale Onkel Sam ist, erwacht auf's neue. (Beifall.) Aber wieder unterdrücken wir diesen Verdacht. Unsere Hoffnung wird durch die Betrachtung genährt, daß so manches Kindlein, anstatt gleich zu wachsen, durch Keuchhusten, Masern und andere Kinderkrankheiten in der Entwickelung zurückgehalten wird, aber nur temporär; das Kind erholt sich schnell und wächst dann ununterbrochen heran. Das mag auch mit uns in 1870 der Fall gewesen sein. Aufgemuntert durch diesen Gedanken, eilen wir zur nächsten Dekade.

Wieder wenden wir unser einfaches Rechenexempel an, diesmal auf die bezahlten Löhne und den produzirten Reichthum der Dekade 1880. Das Resultat, zu dem wir gelangen, sieht absurd aus. Wir müssen einen Fehler gemacht haben und rechnen daher noch einmal über. Kein Irrthum.

Der Antheil des Arbeiters an seinem Produkt ist in 1880 geringer als die zwanzig Prozent in 1860, er ist geringer als die achtzehn Prozent in 1870, er beträgt jetzt nur noch 17 Prozent! Bei diesem Resultat angelangt, sind wir nicht länger im Stande, unseren Verdacht, wer dieser rundliche, gemüthliche Onkel Sam ist, zu unterdrücken. (Lachen und Beifall.) Trotzdem verlieren wir nicht den Muth. Noch immer an das Versprechen denkend, welches uns das Plakat mit Bezug auf unseren wachsenden Reichthum macht, gehen wir zur nächsten Dekade über.

Wieder rechnen wir. Wir berechnen, welchen Prozentsatz von dem in der Dekade 1890 produzirten Reichthum die im selben Zeitabschnitt bezahlten Löhne ausmachen. Und siehe da! eine Ueberraschung! Die Abnahme hat aufgehört. Der Prozentsatz des Antheils der Arbeit in 1890 ist über den Prozentsatz von 1880 gestiegen, er beträgt mehr als in 1870 und ist jetzt wieder 20 Prozent wie in 1860. Dankbar, auch für kleine Gaben, blicken wir zurück. Da wir ein weiteres Sinken erwartet hatten, so macht uns unsere angenehme Ueberraschung fast glücklich. Trotzdem wundern wir uns, wo der (Fortschritt) eigentlich liegt. Die Zahlen auf dem Plakat selbst sagen uns, daß wir auf demselben Fleck sind, wo wir in 1860 begannen. Nach 30 Jahren angestrengter Arbeit; nach 30 Jahren, während welcher der Boden des Landes buchstäblich mit dem Schweiß, Blut und Mark der Arbeiter getränkt wurde; nach 30 Jahren, während welcher die amerikanische Arbeiterklasse mehr reiche Erbinnen per Quadratzoll als die Arbeiterklasse irgend eines anderen Landes produzirte, um europäische Edelleute als Gatten zu kaufen; am Ende von 30 Jahren, während

welcher die Arbeiterklasse, wie das Plakat selbst zeigt, ungeheuren Reichthum produzirte — am Ende dieser 30 Jahre ist die amerikanische Arbeiterklasse genau auf demselben Fleck, wo sie vor 30 Jahren stand, der armselige Empfänger von nur $20 von jeden $100 werth Reichthum, den sie produzirte! Das ist schwerlich ein Fortschritt, der des rühmens werth ist. Es ist der Konservativismus des Elends. Trotzdem, die Hoffnung lebt ewig in der menschlichen Brust. Vielleicht sind die langen magern Jahre endlich vorüber. Vielleicht bricht ein heller Tag für uns an und wir holen das Versäumte nach, so daß wir in 1900 wie dieser üppige, wohlgenährte, wohlgekleidete und vergnügte Onkel Sam ausschauen, der nach dem Plakat die Arbeit typifiziren soll.

Und so unterwerfen wir denn die Zahlen von 1900, die letzten, die uns das Plakat zur Verfügung stellt, unserer arithmetischen Prüfung und wehe uns! Unsere Hoffnungen sind vernichtet. Der Prozentsatz des Antheils der Arbeit an ihrem Produkt nimmt einen großen Sturz. Er ist jetzt wieder so niedrig, wie er jemals war — 17 Prozent! Die temporäre Steigung von 1890 war nur wie das letzte Aufflackern des Lebenslichtes eines Sterbenden — der Vorläufer des Zusammenbruchs.

Der Vorwurf der Lüge, der dem Sozialisten wegen seiner Behauptung mit Bezug auf die ungeheure Plünderung, welche die Kapitalistenklasse an der Arbeiterklasse verübt, gemacht wird, fällt auf die zurück, die diesen Vorwurf erheben. Selbst wenn man den Werth des Rohmaterials in Anrechnung bringt, das durch die Arbeit anderer Länder Werth erhielt, selbst wenn man alles, was gerechterweise in Anschlag zu bringen ist, in liberaler Weise berücksichtigt, so berechtigen doch die Zahlen, welche dieses Plakat verkündet, die Schlußfolgerung, daß es eine liberale Schätzung ist, wenn man zu dem Ergebniß kommt, daß die Arbeiterklasse nur ein Fünftel als Antheil an ihrem Produkt erhält. Die erste der beiden Proben, denen die Zahlen unter „Bezahlten Löhnen" unterworfen werden müssen, zerstört den Nimbus, der sie umgiebt; er legt ein gut Teil der nackten und traurigen Wirklichkeit bloß und führt zu der Erkenntnis, daß nicht dieser rüstige, wohlgenährte Onkel Sam, sondern jenes andere elende Wesen an der andern Seite des Plakats den amerikanischen Arbeiter typifizirt. Die zweite Probe wird diese Thatsache über allen Zweifel hinaus feststellen.

Lassen Sie mich noch einmal über die Zahlen dieser Spalte „Bezahlte Löhne" gehen, um Ihr Gedächtniß aufzufrischen. Die in den Manufaktur-Industrien bezahlten Löhne sind hier wie folgt gegeben:

Ueber $300,000,000 für 1860,
Ueber $700,000,000 für 1870,
Ueber $900,000,000, für 1880,
Ueber $1,800,000,000 für 1890 und
Ueber $2,300,000,000 für 1900.

Der Zweck einer solchen Darstellung des Fortschritts der Löhne liegt klar auf der Hand. Es wird damit beabsichtigt, dem Arbeiter die Idee

einzuimpfen, daß seine Lage sich bessert, sich schon riesig gebessert hat. Die Darstellung von Zahlen in dieser Weise beabsichtigt die Idee auszudrücken — und zwar überwältigend auszudrücken —, daß der Lohn oder Verdienst des individuellen Arbeiters gestiegen ist. Ich werde Ihnen aus der Haltung dieses stummen Zeugen, den ich hier auf dem Zeugenstand habe, geweisen, daß er beabsichtigt, ein Ueberrumpelungsurtheil auf Grund unvollkommener Information zu erhalten; daß er jener schlimmsten Form der Täuschung schuldig ist, welche darin besteht, eine halbe Wahrheit anzugeben und die andere Hälfte zu unterdrücken, kurz, daß er ein Schwindler ist.

Fahren Sie fort, Ihr Denken ein bischen anzustrengen. Genügt die Thatsache, daß in 1860 die Ausgabe von Löhnen auf $300,000,000 betrug und in 1900 um $2,000,000,000 gestiegen war, um irgend eine Schlußfolgerung hinsichtlich der verbesserten Lage des Arbeiters zu rechtfertigen? Lassen Sie mich durch ein einfaches Beispiel illustriren. Angenommen, ich würde Ihnen sagen, daß ich im letzten Monat $10 an Löhnen ausbezahlte und diesen Monat $20 an Löhnen ausbezahle, so würde das zunächst nur bedeuten, daß ich jetzt den doppelten Betrag der Löhne vom letzten Monat ausbezahle. Bedeutet es aber auch, daß meine Arbeiter nun zweimal so viel Lohn erhalten als letzten Monat? Mag sein und mag auch nicht sein. Ob sie den doppelten Lohn erhalten, hängt nicht blos von der erhöhten Totalsumme der ausbezahlten Löhne ab, sondern noch von etwas anderem. Was ist dieses andere? Erklärlicherweise die Anzahl der Leute, die ich letzten Monat beschäftigte und die ich diesen Monat beschäftige. Wenn letzten Monat bei mir nur zwei Mann in Arbeit standen, so würde das bedeuten, daß ihr Lohn durchschnittlich 5.00 pro Mann war. Wenn jedoch diesen Monat zehn Mann bei mir angestellt sind, dann wäre der Lohn dieser Leute, obgleich die Totalsumme der von mir ausbezahlten Löhne sich verdoppelt hat, um mehr als 50 Prozen gesunken. (Beifall.) Der totale Lohn mag bis in die Puppen steigen und doch kann gleichzeitig der individuelle Lohn in entgegengesetzter Richtung fallen. (Beifall.) Lassen Sie uns nun an diese Reihe verwirrender Zahlen ausbezahlter Löhne den Prüfstein des Prinzips setzen, daß ich soeben erläutert habe. Das erste, was in dieser oder in irgend einer anderen Zahlenreihe dieses Plakats durch seine totale Abwesenheit sich bemerkbar macht, ist jede Angabe mit Bezug auf die Anzahl der Männer, unter welche diese aufeinander folgenden großartigen Summen zu vertheilen sind. Keine diesbezügliche Angabe für 1860, keine für 1870, keine für 1880, keine für 1890. Der Zeuge auf dem Zeugenstand will ausweichen, er gebraucht Ausflüchte und ist meineidig. (Beifall.) Trotzdem ist es nicht meine Absicht, den Zeugen auf indirektem Wege zu überführen; die Ueberführung soll eine direkte, genaue sein.

Der Zensus, von den Agenten derselben Klasse zusammengestellt, die dieses Plakat ausarbeitete, informirt uns, daß im Jahre 1870 2,053,966

Arbeiter in den Manufaktur-Industrien beschäftigt waren. Die ihnen bezahlten Löhne beliefen sich laut diesem Plakat auf 777,584,343. Wenn wir nun diesen Gesammtbetrag der Löhne durch die Gesammtzahl der Arbeiter, denen sie bezahlt wurden, dividiren, so finden wir die Summe von $377 als den durchschnittlichen Jahreslohn für jene Dekade. Prägen Sie das Ihrem Gedächtniß ein.

In der nächsten Dekade, 1880, als die Gesammtlöhne, wie das Plakat angiebt, $947,953,795 betrugen, waren laut Zensus 2,732,595 in den Manufaktur-Industrien beschäftigt. Wenn wir unser Rechenexempel von zuvor wiederholen so finden wir wiederum den durchschnittlichen Jahreslohn und bekommen dadurch auch eine Idee von der Lage der Arbeiter. Die Summe dieses durchschnittlichen Jahreslohnes ist $346 — $31 weniger als zuvor! Trotzdem die Totalsumme der ausgezahlten Löhne während der zehn Jahre jened Dekade um etwa $200,000,000 gestiegen war, gingen die individuellen Löhne um $31 herunter!

Wir schreiten zur nächsten Dekade 1890 weiter. Für diese Periode giebt das Plakat die bezahlten Löhne als $1,891,228,321 an. Gleichzeitig informort uns der Zensus, daß diese Löhne sich auf 4,351,535 Arbeiter vertheilt haben müssen. Wir dividiren wieder wie zuvor und erhalten $448 als die Summe des Durchschnittslohnes. Das zeigt eine Zunahme des Lohnes an. Was aber diese absoluten Zunahmen bedeuten, daß sie bei näherer Prüfung wie der Nebel vor der Sonne verfliegen, daß sie Blendwerk und Täuschung, thatsächlich ein Betrug sind, das werde ich bald klar machen. Für den Augenblick wollen wir, in der gegenwärtigen Art der Untersuchung fortfahrend, jene Zunahme mal als einen absoluten Gewinn betrachten. Indem wir das thun, ist es gerechtfertigt, dem von den Arbeitern gemachten Gewinn den absoluten Gewinn entgegen zu halten, den die Klasse erzielte, die durch diesen fetten Onkel Sam repräsentirt ist, wie wir wissen. Nach zwanzig Jahren solchen Mühens und Schaffens, wie ich es Ihnen nicht zu beschreiben brauche, sind die Löhne der Arbeiter im Durchschnitt, wie wir finden, um $68 das Jahr, oder 19 Cents pro Tag gestiegen, während die Klasse, die dieser gemüthliche Kunde hier, dieser rundliche Onkel Sam repräsentirt, sich während derselben Periode eines Fortschritts um die bescheidene Summe von $3,228,883,259 erfreute und dabei zählt diese Klasse keine vier Millionen, auf welche diese „Kleinigkeit" zu vertheilen ist. (Beifall.)

Wir wenden uns nun der nächsten und letzten Dekade, der von 1900, zu. Laut diesem Plakat wurden $2,330,578,010 an Löhnen bezahlt und laut Zensus gab es $5,541,539 Arbeiter, die in den Manufaktur-Industrien beschäftigt waren. Durch das gleiche Rechenexempel von vorhin gelangen wir zu dem Resultat, daß der Durchschnittslohn $439 betrug, — $9 weniger als in 1890! Merken Sie: trotzdem die Gesammtsumme der gezahlten Löhne um $439,349,689 zunahm, erfuhr der thatsächliche Verdienst der Arbeiter im Durchschnitt eine Abnahme von $9!

Ich erklärte vor einer Minute, daß die Durchschnittszunahme der Löhne, die dem individuellen Arbeiter gutgeschrieben werden, nur „Zunahmen" auf dem Papier seien und versprach, das zu beweisen. Das werde ich jetzt thun. Wie wir gesehen haben, fielen die Löhne zwischen 1890 und 1900 um $9. Trotzdem zeigen die Zahlen thatsächlich, daß von 1870 bis 1900 eine Zunahme des Durchschnittslohnes um $59 pro Jahr zu verzeichnen ist. Selbst wenn diese geringfügige Zahl vor der Prüfung Stand halten könnte, wäre sie ein Hohn. Was anders als ein Hohn ist eine Lohnzunahme von $59 pro Jahr, nach 30 Jahren harten Schaffens, für die Klasse, deren Schweiß und Knochen den Totalreichthum während jener Periode um die ungeheure Summe von $8,806,954,124 vermehrte! Es ist ein tragischer Hohn. Aber vom tragischen zum lächerlichen ist nur ein Schritt. Ich werde ihnen beweisen, daß selbst diese geringfügige Zunahme von $59 auf die sprüchwörtlichen „Thirty Cents" zusammenschrumpft. (Lachen.) Die Richtung des Arguments, das ich jetzt aufnehmen werde, ist nur ein untergeordneter Theil jener zweiten Prüfung, der ich diese Spalte „Gezahlte Löhne" unterwarf und die ihr den Boden unter den Füßen entzogen hat. Die nächstfolgende Prüfung, der ich sie jetzt unterziehen werde, wird auch die Ueberbleibsel zertrümmern.

Sie sahen, wie mißleitend, weil unzureichend, alle Vergleiche der in verschiedenen Epochen bezahlten Löhn waren, ohne gleichzeitige Anführung der Zahl der Lohnarbeiter, auf die sich die Löhne in den respektiven Perioden vertheilten. Ich werde Ihnen jetzt bweisen, wie solche Vergleiche von Löhnen, bezahlt in verschiedenen Epochen, sogar an den identischen Lohnarbeiter, mißleitend sind und „mit der Absicht zu täuschen" ausgegeben werden, wenn nicht andere Faktoren in Betrachtung gezogen werden.

Lassen Sie mich das Argument über diesen Punkt mit einer Illustration beginnen. Sagen wir, daß mein Lohn im letzten Jahr $1.00 pro Tag war und daß er dieses Jahr $1.25 pro Tag beträgt. Ist die bloße Thatsache, daß ich 25 Cents in baarem Geld mehr erhalte als letztes Jahr, eine genügende Voraussetzung, um daraus den Schluß ziehen zu können, daß ich dieses Jahr um 25 Cents werth Reichthum besser daran bin? Bei Beantwortung dieser Frage will ich Ihnen mit einer weiteren Illustration helfen. Angenommen, daß im letzten Jahr, als mein Lohn $1.00 betrug, die Kosten der Lebenshaltung — Miethe, Nahrung, Kleidung, die absolut nothwendigen Lebensbedürfniess — 99 Cents waren. Was würde daraus folgen? Daß ich einen Penny über meine Bedürfnisse hinaus hatte. Ich konnte diesen Cent entweder in die Sparkasse tragen (Lachen) oder in Werthpapieren anlegen (Lachen), wie es ja, wie man uns sagt, die Arbeiter in so ausgedehntem Maße thun (Lachen). Aber weiter angenommen, daß jetzt, wo mein Lohn 125 Cents beträgt, die Kosten der Lebenshaltung auf 126 Cents gestiegen sind. Was ist das Resultat? Das Resultat ist, daß ich „abgebrannt" bin. (Lachen und Beifall.) Sie begreifen diesen Punkt.

Wer uns sagt, daß unsere Löhne gestiegen sind, ohne gleichzeitig zu erklären, wie es mit den Kosten der Lebenshaltung steht, ein solcher Mann wünscht uns zu betrügen. Das, nochmals, ist der Fall mit dem Zeugen, den ich an dieses Brett genagelt habe. Er ist stumm wie das Grab über die erwähnte Frage. Sein Schweigen braucht mich aber nicht in Verlegenheit zu setzen. Ich brauche ihn nicht. Ich werde Sie, mit Ihrer Erlaubniß, einmal als lebende, statistische Zahlen benutzen. Ich ersuche alle von Ihnen, einschließlich der Frauen, die in dieser Sache gewiß gut Bescheid wissen — alle von ihnen, deren Erfahrung dahin geht, daß die Kosten der Lebenshaltung jetzt niedriger sind als vor 20 oder 10 Jahren, die rechte Hand zu erheben. Ich möchte den Vorsier ersuchen, die erhobenen Hände zu zählen. (Der Vorsitzer erhob sich, überblickte die Zuhörer und berichtete: „Keine Hände zu sehen.") Jetzt möchte ich alle diejenigen ihre Hände zu erheben ersuchen, deren Erfahrung ist, daß die Kosten der Lebenshaltung jetzt dieselben sind wie vor 20 oder 25 Jahren, nicht höher und nicht niedriger. Will der Vorsitzende, bitte, die Hände wieder zählen? (Der Vorsitzende erhob sich, blickte über die Menge und bemerkte: „Keine Hände zu sehen.") Ich werde eine dritte Abstimmung vornehmen. Bitte alle diejenigen ihre rechte Hand zu erheben, deren Erfahrung dahin geht, daß die Kosten der Lebenshaltung gestiegen und zwar merklich gestiegen sind. (Alle Hände werden emporgehoben.) Will der Vorsitzende bitte zählen? (Der Vorsitzende: „Es sind zu viele, um gezählt werden zu können.") Vom atlantischen Ozean bis über den Mississippi hinaus ist das dieselbe Antwort, die ich überall von den Zuhörern erhielt, die mir gegenüber standen. Miethe und alle Lebensbedürfnisse sind überall im Preise gestiegen. Da geht ein großes Stück — wahrscheinlich mehr — von jener wunderbaren Lohnzunahme von $59 seit 1870! (Beifall.)

Ich werde nun darangehen, Ihnen zu zeigen, daß auch der etwaige Bruchtheil von jener Zunahme, der noch übrig sein mag, nur illusorisch ist. Sie haben gesehen, daß eine Kenntniß der Existenzkosten unentbehrlich ist, um sich eine richtige Idee zu bilden, ob eine Zunahme der Löhne verbesserte Zustände bedeutet. Sie haben gesehen, daß eine Zunahme der Löhne denkbar ist, ohne doch eine verhältnismäßige Besserung der Zustände mit sich zu bringen, wenn die Kosten der Lebenshaltung gestiegen sind. In naher Verbindung mit dieser Frage des für Waaren bezahlten Preises steht die Qualität der Waaren. Lassen Sie mich wieder eine Illustration gebrauchen, ehe ich die Frage selbst aufnehme. Angenommen, ich bezahlte vor 20 Jahren $10 für einen Anzug und daß dieser Anzug mir auf zwei Jahre, sagen wir zwei Winter, Dienste leistete. Weiter angenommen nun, daß dieses Jahr ein Anzug, der ebenso gut aussieht, nur ein Jahr hält, sagen wir einen Winter. Was zeigt das im Punkte des Preises? Es zeigt, daß, während vor 20 Jahren ein $10 Schein mich mit Kleidung auf zwei Jahre versah, jetzt ein $10 Schein mich nur auf ein Jahr kleidet. In anderen Worten, wenn ich im zweiten Jahre nicht zer-

lumpt umhergehen will, dann kostet mir die Kleidung jetzt $20, die ich vor 20 Jahren für $10 bekam. Die Folgerung aus dieser Tatsache ist, daß Verschlechterung der Waren (erhöhter Preis) lautet. Dem Anschein der Dinge nach ist der Preis geblieben, was er war; der Tatsache nach ist er gestiegen.

Nun denn, das Maß, in welchem die Verschlechterung der Nahrungsmittel und Kleidung während der letzten 20 Jahre vor sich gegangen ist, macht einen stutzig. Der Bericht über die Schundwaren, welche unsere Fabriken hervorbringen, würde unglaublich sein, wenn er nicht so gut verbürgt wäre. Das ist eine Sache allgemeiner Erfahrung. Es ist besonders die Hausfrau, welche mit dieser Tatsache Erfahrung macht. Erkundigen Sie sich bei irgend einer Frau, die heute 50 Jahre alt ist und sie wird im Stande sein, Ihnen über diese Sache Geschichten zu erzählen, die traurig sind. Eine ältere Hausfrau, die ich über diese Sache ausfragte, drückte sich so aus: „Als ich mich verheirathete und einen Anzug Unterzeug für Heinrich kaufte, dann hielt er zwei Jahre, oft noch länger; wenn ich aber jetzt Unterzeug kaufe, dann muß ich mit flicken anfangen, wenn es das erste Mal getragen ist." (Lachen.)

Aehnlich verhält es sich mit Nahrungsmitteln. Es gibt kaum einen Nahrungsartikel, besonders unter denen, die der Arbeiter überhaupt zu kaufen sich leisten kann, der nicht verfälscht ist, der folglich also in der Qualität nicht verschlechtert wurde. Artikel und Schriften in Masse werden geschrieben, die sich damit befassen, bis zu welchem Maße diese verderbliche Praxis getrieben wird. Diese Abhandlungen weisen nach, wie die Gesundheit durch diese Praxis untergraben wird, selbst wenn sie das Leben nicht schnell vernichtet. Eine dieser Abhandlungen kürzlichen Datums behauptet, daß diese Nahrungsmittelverfälschungen direkt verantwortlich sind für den Tod von mehr als 400,000 Säuglingen pro Jahr und sie führt Krankheit und Tod von Tausenden und Abertausenden Erwachsener auf diese Ursache zurück. Lassen Sie mich eine andere Autorität über diesen Punkt anführen. Sie werden auf Seite 132 des „Congressional Record" unter Datum vom letzten 12. Dezember den folgenden Satz finden, der einer Rede des Senators Stewart im Laufe der Debatte über die Nahrungsmittel-Gesetzvorlage entnommen ist (liest):

„Ich glaube nicht, daß das Land eine Idee von dem Umfang hat, in welchem Gifte den Nahrungsmitteln beigemischt werden, die in diesem Lande verkauft und genossen werden. Ich glaube, es unterminirt das Fundament der Konstitution unseres Volkes. Wenn wir jetzt Soldaten aufzubringen hätten, wie wir es in 1861 thaten, so glaube ich nicht, daß wir im ganzen Lande einen so großen Prozentsatz junger, für schweren Dienst tauglicher Männer finden könnten, als es zu jener Zeit gab."

Der Beweis liegt hier, wie in allen anderen Dingen, in der Prüfung. Wenn Löhne wirklich zunehmen und die Kosten der Lebeshaltung nicht steigen und die Lebensbedürfnisse — Nahrung und Kleidung — nicht verschlechtert werden; wenn sie gut bleiben oder sogar verbessert werden, was

müßte dann das Resultat sein? Offenbar müßten dann die Leute, welche diese Vortheile genießen, gesund und munter sein; sie müßten gesund sein, während sie leben und ihr Leben müßte ein langes sein. Wenn aber im Gegentheil der Verdienst bloß zunimmt und diese Zunahme durch höhere Preise der Lebensmittelbedürfnisse wie Nahrung und Kleidung und durch Verschlechterung derselben mehr als aufgehoben wird, dann muß diese Thatsache in der Lage der davon betroffenen Klasse in Erscheinung treten. Wenn Sie sich jemals in New York aufhalten sollten, dann machen Sie am Abend einen Spaziergang durch 42. Straße oder Fünfte Avenue, wo die Klubs der Republikanischen und der Demokratischen Partei, sowie mehrerer anderer kapitalistischen Gesellschaften sich befinden. Es muß ähnliche Klubs hier in Minneapolis geben, denn sie sind in allen unserer großen und sogar in einigen kleineren Manufakturstädten zu finden. Blicken Sie durch die großen Spiegelscheiben in die glänzenden Räume. Sie werden dort graue Häupter im Ueberfluß sehen. Kann es sein, daß diese Herren vorzeitig ergraut sind? Ist ihr Haar deshalb ergraut, weil sie schlecht genährt und gekleidet sind? Kaum! Ich gebe zu, daß ihr altes Aussehen zum Theil durch ihren liederlichen Lebenswandel und ihre heimlichen mormonischen Praktiken zu erklären ist. Jedenfalls aber haben sie ein hohes Alter erreicht. So gut ist die Qualität der Waaren, die sie verbrauchen, daß alle ihre Liederlichkeit und unmoralischen Praktiken diese Herren nicht hindert, ein hohes Alter zu erreichen. Nachdem Sie sich das angesehen haben, gehen Sie in die Distrikte, welche die Arbeiterklasse bewohnt und besuchen Sie die Plätze, wo die Arbeiter zusammenkommen. Versäumen Sie ja nicht, Papier und Bleistift mitzunehmen. Vermerken Sie auf Ihrem Papier mit einem Strich jedes graue Haupt, dem Sie dort begegnen. Sie werden in der That wenige finden. Blicken Sie doch über diese Versammlung von Arbeitern. Es ist kaum ein Graukopf darunter. In einer Versammlung von Kapitalisten, nur halb so zahlreich wie diese, würden Sie zahlreiche Grauköpfe finden. Unter den Arbeitern sind sie selten. Kann es sein, daß die Arbeiter so gut genährt und gekleidet sind, daß ihr Haar seine Farbe bis in's hohe Alter bewahrt und so ihre Jahre verbirgt? O nein! Es giebt so wenige Grauköpfe unter ihnen, weil ihr Haar keine Gelegenheit bekommt, grau zu werden. Lange vor diesem Lebensalter sind sie in frühe Gräber gesunken, die Opfer intensiver Arbeit, verschlimmert durch geringen Verdienst und das wiederum verschlimmert durch die Verfälschung der Waaren, die sie mit ihrem geringen Lohn kaufen können. (Beifall.) Ein interessantes Nebenlicht wird auf dieses Thema durch den offiziellen Bericht geworfen, den der Britische Konsul kürzlich an seine Regierung erstattete. Von den Maschinisten im besonderen sprechend, sagt der Konsul, daß wenn ein Maschinist in den Vereinigten Staaten 42 Jahre alt und beschäftigungslos ist, so ist es schwer für ihn, wieder Arbeit zu finden. Der Konsul erklärt dann die Ursache und sagt, daß der Mann, wenn er so hart gearbeitet hat, wie von ihm verlangt wird, mit 42 Jahren abgenutzt ist, und

wenn das nicht der Fall ist, dann ist es ein Zeichen, daß er eben nicht so hart gearbeitet hat, als von ihm erwartet wurde und die Arbeitgeber haben in jedem der beiden Fälle keinen Gebrauch für ihn. (Lachen.) Ich möchte noch eine Zeugenaussage unter diesem Punkt anführen, ehe ich mich vom Thema abwende. Der Mann, den ich zitiren will, ist kein „Feuerbrand Agitator"; obgleich er oft öffentlich sprach, war das Thema, das er behandelte, niemals von der Art, die einen Mann zur Uebertreibung verlocken könnte. Es ist Huxley, der bedächtige, gründliche, genaue Gelehrte. Er sagte, daß vier Fünftel des Volkes langsam Hungers sterben. Wahrscheinlich sind unter Ihnen welche, die sich für Statistik interessieren und wohl auch schon die Statistiken über die Sterblichkeit verfolgt haben, die vom Zensus und aus anderen offiziellen Quellen zur Verfügung gestellt werden. Diese Leute mögen nun sagen: „Aber das ist ja Unsinn; es mag wohl hin und wieder vorkommen, daß ein Mann Hungers stirbt, aber Hunderte und Tausende? Unmöglich! Ich habe die Statistik über die Sterbefälle gesehen und darin die verschiedensten Krankheiten als die Todesursache angeführt gefunden, wie Schwindsucht, Lungenentzündung und alle Arten von Krankheiten, aber ich habe niemals Hunger unter den Todesursachen eingetragen gesehen." Leute, die solche Ansichten haben, sind von einem Irrthum, von einem schweren Irrthum befangen. Ein Mann mag an langsamem Verhungern sterben, ohne es zu wissen. Sein Magen mag voll sein, er mag niemals das Nagen des Hungers gefühlt haben, und doch langsamen Hungertodes sterben. Wenn ein Mensch im Sommer nicht richtig gekleidet ist= strömt er mehr Körperwärme aus, als sein System vertragen kann — er stirbt langsam an Entbehrung; wenn er im Winter nicht warm genug gekleidet ist, verbraucht er mehr Körperwärme, als sein System vertragen kann — er stirbt langsam an Entbehrung. Sein Magen mag gefüllt sein, der Mann mag sich für gutgenährt halten, wenn aber die Speise in seinem Magen verfälschte Nahrung ist, dann finden die Organismen, welche die Nahrung aus dem Magen in die Gewebe des Körpers zu führen haben, keine Nahrung zur Verarbeitung und die verbrauchten Gewebe werden nur zum Theil ersetzt. — *Dieser Mann stirbt langsamen Hungers.* (Beifall.) Die Thatsache wird ihm klar, wenn es zu spät ist, ja, selbst dann wird sie ihm und seinen Freunden noch verborgen. Er zieht sich eine Erkältung zu; eine robuste Konstitution würde diese ohne Schwierigkeit überwinden; seine Konstitution ist aber nicht robust, sie wurde längst durch langsame Entbehrung untergraben, die kleine Unpäßlichkeit wirft ihn auf's Krankenlager und entwickelt sich zur Lungenentzündung; er stirbt und der Arzt berichtet Lungenentzündung als „Todesursache" — *aber Verhungern war es.* (Beifall.) Und so die ganze Reihe von Krankheiten: Schwindsucht, Rheumatismus, Harnruhr und die vielen anderen Leiden, mit denen die Arbeiterklasse durch die „erhöhten Löhne" heimgesucht wird, welche die Kapitalistenklasse an die Arbeiter verschwendet. Weil — verlieren Sie diese Tatsache nie-

mals aus dem Auge — weil es dieselbe Kapitalistenklasse ist, welche auf der einen Seite die Löhne regulirt und auf der anderen Seite die Kosten der Lebenshaltung erhöht und die zum Leben nöthigen Waaren verfälscht, was, wie Sie gesehen haben, nur eine andere Form der Preiserhöhung ist.

Wir sind mit dem Zeugen fertig. Er steht aus eigenem Munde überführt da. Die Lage der Arbeiterklasse war schlecht und ist schlechter geworden. Nicht dieser runde und dicke Onkel Sam hier, sondern jenes andere ausgemergelte Wesen typifizirt den Lohnarbeiter des Landes. (Beifall.)

Manche sagen, und ich bin einer davon, daß der Fach- oder pure und simpelUnionismus diese elenden Zustände gefördert, ja, herausgefordert hat. Andere wieder behaupten, wie ich weiß, daß dieser pure und simpel Unionismus nicht verantwortlich zu halten ist; sie behaupten, daß im Gegentheil, wäre es nicht wegen des pure and simpel Unionismus, die Zustände jetzt noch schlimmer wären. Diejenigen, die dieser Ansicht sind, halten dafür, daß der pure und simpel Unionismus, anstatt ihn zu verschreien, gelobt werden sollte für das, was er thut. Selbst angenommen dieses günstigste mögliche Resultat der Arbeit des Pure and Simpelthums, so würde daraus folgen, daß das Pure und Simpelthum bestenfalls eine Bremse ist, um die abschüssige Fahrt des Streitwagens der Arbeit zu hemmen; es würde folgen, daß das Pure und Simpelthum nicht nur absolut unfähig ist, die Arbeiterklasse zu emanzipiren, sondern daß es nicht einmal im Stande ist, ihren Niedergang zu verhindern; daß es höchstens die Fähigkeit hat, den Niedergang der Dinge zu verlangsamen oder zu vermindern. Selbst diese günstigste Ansicht angenommen, wäre es nur ein Argument dafür, das Ding beiseite zu werfen. (Beifall.) Die Mission des Unionismus ist es nicht, als Nachhut einer Armee zu fungiren, die geschlagen, für Niederlagen reif, an Niederlagen gewöhnt und nur für Niederlagen tauglich ist. Die Mission des Unionismus ist es, die Arbeiterklasse für den endlichen Sieg zu organisiren und einzuüben, — um die Produktionsmaschine „zu nehmen und zu halten", was die Administration des Landes bedeutet. (Beifall.) Ich werde Ihnen jedoch beweisen, daß dem Pure und Simpelthum keinerlei Anerkennung gebührt. Ich werde beweisen, daß es für bestehende Uebel direkt verantwortlich ist, daß es ein Mitschuldiger an kapitalistischem Verbrechen ist und eine Geißel für die Arbeiterklasse geworden ist. Das bringt mich zum

Zweiten Grundsatz

der drei Grundsätze des Vorworts, die ich mit Ihnen besprechen will und deren letzten beide, wie ich anfangs erklärte, sich um den ersten drehen, den ich eben behandelte.

Der zweite Grundsatz — ich werde ihn noch einmal lesen — lautet wie folgt:

„Die Arbeiterklasse und die Arbeitgeberklasse haben nichts mit einander gemein."

In einer Hinsicht ist auch dieser Grundsatz durch die Zahlen auf diesem Plakat und die offenbaren Folgerungen, die sich aus ihnen ableiten, bewiesen. Was immer die Interessen einer Klasse, deren materielle Wohlfahrt beständig steigt, und die Interessen der Klasse und aller, die von ihr abhängen, deren materielle Wohlfahrt unaufhörlich sinkt und zwar im gleichen Tempo sinkt, in dem das Wohlergehen der anderen Klasse steigt, — was immer die Interessen der beiden Klassen sein mögen, sie können nichts mit einander gemein haben. Die Beziehungen zwischen diesen beiden Interessengruppen sind nicht einmal die Beziehungen zweier, obgleich entgegengesetzter, jedoch ergänzender Kräfte, wie sie uns die Physik beschreibt. Es sind vielmehr die Beziehungen zwischen dem Vampir und seinem Opfer, dessen Blut er saugt — und solche Beziehungen schaffen sicher nichts gemeinsames. Wirklich, Leute, die von „Gegenseitigkeit", der „Brüderschaft" und der „Identität" der Interessen der Kapitalisten- oder Arbeitgeberklasse und der Arbeiterklasse schwätzen, verlangen vom Arbeiter, wofür sie ihre eigenen Kinder durchprügeln würden, wenn sie es für möglich hielten. Sie verlangen von Ihnen, daß Sie glauben, es sei möglich, einen Apfel zwischen zwei Männern zu theilen, daß jeder das größere Stück haben soll. (Lachen.) Eine Unmöglichkeit! Wenn der Arbeiter vier Dollars produzirt und der Kapitalist nimmt zwei, so sind für den Arbeiter nur zwei übrig; wenn der Kapitalist drei nimmt, muß der Arbeiter mit einem zufrieden sein; eignet sich der Kapitalist drei und einen halben an, dann ist nichts als fünfzig Cents für den Arbeiter übrig. Und umgekehrt, wenn der Arbeiter an einem ganzen Dollar festhält, ist der Antheil des Kapitalisten auf drei reduzirt; wenn der Arbeiter vorwärts drängt und zwei behält, so sind nur zwei für den Kapitalisten übrig; sollte der Arbeiter sich drei zu wahren wissen, so müßte der Kapitalist mit einem zufrieden sein und sollte schließlich der Arbeiter in solcher Weise „theilen", daß er alles, was er produzirt, „nimmt und hält", mein Kapitalist würde arbeiten gehen müssen. (Lachen und Beifall.) In anderen Worten, er würde aufhören, Kapitalist zu sein. Nun denn, die Zahlen auf diesem Plakat illustrieren deutlich das Gesetz, das dem kapitalistischen Produktionssystem unterliegt. Dieses Gesetz hilft dem Arbeiter nicht, einen zunehmenden Antheil an seinem Produkt zu wahren; es hilft dem Kapitalisten, ja, es verlangt von ihm, seinen Raub zunehmend zu verstärken. Sein Stück muß immer größer und dicker werden, der Schnitten des Arbeiters in entsprechender Weise immer dünner. Kein gemeinsames Interesse da! So weit diese Phase des Grundsatzes, den ich eben verlesen habe, in Betracht kommt, so ist sie zu offenkundig, um noch weiterer Beweise zu bedürfen. Aber gewichtigerer Sinn und Bedeutung, Sinn und Bedeutung von unmittelbarerer, praktischerer Kraft und Wichtigkeit liegt in diesem Grundsatz verborgen.

Es ist eine unvermeidliche Folgerung der Lüge von der zwischen Kapitalisten und Arbeitern Hand in Hand gehenden Prosperität, daß deren

Beziehungen gegenseitige seien und daß sie folglich auf gleichem Fuße zu einander ständen. Natürlich, wenn zwischen beiden alles nach Wunsch geht, müssen sie wohl gleichgestellt sein, selbst wenn zugegeben wird, daß ihre „Gleichstellung" verschiedenen Ranges ist. Von dieser ursprünglichen Lüge aus, die von den kapitalistischen Professoren, Politikanten und Kanzelperdigern verbreitet und von den Arbeiter-Leutnants eifrig in die Reihen des pure und simple Unionismus getragen wird, läßt sich eine lange Reihe von ihr abstammender hinterlistiger und thatsächlich verpestender Lügen verfolgen. Die erste Lüge von dem für Kapitalist und Arbeiter Hand in Hand gehenden Fortschritt gebiert die Lüge der Gleichheit von Arbeiter und Kapitalist; dieses Lügenkind wieder erzeugt den Enkel Betrug von den „Kontrakten" und Sie werden sehen, wie dieser Enkel Betrug zum Schaden der Arbeiter würdige Nachkommen in die Welt setzt.

Was ist ein „Kontrakt"? Ich werde Ihnen keine sozialistische Erklärung des Ausdrucks geben. Der Ausdruck hat nichts mit dem Sozialismus zu thun. Es ist ein Ausdruck, dessen Bedeutung mit der Erfahrung der Rasse aufgewachsen ist. Die Erklärung, die ich Ihnen geben werde, ist die Erklärung des Gesetzbuches, die Erklärung, welche von allen Gerichtshöfen angenommen wird und als Maßstab ihrer Entscheidungen gilt. Ein Kontrakt ist ein Vertrag, den zwei gleiche Parteien eingehen, ein Vertrag zwischen zwei Gleichgestellten; ein Kontrakt ist ein Vertrag, abgeschlossen zwischen zwei Freien. Wo die Parteien einer Vereinbarung, Kontrakt genannt, zu diesen Kategorien gehören, sind sie nach Geist und Macht kontraktfähig und das Dokument ist gültig; wo einem Kontrakte eine dieser wesentlichen Eigenschaften und besonders, wenn sie ihm alle fehlen, ist das Ding null und nichtig und ohne Wirkung; es ist ein Dokument des Betrugs, dessen derjenige schuldig ist, der den Kontrakt dem anderen aufzwingt. Lassen Sie mich illustriren:

Angenommen, daß irgend ein Agent eines Vertragsbureaus in Minneapolis, darauf bedacht, meine unschätzbaren Dienste als Redner für diesen Abend zu sichern, mir nach New York geschrieben und mich nach meinen Bedingungen gefragt hätte und ich hätte ihm geantwortet, daß ich für $500 kommen würde. Er hätte nun zurückgeschrieben und verlangt, ich sollte vo mPreis so und so viel ablassen. Ich hätte wieder geantwortet. Weiter angenommen nun, daß ich nach vielem feilschen mich bereit erklärt hätte, für 400 zu kommen und er hätte eingewilligt, worauf ein Schriftstück aufgesetzt worden wäre, das etwa folgendermaßen gelautet hätte:

„John Jones und Daniel De Leon haben gegenseitig vereinbart, daß Daniel De Leon am 10. Juli eine Rede in Minneapolis halten wird, für welchen Dienst John Jones ihm, dem besagten De Leon, die Summe von $400 bezahlen wird."

Dieses Dokument, von beiden Parteien unterschrieben, würde ein Kontrakt sein. Wenn ich am vereinbarten Tage kam, meine Rede hielt und John Jones verfehlte, mich zu bezahlen, so würde ich gerechte Ursache haben zu einem Verfahren gegen ihn wegen Kontraktbruchs. Und an-

dererseits, wenn ich versäumen sollte, am festgesetzten Tage zu erscheinen, könnte John Jones mich wegen Kontraktbruchs verklagen und Schadenersatz fordern. Ganz gleich, was die Leute über die Höhe meines Preises denken mögen, der Kontrakt würde bestehen. Und warum? Weil wir beide, John Jones und ich, frei waren anzunehmen oder abzulehnen, keiner von uns handelte unter Zwang, wir beide *handelten frei*.

Angenommen aber nun, daß John Jones, anstatt an mich zu schreiben, selbst nach New York käme, in meine Office stürzte, eine Colt'sche Reiterpistole aus der Hüfttasche zöge, den Hahn spannte, mir den Lauf dicht vor die Stirn hielte und sagen würde: „Unterzeichnen Sie das!", dabei mir ein Blatt Papier vorlegend, mit dieser Inschrift darauf:

„John Jones und Daniel De Leon sind gegenseitig übereingekommen und haben feierlich vereinbart und sich gegenseitig wie folgt verpflichtet, nämlich: daß die zweite Partei, Daniel De Leon, am 10. Juli eine Rede in Minneapolis halten wird und daß die erste Partei dieses Vertrags, John Jones, der zweiten Partei, Daniel De Leon, für seine Dienste die Summe von fünf Cents bezahlen wird, welche Summe von fünf Cents die zweite Partei, Daniel De Leon, hiermit als eine liberale Entlohnung seiner Dienste anerkennt und welche besagte Summe nach freundschaftlicher und gegenseitiger Verständigung zwischen beiden Parteien vereinbart wurde." (Lachen.)

Würde ich unterzeichnen? Aber natürlich würde ich das! (Lachen.) Ich würde oben, unten, rechts und links unterzeichnen (Lachen.) Ich würde mit unterzeichnen gar nicht einhalten. (Lachen und Beifall.) Ich würde fortfahren mit unterzeichnen wie ein „bewegliches Bild", bis jene Pistole aus der beängstigenden Nähe meiner Stirn entfernt ist. — *Das ist die Situation, in der sich die Arbeiter befinden, wenn sie „Kontrakte" unterzeichnen.* (Anhaltender Beifall.)

Sagen wir nun, daß John Jones, mit dem Kontrakt in der Tasche, nach Minneapolis zurückkehrt, sein Gesicht von rechtschaffener, patriotischer Zufriedenheit glänzend. Sagen wir, er miethet einen Saal, druckt und verbreitet Plakate, worauf Versammlung und Rede angezeigt sind, und läßt die Versammlung auch in den Zeitungen annonziren; sagen wir, daß er sogar die Rechnungen dafür bezahlt und nicht auch hierin betrügt. Der Tag der Versammlung, die Stunde derselben kommt heran, — aber ich nicht. Der Saal füllt sich — aber ohne mich. Stunde auf Stunde verrinnt — wer immer da sein mag, ich bin abwesend. Das Publikum fällt über Jones her und schimpft ihn aus. Es besteht auf der Zurückerstattung seines Eintrittsgeldes und erhält es. Sagen wir, daß John Jones, entrüstet über meinen „Kontraktbruch", einen Schadenersatz-Prozeß gegen mich einleiten würde. Was würde passiren? Er würde vom Gericht als Schwindler abgewiesen werden, mag sogar selbst unter Anklage kommen. Jener „Kontrakt" ist null und nichtig und ohne Wirkung; er ist ein Zeichen des Betrugs, dessen John Jones schuldig ist und das alles, weil ich nicht *frei* war, weil er mich unter Zwang hielt. — *Genau so mit dem*

Arbeiter der „Kontrakte" unterzeichnet; genau so mit dem Kapitalist, der sie erpreßt. (Beifall.) Der Arbeiter steht nicht auf gleichem Fuße mit dem Kapitalist; ihm fehlt Wille und Macht, Kontrakte mit dem Arbeitgeber abzuschließen. Der letztere schwingt die Hungerpeitsche über dem Arbeiter, welche das kapitalistische System in die Hand des Herrn legt und mit deren Hülfe er seinen Lohnsklaven zur Unterwerfung einschüchtern kann. Platzen doch die Beschützer des Kapitalismus selbst, und das sogar in ihren öffentlichen Aeußerungen, wenn sie durch Aerger unvorsichtig gemacht sind, mit der Tatsache heraus, daß „nur die Peitschenhiebe des Hungers" die Arbeiter in der Tretmühle halten können. Vor den Schranken der Menschheit und der Gerechtigkeit sind die „Kontrakte", welche die Arbeit unterzeichnet, null und nichtig und ohne Wirkung. Und was sehen wir dennoch? Das Schauspiel ist ein so alltäglich wiederkehrendes, daß es die Natur eines „Systems", eines bedachten Manövers angenommen hat, das von den Arbeitgebern gemeinschaftlich mit deren Arbeiter-Leutnants angewandt wird, um die Arbeiterbewegung zu lähmen; ja, noch schlimmer als das, um ihr das Ansehen eines Rattenlochs zu geben.

Dieses System funktionirt in folgender Weise:

Sagen wir, ich bin ein Eisenbahnmagnat. Ich mache meine „Listen" oder Kontrakte nicht mit allen Angestellten zusammen, sondern mit jedem Beruf separat und es kann gar nicht genug autonome Berufe unter ihnen geben, um mir zu passen. Lassen Sie mich bei dieser Gelegenheit Ihre Aufmerksamkeit auf den Umstand lenken, daß die „American Federation of Labor" ihre nationalen und internationalen Unions beständig in autonome Berufe zersetzt. Ihre Vertheidiger machen viel Wesens aus einigen wenigen Ausnahmefällen, um es scheinen zu machen, daß „die A. F. of L. selbst auf beständigem Wege sei, eine industrielle Organisation zu werden." Der zunehmende Umfang der Jurisdiktionsstreitigkeiten erzählt das Gegentheil. Wie ich mit meinen Ausführungen fortfahre, werden Sie im Stande sein, die Bedeutung der Tendenz absoluter Berufs-Autonomie, die sich in der A. F. of L. offenbart, zu würdigen. Doch um den Faden wieder aufzunehmen. Ich mache alle meine separaten Kontrakte mit jedem der separaten Berufe, die an meiner Eisenbahnlinie beschäftigt sind — und es kann ihrer gar nicht zu viele geben, um mir zu gefallen. Mein Kontrakt mit den Lokomotivingenieuren ist so entworfen, daß er, sagen wir, am 15. April abläuft; mein Kontrakt mit meinen Weichenstellern ist entworfen, um am 3. September abzulaufen; mein Kontrakt mit meinen Heizern ist entworfen, um am 31. Januar abzulaufen; mein Kontrakt mit den Zugbediensteten so, daß er am 30. November abläuft — und so weiter die ganze Reihe so vieler Berufe herunter, wie die Arbeiter vom pure and simple Unionismus zersplittert sind, um mir zu passen. Jeder separate Beruf durch einen separaten Kontrakt gebunden, der an einem separaten Tage abläuft, habe ich die Industrie in meiner Gewalt. Sagen wir nun,

daß, „Kontrakt oder kein Kontrakt, gehorsam dem unterliegenden Gesetz der kapitalistischen endlosen Schraube, jenem ökonomischen Gesetz, das weder der Kapitalist noch seine Klasse zügeln kann, jenem unbarmherzigen ökonomischen Gesetz, welches den Kapitalisten ihr Verhalten in ihrem Ringen mit einander vorschreibt und sie veranlaßt, diese Kontrakte so auszulegen, wie es ihnen paßt; — sagen wir also, daß meine Weichensteller zur Rebellion getrieben werden und streiken. Was thue ich? Ich telephonire an meine Haupt-Arbeiterleutnants — die Präsidenten, Groß-Chefs und Superlativ-Sekretäre der nationalen Unions, und gleichzeitig drücke ich auf den Knopf und setze die Presse in Bewegung, sowohl die kapitalistischen Zeitungen wie auch die sogenannten Arbeiterblätter, redigirt von den Schülern der „Civic Federation".

Meine Arbeiter-Leutnants beeilen sich, meinem Ruf zu folgen. Wie schwarze Vögel eilen sie aus allen vier Himmelsgegenden auf die Szene. Und dann, nach der Musik: „Infame Männer, sie haben ihre Kontrakte gebrochen! Skandalöse Männer, sie haben ihren heiligen Vertrag verletzt!" und mehr desgleichen aus der Presse, die ich in Bewegung gesetzt habe und die jedes alte Weib beider Geschlechter und jeden Alters veranlaßt, meine Weichensteller als so viele Schlangen im Gras anzusehen. — nach dieser künstlichen Musik gehen meine nationalen Arbeiter-Leutnants an die Arbeit.

Sie wenden ihre Aufmerksamkeit nicht etwa den am Streik befindlichen Männern zu: diese kontraktbrüchigen Uebelthäter haben nur die Verachtung meiner tugendhaften Arbeiter-Leutnants. Sie sammeln vielmehr die in den anderen Berufen beschäftigten Männer um sich — die Maschinisten, Heizer, Kondukteure etc. — und sprechen, unterstützt von ihren Unteroffizieren, den lokalen Fakirs, etwa in folgender Weise zu ihnen:

„Seht nur jene boshaften Gesellen, sie haben ihre Kontrakte gebrochen. Es ist ein Wunder, daß kein Blitz vom Himmel herniederfährt und sie erschlägt. Sicher, die Gebeine der patriotischen Gründer dieser Republik müssen in ihren Gräbern klappern bei der Entdeckung, daß es solche gesetzlose Männer geben kann, die den Boden der Freiheit unsicher machen. Seht sie Euch nur an! Sie haben ihre Kontrakte gebrchen! Ihr werdet sicher nicht dasselbe thun! Ihr werdet sicher nicht so gemein sein! Ihr werdet Euch sicher als redlich und wahr erweisen!" (Lachen und Beifall.)

Und die so angeredeten Männer kreuzen ihre Arme über die männliche Brust und antworten, indem sie sich tief vor der Göttin des Kontrakts beugen, die für die Gelegenheit vor ihnen heraufbeschworen wurde:

„Nicht wir! Wir werden unserem Wort treu sein. Wir werden unsere Verträge achten. Wir werden unsere heiligen Kontrakte nicht brechen!" (Lachen.)

Was, auf gut deutsch übersetzt, heißt: „Wir werden Streikbruch gegen unsere Mitsklaven verüben." (Anhalten-

der Beifall.) Und sie thun es! Und so haben wir denn United Lokomotiv Maschinisten im Streikbruch gegen Union Heizer gesehen, Union Heizer im Streikbruch gegen Union Bremser, Union Bremser im Streikbruch gegen Union Weichensteller und so die ganze Reihe der Berufe herab; und wir haben alle diese gemeinsam Streikbruch verüben sehen gegen Union-„Trolleymen" und gegen alle Arten anderer am Streik befindlicher Unionmänner, indem sie die Miliz und das Militär transportirten, um die streikenden Arbeiter zur Unterwerfung zu zwingen, oder durch den Transport hungriger Arbeitsloser, um die Plätze der Streiker einzunehmen. Wir haben Union Gießer im Streikbruch gegen Union Maschinisten gesehen, Union Maschinisten im Streikbruch gegen Union Fahrstuhlbauer; Union Zigarrenmacher im Streik gegen Union Kellner, Union Kellner im Streikbruch gegen Brauer, Union Brauer im Streikbruch gegen Glucose Arbeiter, Union Fuhrleute im Streikbruch gegen Schreiner, Union Bachsteinleger im Streikbruch gegen Kleidermacher, Union Weichkohlengräber im Streikbruch gegen Hartkohlengräber — und so herunter bis zur letzten und geringsten der Fachorgtnisationen, und alle gegen jede. (Beifall.) Es ist eine Thatsache von tiefer Bedeutung, obwohl sie der Beachtung oberflächlicher Beobachter zu entgehen scheint, daß es nicht der unorganisirte Scab ist, welcher die Streiks bricht, sondern daß es der organisirte Beruf ist, der in Wirklichkeit die schmutzige Arbeit verrichtet (lauter Beifall); und so sehen wir jeden dieser Berufe, der wie ein Held kämpft, wenn er selbst in einen Streik verwickelt ist, wie durchtriebene Scabs handeln, wenn er nicht selbst von einem Streik betroffen ist, sehen wir ihn seine Klasse verrathen — und das alles aus Ehrfurcht vor „Kontrakten"! (Lauter Beifall.)

Erst kürzlich hatten wir ein auffallendes Beispiel dieser schmachvollen Aufführung in der Stadt New York, als die Leute der Belmont'schen Interborough Bahn für Bedingungen, unter denen sie leben konnten, in den Streik traten und Gompers, zusammen mit den anderen Lakaien der Belmont'schen „Civic Federation", und fähig unterstützt von ihren lokalen Unterlakaien, wie Herr Morris Braun von der Gomper'schen Internationalen Zigarrenmacher Union No. 144, die streikenden Männer als kontraktbrüchig niederschrieen und, weil „unwürdig des Unionismus", ihre Charter widerriefen; die direkte Erklärung an Belmont abgaben, daß die Leute "unrecht" gehandelt hätten und ihn, Belmont, freundlich um Verzeihung für die Sünder baten. (Stimmen: „Schande!") Noch ein anderes und sogar noch pathetischeres Beispiel war der Streik der New Yorker Zeitungsjungen, denen Hearst den Preis seiner Zeitung erhöht hatte. Diese kleinen Kerle, die schon durch ihre Erscheinung selbst im Freien die erbarmungslose Grausamkeit des Kapitalismus, sogar gegen das hülflose Kind, verkünden; schlecht gekleidet, ungenügend genährt, ungenügend beschuht, beraubt der unschuldigen Tage der Kindheit, die für den Aufbau des zukünftigen Mannes so wesentlich und wichtig sind; gehindert

in der Schulausbildung, vorzeitig den Versuchungen des Lasters ausgesetzt; laufende, rennende, schreiende Monumente des kapitalistischen Kannibalismus — diese kleinen Straßenaraber also traten vor die Schriftsetzer-Union No. 6 und baten um Unterstützung von Männern, von denen viele selbst Väter sind und die, hätten sie die Sache der Knaben zu der ihrigen gemacht, ihnen sicher zum Siege verholfen haben würden. Taten sie es?

Ein Eid, ein Eid, ich habe einen Eid im Himmel;
Soll ich mir Meineid auf die Seele laden?"

läßt Shakespeare seinen Schurken Shylock fragen. „Ein Kontrakt! Ein Kontrakt! Wir haben einen Kontrakt in der Tasche unseres Meisters Hearst! Sollen wir unser Gewissen mit Kontraktbruch belasten?" fragten die fachsimplen Union Schriftsetzer. Natürlich würden sie das nicht (Lachen und Beifall.) Sie schütteten über die Knaben ihre „Sympathien" aus; sie gaben ihnen alle die schönen Worte, die billig sind und nichts nützen — und die Zeitungsjungen verloren ihren Kampf. Es sollte hier beiläufig hinzugefügt werden, daß etwa ein Jahr später, als diese selbe Schriftsetzer Union ihren Streik gegen die „Sun" hatte, diese bärtigen Männer dieselben Knaben, die sie so schnöde im Stich gelassen hatten, fast fußfällig um ihre Unterstützung anflehten. Mag die Thatsache hier verzeichnet werden als ein Beweis für den dem menschlichen Herzen innewohnenden Edelmuth, und zur Ehre der Kindheit — des sich ewig erneuernden Versprechens, daß menschliches Fühlen und menschlicher Instinkt nicht von der Erde verschwinden sollen, — daß die Knaben, als an sie appellirt wurde, böses mit gutem vergalten und den Druckern halfen ihren Kampf zu führen. (Lauter Beifall.) Es war ein reiner Athemzug des Industrialismus.

Und welches Schauspiel präsentirte sich in Chicago während der jüngsten Monate? Wir sahen die Kleidermacher tapfer, mit Trommelschlag und fliegenden Fahnen in den Kampf marschiren. Sie kämpften wacker und wurden vom Felde geschlagen. Darauf machten sich die Fuhrleute kampfbereit und rückten ein, um die zurückgeschlagenen Kleidermacher zu unterstützen. Auch die Fuhrleute kämpften verzweifelt und wie Helden und verloren! Möglich, daß nach ihnen irgend eine dritte Division der Arbeit in's Feld rücken mag, um die Sache der Fuhrleute zu rächen, nachdem diese bei ihrem Versuch vernichtet waren, die Kleidermacher zu rächen, nachdem deren Kampf verloren war! — Wissen Sie was dem General passiren würde, welcher einem schlachtfertigen Feinde gegenüber, anstatt seine Truppen für den Kampf zu konzentriren, erst eine kleine Division vorschicken und dann warten würde, bis sie vernichtet ist, um dann eine zweite kleine Division in's Feld zu schicken und zu warten, bis sie in die Flucht geschlagen ist; denn eine dritte Division zu schicken, um auch niedergemacht zu werden und so fort, bis seine ganze mächtige Armee demoralisirt wäre und die Flucht ergreifen würde? Er würde am Kragen gepackt,

vor ein Kriegsgericht gestellt und wegen Verraths erschossen werden. Nun bin ich weder ein Prophet noch der Sohn eines Propheten, und doch wage ich, aus den Thatsachen schließend, die sich vor den Gerichtsschranken der Geschichte anhäufen, hier am heutigen 10. Juli 1905 die Behauptung, daß der Tag nahe ist, an dem die Arbeiterklasse von Amerika Kriegsgericht wegen Verraths an der Arbeiterklasse über Gompers, die Mitchells, die Stones abhalten wird (lauter Beifall), deren Führerschaft und Strategie die Armee der Arbeit opfert. (Lauter Beifall.)

So verfolgen wir also in direkter Abstammungslinie von der vorelterlichen Lüge betreffs Gegenseitigkeit der Beziehungen zwischen Arbeitgeberklasse und Arbeiterklasse eine lange Nachkommenschaft betrügerischer Prinzipien, ausgehend in „Kontrakte", welche die Arbeiterklasse lähmen, und die vielen daraus sich ableitenden Uebel. Lüge kann nur Lüge erzeugen, und der Lüge Brut ist Uebel. Im Bauwerk des kapitalistischen sozialen Systems haben Arbeiterklasse und Arbeitgeber- oder Kapitalistenklasse nichts mit einander gemein. Dieses Prinzip ist ein Leitstern auf dem Marschwege der Arbeit zu ihrer Emanzipation; das entgegengesetzte Prinzip ist ein falsches Licht, das zu sozialem Schiffbruch lockt. (Beifall.)

Der dritte Grundsatz.

Der dritte der drei leitenden und typischen Grundsätze im Vorwort ist der längste der drei; er ist von besonderer Wichtigkeit, und ich muß daher um Ihre fortgesetzte und genaue Aufmerksamkeit ersuchen. (Liest):

„Zwischen diesen zwei Klassen muß ein Kampf toben, bis alle Arbeiter auf politischem sowohl als auch industriellem Felde zusammenkommen und das in Besitz nehmen und halten, was sie durch ihre Arbeit produzieren und zwar durch eine ökonomische Organisation der Arbeiterklasse, ohne Verbindung mit irgend einer politischen Partei."

Dieser Grundsatz enthält zwei bestimmte Ideen, verbunden in zwei separaten Sätzen. Die beiden Ideen sind so bestimmt — die Idee der absoluten Nothwendigkeit politischer Einigkeit und die scheinbar entgegengesetzte Idee der Hinlänglichkeit der ökonomischen Organisation für die schließliche Befreiung des Lohnsklaven von seinen Fesseln — daß sie getrennt behandelt werden müssen.

Politische Einigkeit.

Ich kann für die industrialistische Bewegung und ihre Prinzipienerklärung nicht die Palme der Originalität über den Fach-Unionismus für den Gedanken in Anspruch nehmen, der in dem Satz, daß die Arbeiter „sowohl auf dem politischen wie auf dem ökonomischen Felde zusammenkommen müssen", eingeschlossen liegt. Der in diesem Satz enthaltene Gedanke ist, daß Politik eine Sache des Unionismus ist. Das ist kein neuer Gedanke. So sonderbar es auf den ersten Blick erscheinen mag, es ist ein Gedanke, der den Fach-Unionismus ebenso durchdringt, und noch sonderbarer, es ist ein Gedanke, zu dessen besonderen Schutzengeln die Arbeiter-

Leutnants der Kapitalistenklasse, welche den Fach- oder pure und simple Unionismus unter ihrer Kontrolle haben, sich aufgeworfen haben. In dieser Sache liegt der Werth des Industrialismus nicht in dem Ausspruch eines neuen Gedankens. Der große Werth liegt in dem lauten Verkünden einer Thatsache, welche die Arbeiter-Lutnants, indem sie sie geheim hielten, in den Stand setzte, aus derselben Nutzen zu ziehen ouf Kosten der Mitgliedschaft. Es ist der Fall eines Vormundes, der seinen Mündeln die verborgenen Reichthümer ihres Besitzes verschweigt und verstohlenerweise mit diesen Reichthümern selbst Schacher treibt. Viel liegt im gründlichen Begriff dieser Thatsachen.

Wer von Ihnen war nicht schon Zeuge des Anblicks, wie ein Arbeiterführer in einer Versammlung einer Fach-Union jedesmal aufsprang, als ob ihm ein Torpedo unter dem Gesäß explodirt sei, sobald die ökonomischen oder soziologischen Interessen der Arbeiter besprochen wurden? Der Anblick ist ein alltäglicher. Was immer die Frage, die sich einer Union präsentiren mag, sie kann nicht anders als von einem der zwei Standpunkte aus behandelt werden — entweder vom Standpunkt des Kapitalismus oder vom Standpunkt der Arbeit, d. h. von dem der sozialistischen Oekonomie aus. Unempfindlich und zufrieden lächelnd, vielleicht sogar glückselig schlummernd, sitzt der Labor Fakir auf seinem Stuhl, so lange die Diskussion sich in kapitalistischen Bahnen bewegt. Aber beim ersten Wort, das nach Sozialismus, d. h. nach Oekonomie der Arbeit klingt, werden Sie eine plöliche Umwandlung bemerken. Wie ein treuer Kettenhund des Kapitalismus wird der Fakir knurren, aufspringen und bellen. Ich habe das Ding absichtlich mehr als einmal in Versammlungen von Fach-Unions probirt, mit denen ich gerade verbunden war. Ich griff in solchem Fall in die grade friedlich im Gang befindliche Diskussion ein, während der Fakir unbekümmert zuschaute — Diskussion über Einwanderung, über Boycotts, über Löhne, über Miethskasernen, über Spirituosenhandel etc. Vorsichtig und wohlüberlegt vermied ich das Wort „Politik". Nie kam das Wort „Politik", geschweige denn der Name „Sozialistische Arbeiter Partei" über meine Lippen. Während ich sprach, waren diese Worte verbannt und mir fremd. Aber siehe da. Kaum hatte ich mein Argument so entwickelt, um den Standpunkt der Arbeit, d. h. den sozialistischen Standpunkt hervorzukehren, als auch schon der Kettenhund des Kapitalismus mit dem Protest aufsprang: „Keine Politik in der Union!" (Beifall.) Er hatte recht, das heißt, Arbeiter- oder sozialistische Oekonomie *ist* Politik, wie *kapitalistische Oekonomie gleichfalls Politik ist*. (Lauter Beifoll.) Kapitalistische Oekonomie ist im Fach-Unionismus zu Hause, wird geduldet, wird geschützt, ja, der Fach-Unionismus kämpft für kapitalistische Oekonomie. Wer wollte zu bestreiten wagen, daß Politik eine Thatsache in der Union *ist*? Oder wer würde zu leugnen wagen, daß der Arbeiter-Leutnant der spezielle Verwalter dieses Schatzes ist? Es ist bewiesen. In diesem Punkt — daß Politik eine Sache des Unionismus

ist — verkündet der Industrialismus kein neues Prinzip, am wenigsten ein Prinzip, welches zu bestreiten dem Fach-Unionismus anstehen würde. Groß genug ist der Werth des Industrialismus in den Folgerungen, die sich aus seinem Ausspruch ableiten. Durch den Fach-Unionismus halten die Kettenhunde des Kapitalismus den Schatz geheim zu ihrem Privatvortheil. Durch offene Verkündigung des Schatzes macht ihn der Industrialismus zu öffentlichem Eigenthum. Die sich hieraus ableitenden Folgerungen bedeuten umschlagen eines alten und umwenden eines neuen Blates. Auf diesem neuen Blatt steht geschrieben „Politische Einigkeit." (Beifall.)

Es ist nicht eine politische Organisation — wie die Prinzipienerklärung andeutet und wie ich beweisen werde —, welche Land und Kapital „nehmen und halten" kann. Das ist — wie die Prinzipienerklärung verkündet und wie ich beweisen werde, — die Funktion, welche der ökonomischen Organisation der Arbeiterklasse vorbehalten ist. Trotzdem bewegt sich die Gesellschaft von Stufe zu Stufe nicht via einer Reihe von Schiffbrüchen, sondern via Evolution. Jede folgende soziale Stufe schließt an die voraufgehende an. Bevor die neue etablirt ist und ihre Methoden in Operation sind, wird zwangsweise noch zu den Methoden der alten gegriffen. Sie sind die Nabelschnur des neugeborenen Kindes. Die Evolution vom kapitalistischen System zum Sozialismus kennzeichnet eine Revolution ersten Ranges. Die Methoden der sozialistischen Republik werden die Methoden sein, die sich aus ihrem materiellen Bauwerk ergeben. Letzteres steht zum kapitalistisch-sozialen Bauwerk in so diametrischem Gegensatz, daß die Methoden beider sozialen Systeme keinen Vergleich vertragen. Die kapitalistische Gesellschaft erfordert den politischen Staat, ihre Oekonomie überträgt sich daher in politische Grundsätze und Lehren. Die sozialistische Gesellschaft dagegen weiß nichts vom politischen Staat; in der sozialistischen Gesellschaft ist der politische Staat ein Ding der Vergangenheit, entweder abgestorben durch Nichtgebrauch oder amputirt, je nachdem die Umstände diktiren mögen. Dessenungeachtet ist der Sozialismus der Auswuchs, die höhere Entwickelung aus dem Kapitalismus. Als solche werden die Methoden der sozialistischen Bewegung auf ihrem Marsche zur sozialistischen Gesellschaft nothwendigerweise durch die kapitalistische Schale bestimmt, aus der der Sozialismus hervorgeht. Da wir nun sehen, daß kapitalistische Oekonomie sich in Politik übersetzt, kann auch sozialistische Oekonomie diesem Prozeß nicht gänzlich entgehen. Ein Theil, der bessere, der konstruktive Theil der sozialistischen Oekonomie übersetzt sich in die industrielle Organisation der Arbeiterklasse, übersetzt sich in jene Formation, welche die Form des zukünftigen sozialen Systems entwirft; ein anderer Theil der sozialistischen Oekonomie jedach übersetzt sich unvermeidlich in Politik, Bewegung in den Bedürfnissen der Bourgeois-Schale, in der die soziale Revolution zum Theil ihren Kurs bilden muß. Die Regierungsverwaltung des Kapitalismus ist der Staat, die Regierung selbst eine rein poli-

tische Institution: politische Macht ist, wie Marx es ausdrückt, bloß die organisirte Macht der Kapitalistenklasse, die Arbeiterklasse zu unterdrücken, zu bändigen, in Unterwerfung zu halten. (Beifall.) Die Bourgeois-Schale, in welcher die soziale Revolution zum Theil ihren Kurs bilden muß, schreibt die Aufstellung einer Organisation vor, welche der Kapitalistenklasse den Besitz der politischen Räuberburg streitig machen soll. Der Grund für solche Taktik des Beginnens schreibt auch ihr Endziel vor: — die Räuberburg kapitalistischer Tyrannei dem Erdboden gleich zu machen. Die Werkstätten, die Bauhöfe, die Fabriken, die Mühlen, kurz, die mechanischen Etablissements der Produktion, jetzt in den Händen der Kapitalistenklasse, sind alle zu „nehmen", nicht zu dem Zweck, sie zu zerstören, sondern zu dem Zweck, sie zu „halten"; zu dem Zweck, alles Gute, das in ihnen verborgen liegt und das der Kapitalismus im Wachsthum hindert, zu verbessern und zu erweitern, kurz, sie sind „zu nehmen und zu halten", um sie für die Zivilisation zu retten. Es ist genau das Gegentheil mit der „politischen Macht". Diese ist zu dem Zweck zu „nehmen", um sie abzuschaffen. Es folgt hieraus, daß das Ziel der politischen Bewegung der Arbeit rein destruktiv ist. Angenommen, daß bei irgend einer Wahl der klassenbewußte politische Arm der Arbeit das Feld erobern würde; angenommen, daß diese Eroberung eine so landrutschartige wäre, daß die kapitalistischen Wahlbeamten selbst so vollständig bestürzt wären, daß sie uns nicht „hinauszählen" würden, bevor sie sich von dem Triumph vergewissern würde, wäre eine Usurpation. Sie wäre entweder eine Usurpation oder das Signal zu einer sozialen Katastrophe. Sie wäre das Signal zu einer sozialen Katastrophe, wenn der politische Triumph der Arbeiterklasse des Landes nicht industriell organisirt fände, d. h. im vollen Besitz der Produktions- und Distributions-Anlagen, demgemäß im Stande, die vollständige Leitung der produktiven Mächte des Landes zu übernehmen. Die Katastrophe würde augenblicklich sein. Da die Anlagen der Produktion und Distribution in kapitalistischen Händen geblieben sind, würde die Produktion sofort gesperrt sein. Andererseits, wenn der politische Triumph die Arbeiterklasse industriell organisirt findet, dann wäre es von der politischen Bewegung, wollte sie ihre Existenz verlängern, ein Versuch, die Mächte zu usurpiren, von denen grade ihr Triumph verkündet, daß sie der Zentral-Administration der industriellen Organisation anheimfallen. Der „Grund" für eine politische Bewegung macht sie offenbar ungeeignet, die Produktionsmaschinerie „zu nehmen und zu halten". Wo die politische Bewegung einzieht, sind nicht

die Werkstätten und Fabriken, sondern die Räuberburg des Kapitalismus — zu dem Zweck, sie in Schutt zu legen. (Beifall.)

Und nun betreffs der „Struktur" einer politischen Partei. Fassen Sie dieselbe scharf in's Auge und die Thatsache kann Ihnen nicht entgehen, daß auch ihre Struktur die politische Bewegung unfähig macht, die Produktions-Maschinerie „zu nehmen und zu halten". Die Unfähigkeit lenkt sich unvermeidlich von dem „Grund" für Politik ab. Der „Grund" für eine politische Partei ist, wie wir gesehen haben, mit dem Kapitalismus auf seinem eigenen speziellen Felde zu streiten — auf dem Felde, welches das Schicksal der politischen Macht bestimmt. Es folgt daraus, daß die Struktur einer politischen Partei durch das kapitalistische Regierungssystem nach territorialen Grenzlinien bestimmt wird, ein System, welches die Sozialistische Republik beiseite wirft wie eine Hülle, welche die Gesellschaft ausgewachsen haben wird. Nehmen Sie z. B. den Kngreß, ob Senat oder Repräsentantenhaus. Die Einheit der kongressionellen Vertretung ist rein politisch geographisch, ist willkürlich. Die Struktur der Kongreßdistrikte spiegelt den Zweck des politischen Staates wieder — politisch, das heißt, Klassentyrannei über Klasse. Der Gedanke der Produktion ist abwesend, gänzlich abwesend bei der Abgrenzung der Kongreßdistrikte. Es kann auch nicht anders sein. Da der Kongreß keine Zentral-Administration der produktiven Kräfte des Landes, sondern die organisierte Macht der Kapitalistenklasse zum Zwecke der Unterdrückung ist, so haben s e i n e Wählerschaften nicht die Spur eines Zweckes, die Produktion zu verwalten. Schuhmacher, Maurer, Grubenarbeiter, Eisenbahnarbeiter und Arbeiter in allen anderen Fraktionen der Industrien sind daher in jedem separaten Kongreßdistrikt durcheinander geworfen. Folgedessen ist die politische Organisation der Arbeit, dazu erkoren, einen Kongreßdistrikt zu erobern, gänzlich unfähig, die Anlagen der Industrie „zu nehmen und zu halten". Die einzige Organisation, die fähig dazu ist, ist die Organisation der verschiedenen Industrien selbst — und diese sind keinen politischen Grenzlinien unterworfen, sie spotten solcher willkürlichen, eingebildeten Grenzen. Das zentrale administrative Organ der Sozialistischen Republik — das genaue Gegentheil von der Zentralgewalt des Kapitalismus, da es nicht die organisirte Macht einer herrschenden Klasse zum Zwecke der Unterdrückung ist, kurz, nicht politisch, sondern ausschließlich administrativ für die produzirenden Kräfte des Landes ist, — s e i n e Wählerschaften müssen ausschließlich industriell sein. In dem Akt des letzten Triumphes mag die Artillerie die Kavallerie unterstützen, in dem Akt jedoch, in dem das „nehmen und halten" der Produktionsanlagen der Nation vor sich geht, kann die politische Organisation der Arbeiterklasse keine Hülfe leisten. Ihre Mission wird grade vor dem Abschluß des Vollzugsaktes der Arbeiteremanzipation ihr Ende erreicht haben. Die Form der zentralen Autorität, der sich die politische Organisation anzupassen hatte, wird aufgehört haben zu sein. Wie die Schlange, welche die Haut abstreift und sofort in

ihrer neuen Haut wieder erscheint, wird sich der politische Staat gehäutet haben und die Gesellschaft wird gleichzeitig in ihrer neuen administrativen Hülle erscheinen. Die Bergbau-, die Eisenbahn-, die Textil- und die Bauindustrien, die Reihe herunter oder herauf, jede dieser Industrien wird ohne Rücksicht auf frühere politische Grenzlinien die Wählerschaft jener neuen zentralen Autorität sein, deren rohes Gerüst letzte Woche in Chicago errichtet wurde. (Beifall.) Wo der General-Exekutiv-Rath der „Industrial Workers of the World" seinen Sitz haben wird, da wird die Hauptstadt der Nation sein. (Beifall.) Wie die lockeren Kartenhäuser, welche Kinder bauen, werden die gegenwärtigen politischen Regierungen der Counties, der Staaten, ja, der Stadt am Potomac selbst, zusammenfallen und ihre Stellen werden von der zentralen und den untergeordneten administrativen Organen der industriellen Kräfte der Nation eingenommen werden. (Beifall.) Offenbar ist also nicht die Struktur der politischen Bewegung, sondern die Struktur der ökonomischen Organisation fähig zu der Aufgabe, die industrielle Administration der produktiven Tätigkeit des Landes „zu nehmen und zu halten" — das einzige, was des „nehmens und haltens" werth ist.

Der Stimmzettel.

Die Prinzipienerklärung der „Industrial Workers of the World" stellt die politische und die ökonomische Bewegung der Arbeit richtig dar und setzt sie zu ihren richtigen Beziehungen zu einander.

Unschätzbar ist der Werth und würdevoll die Stellung der politischen Bewegung. Sie giebt der Arbeiterbewegung Gelegenheit, ihre Ziele, Bestrebungen und Methoden frei und unverhüllt im hellen Tageslicht zu erörtern, während anders ihre Agitation auf die beschränkte Sphäre des Rattenlochs angewiesen wäre. Die politische Bewegung macht die Massen zugängig für die Propaganda der Arbeit; sie erhebt die Arbeiterbewegung über die Kategorie einer „Verschwörung"; sie stellt die Bewegung in Reihe mit dem Zeitgeist, der einerseits die Macht der „Verschwörung" in Angelegenheiten bestreitet, welche nicht nur die Massen berühren, sondern in denen die Massen selbst als intelligente Schauspieler mitwirken müssen, und andrerseits die freieste Meinungsäußerung verlangt. Und endlich beugt sich die politische Bewegung vor den Methoden zivilisirter Diskussion: Sie giebt eine Gelegenheit zur friedlichen Lösung der großen Frage, die zu lösen ist. Durch Verkündung der Notwendigkeit sowohl politischer wie industrieller Einigkeit verkündet die Prinzipienerklärung der J. W. W. uneingeschränkt und hinreichend die Zusammengehörigkeit der ökonomischen und der politischen Bewegung. Zu gleicher Zeit schloß die Prinzipienerklärung, indem sie ausdrücklich erklärt, daß das „nehmen und halten" ein Akt ist, der gänzlich in das Gebiet der ökonomischen Organisatin fällt, eine gefährliche Weiche, die auf ein Geleise der Gefahr führt, der Gefahr, die sozialistische, d. h. die

Arbeiterbewegung illusorisch und zu einem Weideplatz für den „intellektuellen" Kehricht der Bourgeois-Gesellschaft zu machen.

Der Stimmzettel ist eine Waffe der Zivilisation; der Stimmzettel ist eine Waffe, welche keine revolutionäre Bewegung unserer Zeit ignoriren darf, außer auf eigene Gefahr; der sozialistische Stimmzettel ist das Emblem des Rechts. Aber grade aus diesem Grunde ist auch der sozialistische Stimmzettel

„schwächer wie die Thräne eines Weibes
Zahmer als der Schlaf
Vernarrter als die Unwissenheit
Weniger tapfer als die Jungfrau in der Nacht
Und ungeschickter wie die ungeübte Kindheit,"

wenn er sich nicht auf die Macht stützt, die Durchführung seines Mandats nimmt unvermeidlich die Form an, die zu den kapitalistischen Methoden paßt. Auf dieser Ebene kreuzt die sozialistische Bewegung den Degen mit der modernen herrschenden Klasse — diese, um sich zu behaupten; die sozialistische Bewegung, um die herrschende Klasse aus ihrer Raubritterburg zu vertreiben und diese in Schutt zu legen. (Beifall.) Dies ist die Thatsache, die der Marx'schen Lehre zu Grunde liegt, daß die Arbeiterbewegung wesentlich politisch sei. In einem Lande wie unseres, wo in Uebereinstimmung mit dem voll ausgewachsenen Kapitalismus das Wahlrecht allgemein ist, tritt der unvermeidlich politische Charakter der Arbeiterbewegung um so schärfer hervor.

Der Satz aus dem Vorwort der Prinzipienerklärung, den wir jetzt besprechen und der die Nothwendigkeit sowohl politischer wie industrieller Einigkeit dringend nahe legt, ist auf diese Tatsachen aufgepflanzt. Wo sich zum Beispiel eine Gruppe von Arbeitern einbilden, daß sie ihre Stimmen mit denen ihrer an Freihandel glaubenden Arbeitgeber vereinigen sollten, ist es ganz außer Frage, daß sie auf dem politischen Gebiet eine Einheit mit einer Gruppe anderer Arbeiter bilden könnten, die der ökonomischen Ansicht sind, daß Schutzzoll ihnen Arbeit und bessere Löhne garantirt. Wo, um ein anderes Beispiel zu nehmen, eine Gruppe Arbeiter die kapitalistisch ökonomische Idee theilt, daß die Goldwährung gute Löhne bedeutet, können sie unmöglich auf dem politischen Gebiet mit denen ihrer Mit-Sklaven vereinigt werden, deren politischer Grundsatz mit Bezug auf Finanz der ist, daß viel Geld viel Löhne bedeutet. Diese beiden Kategorien können industriell so wenig vereinigt werden wie politisch, aus dem einfachen Grunde, weil sie nicht auf dem Felsengrunde des Klassenkampfes stehen. Verfolgen Sie ihre ökonomischen und politischen Ansichten bis an ihre resp. Quellen und Sie werden finden, daß diese identisch sind: der fundamentale Irrthum, daß die Lage des Arbeiters von der Lage des Arbeitgebers abhängt. Das verderbliche Resultat dieses Irrthums ist offenbar: Arbeitgeber sind ökonomisch in kriegführende, konkurrirende Sippen getheilt; folglicherweise kön-

nen die Arbeiter, wenn sie der Anhang ihrer Arbeitgeber sind, nichts anderes als gleichfalls getheilt ein. Klassen-Ignoranz zersplittert daher die Reihen der Arbeiterklasse. Der geschaffene Bruch auf dem industriellen Gebiet findet seinen Reflex auf dem politischen Gebiet und dort sehen wir das Arbeitervotum gleichfalls zersplittert — abgegeben für alle die vielen Parteien im Felde, von der korrektesten sozialistischen herab bis zur utopischen prohibitionistischen, und auf der anderen Seite wirkt der Bruch, der sich auf politischem Gebiete zeigt, auf das industrielle Gebiet zurück und verstärkt die Spaltung hier, wo wir dank der verderblichen Politik des Fach-Unionismus die Hand der Arbeit an der eigenen Kehle der Arbeit sehen. (Beifall.)

In dieser Verbindung ist im Geist einiger Leute die spekulative Frage entstanden, ob politische Einigkeit durch industrielle Einigkeit zustande gebracht wird, oder industrielle Einigkeit durch politische Einigkeit. Die Frage mag als eine Frage spekulativer Philosophie in das Reich der müßigen Diskussion verwiesen werden. In der Natur-Philosophie erscheint eine ähnliche Frage, die räthselhaft ist, nämlich: Was war zuerst da, die Henne oder das Ei? Einer antwortet: „Die Henne natürlich, wäre sie nicht zuerst da gewesen, könnte doch das Ei nicht gelegt worden sein." — „Unsinn," erklärt ein anderer, „das Ei muß zuerst da gewesen sein, denn ohne das Ei hätte es nichts gegeben, aus dem die Henne hätte ausgebrütet werden können." Wir wissen, daß im materiellen Leben der evolutionäre Prozeß so allmählich ist, daß Resultat in so endloser Kette auf Ursache zurückwirkt, daß im begrenzten Zeitraum und Spannweite menschlichen Beobachtungsvermögens die genaue Grenzlinie nicht immer festzustellen ist. Ursache und Wirkung werden relative Dinge, häufig abhängig vom Beobachtungsstandpunkt des Augenblicks. Ebenso ist es mit sozialen Dingen. Als abstrakte Frage ist es müßige Spekulation, ob politische Klarheit ökonomische Klarheit verursacht, oder ob umgekehrt ökonomische Klarheit politische Klarheit herbeiführt. Wir wissen, daß bei gewissen Stadien der Bewegung politische Klarheit der industrellen Klarheit voraus sein und auf sie einwirken und sie beleben wird; ebenso wissen wir, daß bei gewissen anderen Stadien keine politische Einigkeit und folglich auch keine politische Klarheit möglich ist, ausgenommen als Resultat ükonomischer Einigkeit und das setzt Klarheit voraus. Wer sich mit Geflügelzüchterei beschäftigt, wird sich die Eier verschaffen, aus denen die Hühner auszubrüten sind; wer Eier für den Markt haben will, wird sich die Hennen verschaffen, um sie zu legen; wer beides will, wird beides kultivieren und wird seine Energie nicht an Spekulationen über die „ursprüngliche Ursache" verschwenden. Das ist die in der Prinzipienerklärung der „Industrial Workers of the World" niedergelegte Stellungnahme. Sie erkennt die Nothwendigkeit politischer und industrieller Einigkeit und verkündet diese Thatsache und hält auch nicht mit ihrer Ansicht darüber zurück, welche von beiden, politische oder ökonomische Einigkeit, im gegenwärtigen Stadium der Bewegung

voraufgehen muß, um die andere möglich zu machen. Der Bau des Satzes, den wir unter Berathung haben und der die Nothwendigkeit der Einigkeit „auf dem politischen Felde sowohl als auf dem industriellen Felde" verkündet, giebt reichlich Andeutung darüber, welche der beiden Einigkeiten der Industrialismus als die nothwendige Vorbedingung bei dem jetzigen Stadium der Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika erreicht hat, die politische Einigkeit der Arbeiterklasse nur der Reflex der ökonomischen Einigkeit sein kann; er verkündet ferner die zu Grunde liegende, die bedeutsame Thatsache, daß die politische Bewegung absolut der Reflex der ökonomischen Organisation ist. Eine ausgezeichnete Stelle in Marx's „Achtzehnten Brumaire" wirft ein glänzendes Schlaglicht auf diese besondere Frage. Hinweisend auf das Verhalten der Feudalherren von England während der britischen Revolution, sagt Marx, sie glaubten, daß die britische Krone und die Kirche von England die Gegenstände ihres Enthusiasmus wären, bis die Stunde der Gefahr ihnen das Geständnis abrang, daß es in Wirklichkeit die Grund-Rente war, für die sie begeistert waren. Und so sehen wir die Redakteure der im Privatbesitz befindlichen Presse der Sozialistischen oder Sozialdemokratischen Partei des Landes — in diesem Staat „Public Ownership Party" genannt —, sich heute verhalten. Sie glaubten, daß der Sozialismus der Gegenstand ihres Enthusiasmus war, bis die Stunde der Gefahr — der Erlaß des Chicagoer industrialistischen Manifestes und die Abhaltung der Chicagoer Konvention — ihnen das Geständnis abgerungen hat, daß das, was sie in Wirklichkeit begeisterte, die Fleischtöpfe der A. F. of L. waren. (Beifall.) Politiche Einigkeit ist eine Losung des industriellen Unionismus.

Die Funktion des Unionismus.

Ich werde nun zum zweiten, dem Schlußsatz des dritten der drei Grundsätze, übergehen, die wir besprochen haben —, zu dem Satz, worin die Theorie aufgestellt ist, daß der letzte, der vollendete Akt der Arbeiterklassen-Emanzipation dadurch vollbracht werden muß, daß die Arbeiter „durch eine ökonomische Organisation der Arbeiterklasse, ohne Anschluß an irgend eine politische Partei, das Produkt ihrer Arbeit nehmen und halten". In keinem Lande außer den Vereinigten Staaten ist diese Theorie anwendbar, in keinem Lande außer den Vereinigten Staaten ist diese Theorie vernünftig. Sie ist unvernünftig und daher unanwendbar in allen anderen Ländern, mit der möglichen Ausnahme von Großbritannien und dem Rest der englisch sprechenden Welt, weil kein Land außer den Vereinigten Staaten jenes Stadium des voll abgerundeten Kapitalismus — ökonomisch, politisch und sozial — erreicht hat, wie es die Ver. Staaten erreicht haben. In anderen Worten, kein anderes Land ist reif für die Ausführung der marxistischen revolutionären Taktik. (Beifall.) Kein Wunder, daß diese Theorie alle Eulen, die pseudo-marxistischen eingeschlossen, aufgescheucht hat; kein Wunder, daß sie alle Philister der A. F. of L., zusammen

mit ihren verwandten Berufs-„Brüderschaften" zum nachdenken und zum überlegen des „Widerspruchs" gebracht hat, den sie darin sehen, daß „politische Einigkeit" verlangt und in demselben Athemzug vorgeschlagen wird, die Produktionsmaschinerie durch eine ökonomische Organisation „ohne Anschluß an irgend eine politische Partei" zu nehmen und zu halten. In diesem Satz der Prinzipienerklärung ist kondensirt, was der Kodex der marxistischen Taktik" genannt werden kann, im Unterschied vom Kodex der marxistischen Oekonomie; der Kodex der „Aktion", im Unterschied vom Kodex der „Theorie". In Folge dessen skizziert der Satz die Form der Regierungsverwaltung der Arbeiter - Republik. Er schließt die wichtige Frage der Funktion des Unionismus in sich ein, eine Frage, die so allgemein mißverstanden wird, daß wir auf der einen Seite den „Intellektuellen" sehen, stets den Unionismus verhöhnend und, wie es seine Gewohnheit ist, von zum Theil richtigen, hauptsächlich aber falschen Voraussetzungen ausgehend, argumentirend, daß „die Union eine verschwindende Institution ist", nicht werth, sich darum zu bekümmern; auf der anderen Seite den sogenannten „Unionist" mit praktischem Instinkt, der aber in den Aberglauben hineintappt, etwas als „Unionismus" zu verehren, was einfach eine kapitalistische Erfindung ist, die mit der Aufschrift „Union" versehen wurde, um zu täuschen und die darauf berechnet ist, den Weg des tatsächlichen Unionismus zu blockiren. Die Prinzipienerklärung der „Industrial Workers of the World" ist die erste Proklamation auf dem Felde der Praxis, welche diese vielseitige Frage anpackt. Wie es ihren Gelegenheiten, daher ihrer Pflicht gebührt, reifte diese Frucht zuerst auf amerikanischem Boden.

Es ist einer politischen Organisation, d. h. einer Partei nicht gegeben, die Produktionsmaschinerie „zu nehmen und zu halten". Sowohl der „Grund" für eine politische Partei und ihre „Struktur" sind ungeeignet für solche Arbeit. Ich habe mich des längeren mit einigen Seiten dieser Frage in der Rede beschäftigt, die ich letztes Jahr in Newark, N. J., hielt: „Die brennende Frage des Trades Unionismus." Ich werde sie jetzt mehr in ihren Einzelheiten aufnehmen.

Der „Grund" für eine politische Partei macht sie ungeeignet, die Produktionsmaschinerie „zu nehmen und zu halten". Wie ich zeigte, als ich den ersten Satz dieser Klausel — welcher die Notwendigkeit politischer Einigkeit nahe legt — behandelte, besteht der „Grund" für eine politische zu erzwingen. (Beifall.) Diese erforderliche Macht ist in der industriellen Organisation der Arbeiterklasse zusammengefaßt. Die M a ch t nun, merken Sie, braucht die Arbeiterbewegung ebenso sehr, möchte ich beinahe sagen, gegen die politischen Bewegungen, welche ihr eigener Hauch in's Leben ruft, wie gegen die kapitalistische Tyrannei selbst. Sie braucht diese Macht gegen den kapitalistischen Tyrannen, um ihn niederzuringen, und sie braucht diese Macht auch, um die üblen Konsequenzen zu verhindern, denen die politische Bewegung in dieser korrupten Atmosphäre der Bour-

geois-Gesellschaft unvermeidlich ausgesetzt ist. Diese zwei Punkte sind wichtig. Viel mehr, unendlich viel mehr, als auf den ersten Blick erscheint, hängt daran.

Trotz des scharf markirten ökonomischen Zuges der Arbeiterbewegung ist das Prinzip, daß sie auch politische Form annehmen muß, auf keine feingesponnene Theorie gegründet. Selbst die Stärke der sozialistischen Argumente in Abzug gebracht, die ich Ihnen vorbrachte und die auf die Unvermeidlichkeit der politischen Manifestation der Arbeiterbewegung hinweisen, giebt es einen Gegenstand der Betrachtung, auf den ich so weit nur nebenbei hingewiesen habe, und der, wenn richtig erwogen, die Sache über allen Zweifel stellt. Dieser Gegenstand der Erwägung ist das allgemeine Wahlrecht im Lande. Diese Institution ist dem Volk so in Fleisch und Blut gegangen, daß der Kapitalist, so mächtig er ist, nicht wagt, dieses Wahlrecht unmittelbar abzuschaffen, trotzdem es ein Stein im kapitalistischen Schuh geworden ist. Bei einem solchen Volk ist die Idee schimärisch, eine große Bewegung, deren handgreifliches Ziel eine sozialistische Revolution ist, unter dem Schlachtruf „Enthaltsamkeit vom Stimmkasten" führen zu wollen. Eine solche Idee kann nicht anders als ihre Befürworter zu Narren stempeln. Ob die ökonomische Bewegung es will oder nicht, ihre politische Phase wird sich auf dem ökonomischen Felde geltend machen. Männer aus ihren eigenen Reihen und Männer außerhalb ihrer Reihen werden das Banner der Arbeiterpolitik erheben. Auch wird der Kapitalist, während er sich in das Ding, die Arbeiterpolitik, fügt, nicht langsam in seiner Bemühung sein, ihr den Stachel zu nehmen. So aufmerksam er seine politische Burg auch bewacht, wird er doch von Zeit zu Zeit irgend einen „versprechenden" Kandiaten vom Arbeiter Ticket wählen und ihm Zulassung gewähren, oder es mag sein, daß er mal im Schlaf überrascht wird und irgend ein Arbeiter-Kandidat ihm durch die Finger seiner Vorposten des Stimmkastens schlüpft. Diese erfolgreichen Arbeiter-Kandidaten in den Parlamenten des Kapitalismus, den Verlockungen und Listen ausgesetzt, die den Kapitalisten zur Verfügung stehen, unterliegen zehn gegen einen. Sie unterliegen entweder in Folge der eigenen, ihnen innewohnenden korrupten Seele oder in Folge ihrer geistigen Verschwommenheit. In jedem Fall verrathen sie die Arbeiterklasse und die Wirkung macht sich bei der ükonomischen Bewegung schädlich fühlbar. Gegen diese Gefahr giebt es nur einen Schutz: die industrielle, d. h. die klassenbewußte ökonomische Organisation, um jenes Ballot rein und ehrlich zu halten. Nichts geringeres als eine solche ökonomische Organisation kann das Uebel verhindern, weil nichts geringeres als eine solche ökonomische Organisation die Schneide des speziellen Schwertes scharf halten kann, welches von der politischen Arbeiterbewegung geschwungen wird. Was dieses spezielle Schwert ist, habe ich schon zuvor gezeigt. Es ist rein z e r s t ö r e n d. Die ökonomische Bewegung mag ein wenig zur Zeit nehmen. Sie mag das thun, weil ihre Funktion ist, schließlich die vollständigen

Produktionsanlagen zu „nehmen und zu halten" und sie für die menschliche Rasse zu retten. Die politische Bewegung hat im Gegentheil eine gänzlich verschiedene Funktion; ihre Funktion ist, die politische Burg kapitalistischer Tyrannei gänzlich niederzureißen. Es folgt hieraus, daß die politische Bewegung der Arbeit selbst nicht entfernt auch nur das Aussehen eines Kompromisses annehmen darf. Sie giebt das Beispiel des revolutionären Zieles der Arbeiterbewegung: sie muß kompromißlos revolutionär sein. Diese Thatsache schreibt den erfolgreichen politischen Kandidaten der Arbeit in den Parlamenten des Kapitalismus ihr Verhalten vor. Dieses Prinzip fand Ausdruck in dem berühmten Wort Wilhelm Liebknechts, als er noch in der vollen Kraft seiner sozialistischen Bestrebungen stand: „Parlamentiren ist paktiren." (Beifall.) Als in späteren Jahren Erfahrung ihm die unglückliche Thatsache klar machte, daß die Bourgeoisie Deutschlands ihre eigene Revolution noch nicht vollendet hatte; als er entdeckte, daß jene Revolution erst vollendet werden müßte und daß da nichts war, die Aufgabe zu unternehmen, außer die sozialdemokratische Bewegung; als diese kalte Wirklichkeit ihm und seiner Bewegung in's Gesicht sah, paßte Liebknecht weise seinen Kurs den Bedürfnissen an. Parlamentiren ist legitime Taktik der Bourgeois-Revolution. Das Parlamentiren, welches die deutsche Sozialdemokratie, mit Liebknecht an der Spitze, auszuüben gezwungen war, demonstrirt, daß die Bewegung in Deutschland gezwungen war, die Taktik der Bourgeois-Revolution anzunehmen; — genau der Grund, warum solche Taktik gänzlich unangebracht, gänzlich unzulässig, ja, ein Zeichen des Verraths an der Arbeiterklasse ist, wenn in Amerika angewendet. (Beifall.) Ohne die Macht der klassenbewußten ökonomischen hinter der politischen Bewegung werden die politischen Bewegungen, welche die Arbeiter-Bewegung unvermeidlich in Amerika fördert, nicht nur zertheilt, sondern werden als weiteres Resultat jene Konfusion des Denkens fördern, die zur Korruption führt und die, auf die ökonomische Bewegung selbst zurückwirkend, ihre Wirksamkeit erschüttern hilft. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, daß alle Arbeiter-Kandidaten, ohne Ausnahme, die soweit mit Erlaubniß der Kapitalistenklasse durch deren Wachtposten an den Engpässen der Wahlen durchschlüpfen konnten, und deren Amt, dessen Antritt ihnen erlaubt wurde, von irgend welcher Wichtigkeit war, einer wie der andere „parlamentirten", d. h. „schacherten", kurz, die Revolution verkauften. Wir sahen dies sich ereignen während der jugendkräftigen Tage der „Knights of Labor"; wir sahen es kürzlich passieren in Haverhill, in Brockton, in der Legislatur von Massachusetts, in Paterson, in Sheboygan; wir sehen es jetzt passiren in Milwaukee. Es ist eine Sache des Selbstschutzes für die ökonomische Organisation, die politische zu bewachen und zu kontrolliren. Ungeschickt wie ungeübte Kindheit, eine Gefahr für die Arbeiter selbst, ist das Schwert des Arbeiter-Stimmzettels ohne die Macht der klassenbewußten ökonomischen Organisation, um jenes Schwert zu wetzen, es scharf zu

halten und darauf zu bestehen, daß es über dem Haupte des Feindes gezückt wird, hierauf zu bestehen auf die Gefahr der verschwommenen Köpfe, des Schwächlings, des Verräthers. (Beifall.)

Die Funktion des Unionismus.

Es bleibt nun noch nur ein Punkt zu erörtern und ich bin fertig. Es ist der Punkt mit Bezug auf die Nothwendigkeit der industriellen Organisation, um das Recht des Stimmzettels durch die Macht zu ergänzen, welche nothwendig ist, um der Kapitalistenklasse selbst den Gnadenstoß zu geben. Dieser Punkt schließt in sich, was allgemein, aber mit Unrecht mit

General-Streik

gemeint ist, ein Ausdruck, welcher durch Mißbrauch seitens seiner eigenen Befürworter, welche bisher das Pferd hinter den Wagen spannten, sehr mißverstanden wird und durch den angemesseneren Ausdruck General-Ausschluß der Kapitalistenklasse ersetzt werden sollte.

Politische Macht wird durch den Stimmkasten erreicht. Aber der Stimmkasten ist kein offenes Feld, er ist ein wahrer Engpaß. Dieser Engpaß wird von den Agenten der Kapitalistenklasse besetzt gehalten. Die Wahlinspektoren und Stimmenzählungs-Behörden sind kapitalistische Beamten, sie sind richtige Garnisonen, mit denen die Kapitalistenklasse den Engpaß hält. Sich einzubilden, daß diese kapitalistischen Garnisonen die Wahl-Engpässe den Kandidaten der Revolution, auf deren Programm der gänzliche Abbruch der politischen Burg des Kapitalismus steht, ruhig erlauben würden, friedlich durchzumarschieren, hieße sich den Träumereien eines Narren hingeben. Der revolutionäre Stimmzettel der Arbeit wird schon jetzt „hinausgezählt", er ist vom ersten Tage seines Erscheinens an hinausgezählt worden; er wird in noch größerem Maße in der Zukunft hinausgezählt werden. Diese Thatsache wird nun von manchen als ein genügender Grund angesehen, um daraus zu schließen, daß die politische Bewegung gänzlich nutzlos ist. Diejenigen, die zu diesem Schluß gelangen, verfallen in den Irrthum, daß sie zu erkennen verfehlen, daß korrekte Schlußfolgerungen sich nie aus einzelnen Voraussetzungen ableiten. Es läßt sich zu ihnen nur gelangen, wenn alle Voraussetzungen im Falle in Erwägung gezogen werden. Während der sozialistische Stimmzettel hinausgezählt wurde, wird und noch weiter hinausgezählt werden mag, vollbringt die politische Bewegung das, was alles Hinauszählen nicht im Stande sein wird zu verhindern. Ein Mann mag am Thermometer herumspielen, dennoch ist er gänzlich außer Stande, mit der Temperatur zu spielen. Halten Sie hier in diesem Raum voll stickender Hitze ein Stück Eis an die Quecksilberkugel eines Thermometers und das Quecksilber wird unter den Gefrierpunkt fallen und doch bleibt die Temperatur auf Fiebrhitze stehen. Halten Sie in strengster Winterkälte ein Stück glühende Kohle an die Kugel und das Quecksilber wird auf den Punkt der Fieber-

hitze steigen und doch bleibt die Temperatur kalt, unverändert. So mit den Wahlen und ihren Stimmenzählungen. Sie sind der politische Thermometer. (Beifall.) Die politischen Posten der Kapitalistenklasse mögen nach Herzenslust daran herumdoktern, sie werden nicht im Stande sein, die umgebende politische Temperatur auch nur um den kleinsten Bruchtheil eines Grades zu ändern. Nun denn, diese politische Temperatur ist aus Gründen, die ich bereits erklärte, vornehmlich das Produkt der politischen Bewegung der Arbeit. (Lang anhaltender Beifall.) Warten Sie, ich habe den Punkt noch nicht bewiesen. Die Frage mag gestellt werden, ja, sie wurde gestellt: Was nützt die heißeste der politischen Temperaturen, wenn die Kapitalistenklasse die Macht behält, sie durch hinauszählen unserer Stimmen aufzuheben? — Sie mag viel können; hier in Amerika mag sich die Verwirklichung des Ideals bedeuten, welches allen Sozialisten so theuer ist: die friedliche Lösung der sozialen Frage. Blicken Sie nach Europa hinüber. Der feudale Geist herrscht dort noch in einer wichtigen Hinsicht, als Folge der großen Ueberreste feudalistischer Institutionen, die dort noch bestehen. In Europa ist selbst die Kapitalistenklasse feudalisirt, gar nicht zu reden von den überlebenden feudalen Häuptern. Obgleich schuldig aller Verbrechen der zehn Gebote, eine Untugend giebt es, von der der Feudalherr hauptsächlich frei ist. Diese Untugend ist Feigheit. Tapferkeit ist der Inhalt der Lieder, mit denen sie in len Schlaf gewiegt werden; Tapferkeit ist das Thema der Ammenmärchen, mit denen sie groß gezogen werden; Thaten der Tapferkeit sind die Ideale, die ihnen vorgehalten werden. Nehmen Sie als Typus den halbverrückten, halbverkrüppelten deutschen Kaiser. Er wird kämpfen, was immer die Ungleichheiten. In Europa ist eine friedliche Lösung der sozialen Frage außer aller Frage. Aber wie ist die Situation hier in Amerika? Waren es Lieder der Tapferkeit, die an der Wiege unserer kapitalistischen Herrscher gesungen wurden? Waren es Erzählungen edlen Wagens, welche das Thema der Kindermärchen bildeten, mit denen sie großgezogen wurden? Waren die Ideale, die sie aus der Umgebung ihres Heims gewannen, die Ideale der Männlichkeit? Kurz, erreichten sie ihre gegenwrätige Position durch Thaten der Tapferkeit? Nein! Tägliche Erfahrung, bestätigt durch jede Untersuchung, die eine Gruppe von Kapitalisten gegen eine andere einleitet, lehrt uns, daß sie ihren gegenwärtigen Stand als Herrscher dadurch erreichten, daß sie Sand in Euren Zucker mischten, daß sie ihre Aktienwerthe verwässerten, daß sie Euch Schundstoff als Kleidung verkauften, daß sie Wasser in Euren Zuckersyrup gossen, sowie durch Vertrauensbrüche, durch betrügerische Bankerotte, durch betrügerische Feuer, kurz, durch Schwindel. (Beifall.) Nun denn, der Schwindler ist ein Feigling. Wie ein Feigling spielt er, wie wir es die Kapitalistenklasse thun sehen, den Eisenfresser gegenüber der schwachen Arbeiterklasse, schwach, weil unorganisirt. Vor dem Starken kriecht der Eisenfresser. Laßt die politische Tem-

peratur auf den Gefahrpunkt steigen, dann wird Euer Kapitalist trotz allen herumkorrigirens am Thermometer in seinen gestohlenen Stiefeln zittern; er wird nicht zu kämpfen wagen; er wird fliehen. (Beifall.) Wenigstens ich für meinen Theil erwarte ihn fliehen zu sehen. Aber er wird das in der That nicht, wenn nicht hinter dem Stimmzettel, welcher die politische Temperatur auf Fieberhitze hat steigen machen, die Macht der industriellen Organisation steht, im vollen Besitz der industriellen Etablissements des Landes, organisirt als ungetheiltes Ganzes und folglich befähigt, die Leitung der Produktion der Nation zu übernehmen.

Die vollständige industrielle Organisation der Arbeiterklasse wird dann einen friedlichen Ausgang des Kampfes gesichert haben. Aber der Kapitalist mag vielleicht nicht fliehen. Vielleicht mag er in wahnsinniger Wuth Widerstand leisten. Um so schlimmer — für ihn. Die Macht, die in der industriellen Organisation der Arbeiterklasse des Landes liegt, wird in der Lage sein, kurzen Prozeß mit dem rebellischen Usurpator zu machen (lauter Beifall) und das Recht, welches der Stimmzettel proklamirte, zu schützen.

Die Richtigkeit des Stimmzettels allein, wie siegreich er immer sein mag, wurde in auffallender Weise vor neun Jahren während der ersten Bryan-Kampagne illustrirt. Die politische Temperatur gegen die plutokratischen Herrscher des Landes war bis auf einen Punkt gestiegen, wo sie auf einen Augenblick den Kampf am Stimmkasten als verloren betrachteten. Das brachte sie jedoch nicht außer Fassung. Durch ihren nationalen Wortführer, Mark Hanna, drohten sie die Produktion einzustellen. Mit anderen Worten, sie drohten an den Streik zu gehen. (Lachen.) Die Drohung war kein müßiges Geschwätz. Sie konnten es. Es war bekannt, daß sie es konnten. Der Fach-Unionismus gab es in ihre Macht, es zu thun. Die Drohung hatte ihre gewünschte Wirkung. Aber laßt den Kapitalist, unter dem Druck der durch den Arbeiter-Stimmzettel erzeugten Temperatur, wagen zu streiken. Im Besitz der Macht, wie sie in der industriellen Organisation ihrer Klasse liegt und von ihr verliehen wird, würde die Arbeiterklasse die Kapitalistenklasse sofort ausschließen. (Lauter Beifall.) Ohne politische Organisation kann die Arbeiterbewegung nicht triumphiren; ohne ökonomische Organisation würde der Tag ihres politischen Sieges der Tag ihrer Niederlage sein.

Industrialismus bedeutet Macht. Fach-Unionismus bedeutet Ohnmacht. Alle Anlagen der Produktion, ja, selbst der unermeßliche Reichthum für den Konsum ist heute in den Händen der Arbeiterklasse. Es sind Arbeiter, welche die Fabriken, die Eisenbahnen, die Bergwerke, kurz, alles Land und alle Produktionsmaschinerie unter ihrer Aufsicht haben und sie sind es, die als Wachthunde vor den Speisekammern, den Kellern und den Sicherheitsgewölben der Kapitalistenklasse liegen, ja, sie sind es, welche die Schießgewehre in den Armeen tragen. Aber dieser Platz des Vortheils

nützt ihnen nicht unter dem Fach-Unionismus. Unter dem Fach- oder Gewerk-Unionismus marschiert nur ein Gewerk zur Zeit auf das Schlachtfeld. Indem sie müßig zuschauen, üben die anderen Gewerke Verrath an dem kämpfenden. Damit und mit dem gleicherweise müßigen Zuschauen jener Abtheilungen der Arbeiterklasse, welche das kommissarische Departement — sozusagen — der Kapitalistenklasse bilden, präsentirt der Klassenkampf unter dem Fach-Unionismus den Anblick kleiner Aufruhre, bei denen die leeren Mägen und leeren Hände der Arbeiterklasse gegen die vollen Mägen und vollen Hände der Unternehmerklasse in's Feld geschickt werden. War das Ignoranz? War das Verrath? Ob Verrath oder Ignoranz, der Wendepunkt in der langen Gasse ist erreicht. Das gegenwärtige Verhalten des Fach-Unionismus und das zukünftige Verhalten des industriellen Unionismus, beides wurde von einem der Delegaten in der Chicagoer Konvention zutreffend geschildert. Indem er seinen Punkt mit den fünf weit von einander abgespreizten Fingern seiner rechten Hand illustrirte, zeigte er, daß dies die Haltung der Fach- oder autonomen Unions sei — getrennt von einander für alle praktische Arbeit und nur gut genug, um als Fächer zu dienen, als ein Fächer, der bisher nichts gethan habe, als die Fliegen vom Gesicht der Kapitalistenklasse zu verscheuchen (Lachen); dann zog er seine Finger fest zu einer kompakten Faust zusammen und erklärte das als die Haltung des industriellen Unionismus—ein Mauerbrecher, der dem Gesicht der Kapitalistenklasse ein anderes Aussehen geben würde wie es zeigte, als es gefächelt wurde. (Lauter Beifall.) Die Ohnmacht, mit der das Recht der Arbeiterklasse bisher getroffen wurde, ist jetzt zu einer Macht zu organisiren, ohne welche jenes Recht nur Spott und Hohn ist. Das Signal zu dieser Organisation wurde letzte Woche in der Konvention der „Industrial Workers of the World" gegeben und das Wort ist in die Welt hinausgegangen, wie es von keinem anderen Lande außer Amerika ausgehen konnte, in einer Sprache, die unserer voll ausgewachsenen kapitalistischen Entwicklung angemessen ist.

„Vereinigt Euch! Vereinigt Euch auf dem ökonomischen Felde auf der einzigen Basis, auf der ökonomische Einigkeit möglich ist — auf der Basis der Arbeiterklasse-Solidarität, die einzige haltbare Thatsache, von der politische Einigkeit kommen kann! Vereinigt Euch! Vereinigt Euch auf dem einzigen ökonomischen Prinzip, welches im Stande ist, das Recht des Arbeiter-Stimmzettels mit der Macht, es zu erzwingen, zu stützen! Vereinigt Euch für den Generalstreik am Stimmkasten zum Sturz der politischen Räuberburg des Kapitalismus, gestützt vom Generalstreik gegen die Kapitalistenklasse oder vielmehr vom General-Ausschluß derselben von den industriellen Gebieten, die sie usurpirt hat. Vereinigt Euch für die Emanzipation der Arbeiterklasse und um die Zivilisation von einer Katastrophe zu retten!" (Lauter Beifall.)

Fragen.

1.

Frage. — Glauben Sie nicht, daß die Kapitalistenklasse das Wachsthum der „Industrial Workers of the World" dadurch zu verhindern suchen wird, daß sie von jedem Angestellten eine beschworene Aussage verlangt, daß er kein Mitglied jener Organisation ist?

Antwort. — Sie mag das versuchen, es wird aber seinen Zweck verfehlen. Ich zeigte Ihnen, daß der „Kontrakt", den zu unterzeichnen ich durch eine Pistole gezwungen wurde, die mir an den Kopf gesetzt war, null und nichtig war. Er war null und nichtig, weil nicht ich es war, der ihn unterzeichnete, sondern die Pistole. Ebenso mit solchen beschworenen Aussagen. Sie würden von den Arbeitern nicht beschworen werden, wenn nicht die über ihrem Kopfe geschwungene Hungerpeitsche sie dazu zwingen würde. Die Hungerpeitsche leistete den Schwur, mag die Hungerpeitsche ihn halten. (Lachen und Beifall.)

2.

Frage. — Wenn ich mich dieser neuen Union anschließen wollte, würde ich sofort von den Beamten meiner Union außer Arbeit geworfen werden. Was soll ein Mann da thun?

Antwort. — Blicken Sie nach Rußland. Individuelle Erhebungen werden schnell unterdrückt. Die Sicherheit des Individuums liegt in Massen-Aufständen. Die Tyrannei der Großfürsten der „American Federation of Labor" und verwandter Fach-Organisationen kann nur durch Massenerhebung gegen sie überwunden werden. Eine solche Fluthwelle der Rebellion gegen die Arbeiter-Leutnants der Kapitalistenklasse ist jetzt in der Bildung begriffen, um bald über ihren Köpfen zusammenzuschlagen. (Beifall.)

Ende.

Vorwort zur Konstitution der W. J. J. U.

(Angenommen auf der Konvention von 1905. Amendiert auf der Konvention von 1915.)

Die Arbeiterklasse und die Arbeitgeberklasse haben nichts mit einander gemein. Es kann kein Frieden herrschen so lange wie Hunger und Not unter Millionen von Arbeitern zu finden sind, und die Wenigen, welche die Arbeitgeberklasse bilden, alle guten Dinge des Lebens haben.

Zwischen diesen beiden Klassen muß ein Kampf weiter toben, bis die Arbeiter auf dem politischen Feld zusammenkommen unter dem Banner einer ausgesprochen revolutionären politischen, und von den Klasseinteressen der Arbeiter geleiteten Partei; und auf dem industriellen Feld unter dem Banner von Einer Großen Industriellen Union, um alle Produktions- und Distributionsmittel zu nehmen und zu halten und sie zur Wohlfahrt aller Reichtumsproduzenten zu operieren.

Die rapide Anhäufung von Reichtum und die Zentralisation der Leitung der Industrien in immer weniger und weniger Hände machen die Trades Union unfähig, der beständig wachsenden Macht der Arbeitgeberklasse entgegenzutreten, weil die Trades Unions einen Zustand der Dinge fördern, der es zuläßt, daß eine Gruppe von Arbeitern gegen eine andere Gruppe von Arbeitern in derselben Industrie ausgespielt wird, wodurch sie bei Lohnkämpfen sich gegenseitig besiegen helfen. Die Trades Unions helfen der Arbeitgeberklasse, die Arbeiter zu dem Glauben zu mißleiten, daß die Arbeiterklasse gemeinsame Interessen mit ihren Arbeitgebern hat.

Diese traurigen Zustände müssen geändert, die Interessen der Arbeiterklasse müssen hochgehalten und, so lange die kapitalistische Herrschaft besteht, den Arbeitern alle möglichen Erleichterungen verschafft werden. Das kann nur von einer Organisation getan werden, die beharrlich den vollständigen Sturz des kapitalistischen Lohnsystems als Ziel verfolgt und in solcher Weise formiert ist, daß alle ihre Mitglieder in irgend einer Industrie oder, wenn notwendig, in allen Industrien, die Arbeit niederlegen, wann immer ein Streik oder eine Aussperrung in irgend einem Department davon im Gange ist, damit Unrecht gegen Einen zu einem Unrecht gegen Alle machend.

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ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ

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ΠΡΟΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΑ

«Ἡ Ἐργατικὴ τάξις καὶ ἡ ἐργοδότρια δὲν ἔχουσιν οὐδὲν τὸ κοινόν. Εἶναι ἀδύνατον νὰ ὑπάρχῃ εἰρήνη ἐνόσῳ ἡ πεῖνα καὶ ἡ ἀνάγκη μαστίζει ὁλόκληρα ἑκατομμύρια ἐργατικοῦ λαοῦ καὶ οἱ ὀλίγοι οἵτινες ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν ἐργοδότριαν τάξιν, ἔχουν ὅλα τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς ζωῆς.

«Μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τῶν τάξεων πρέπει νὰ ἐξακολουθῇ ὁ ἀγὼν ἕως ὅτου οἱ ἐργάται ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, ἀφοῦ ὀργανωθοῦν ὡς μία τάξις, καταλάβουν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα τῆς παραγωγῆς καὶ καταργήσωσι τὸ σύστημα τοῦ μισθοῦ.

«Βλέπομεν ὅτι ἡ συγκέντρωσις τῆς διαχειρήσεως τῆς βιομηχανίας, ἀπὸ ὀλίγας εἰς ὀλιγωτέρας χεῖρας, ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν συντεχνικῶν ἑνώσεων τοῦ νὰ ἀντεπεξέρχωνται κατὰ τῆς ὁσημέραι αὐξανούσης δυνάμεως τῆς ἐργοδοτρίας τάξεως. Αἱ συντεχνικαὶ ἑνώσεις παρουσιάζουν μίαν τοιαύτην κατάστασιν πραγμάτων, ἥτις ἐπιτρέπει εἰς μίαν τάξιν ἐργατῶν ν' ἀντιτάσσηται ἐναντίον ἄλλης τάξεως ἐργατῶν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν βιομηχανίαν, προκαλοῦσα τοιουτοτρόπως τὴν ἧτταν ἀμφοτέρων κατὰ τὸν περὶ μισθοῦ πόλεμον. Ἐπὶ πλέον, αἱ συντεχνικαὶ ἑνώσεις βοηθοῦν τὴν ἐργοδότριαν τάξιν νὰ ἀποπλανήσῃ τοὺς ἐργάτας μὲ τὴν δοξασίαν, ὅτι οὗτοι ἔχουσι κοινὰ συμφέροντα μὲ τοὺς ἐργοδότας.

«Αὐταὶ αἱ καταστάσεις δύνανται ν' ἀλλάξουν καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῶν ἐργατῶν νὰ ὑποστηριχθοῦν μόνον ὑπὸ μιᾶς ὀργανώσεως ἱδρυθείσης κατὰ τρόπον, ὥστε ὅλα τὰ μέλη της, εἰς ὁποιανδήποτε βιομηχανιαν ἢ εἰς ὅλας τὰς βιομηχανίας ἐὰν εἶναι ἀνάγκη, νὰ παύουν τὴν ἐργασίαν ὁπουδήποτε εἶναι ἀπεργία, προξενοῦντες βλάβην εἰς ἕνα καὶ ὅλους.

«Ἀντὶ τοῦ συντηρητικοῦ ἀξιώματος «ἱκανοποιητικὸς μισθὸς ἀντὶ μιᾶς ἡμερησίας ἐργασίας» ἡμεῖς πρέπει νὰ ἐπιγράψωμεν εἰς τὴν σημαίαν μας τὸ ἐπαναστατικὸν σύνθημα «κατάργησις τοῦ συστήματος τοῦ μισθοῦ».

«Ἡ ἱστορικὴ ἀποστολὴ τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως εἶναι νὰ ἐξαφανίσῃ τὸν πλουτοκρατισμόν. Ὁ στρατὸς τῆς παραγωγῆς πρέπει νὰ ὀργανωθῇ ὄχι μόνον διὰ τὸν καθημερινὸν ἀγῶνα μετὰ τῶν κεφαλαιούχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ νὰ διαχειρισθῇ τὴν παραγωγὴν μετὰ τὴν ἐκθρόνισιν τῶν κεφαλαιούχων. Ὀργανούμενοι βιομηχανικῶς, ἱδρύομεν τὸ οἰκοδόμημα τῆς νέας κοινωνίας ἐντὸς τοῦ κελύφους τῆς παλαιᾶς.»

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Εἰς τὰς κάτωθι σελίδας ὁ ἀναγνώστης πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ἐνήμερος, ὅτι ὁπουδήποτε ἔχει ἐκλεχθῆ ἡ ἐνέργεια ἑνὸς ἐργάτου πρὸς ἐπεξήγησιν, ἀμφότερα καὶ ὁ ἐργάτης καὶ αἱ ἐνέργειαί του ἀπεικονίζουν τὴν ἐργατικὴν τάξιν καὶ τὴν κοινωνικὴν παραγωγήν. Ἡ ἐκμετάλλευσις τῆς ἐμμίσθου ἐργασίας εἶναι ἐκμετάλλευσις τῆς μιᾶς τάξεως ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης, ἤτοι ἡ ἐκμετάλλευσις ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τῶν ἐργατῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐργοδότου των, λαμβανομένου ὑπ' ὄψιν, ὅτι ἐὰν δὲν ἐννοήσωμεν τὰ ἀνωτέρω, ἡ ἀγωνιζομένη τάξις θὰ εἶναι φράσις ἄνευ σημασίας.

Η ΑΝΕΞΑΡΤΗΣΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΓΑΤΟΥ

Ὅταν εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο γίνεται μνεία περὶ ἑνὸς ἐργάτου ἢ μιᾶς ἐργατικῆς ὁμάδος ὡς παραγούσης ἀντικείμενόν τι ἢ ἐμπόρευμα, πρέπει νὰ ἐννοήσωμεν, ὅτι τοιαύτη μνεία γίνεται ἁπλῶς πρὸς ἐξήγησιν ἑνὸς ζητήματος.

Ἡ παραγωγὴ ἀντικειμένου ὑπὸ οἱουδήποτε ἐργάτου εἶναι ἀδύνατος ἐνόσῳ ὁ κεφαλαιοῦχος διευθύνει τὴν βιομηχανίαν, τόσον τὸ ἁπλούστατον ἀντικείμενον, ὅσον καὶ ἡ πλέον περίπλοκος μηχανή, εἶναι προϊὸν ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως. Ἀπὸ τὸ πυρεῖον μέχρι τοῦ ἀθρόου ποσοῦ τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων τοῦ κόσμου, δὲν δύναται νὰ μὴ ὑπάρχῃ ταξινόμησις τοῦ κόπου καὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν πυρεῖα ἢ τὸν πλοῦτον τοῦ κόσμου. Λέγομεν, π.χ., ὅτι ὁ μεταλλουργὸς παράγει ἄνθρακα καὶ ὁ ἀρτοποιὸς ἄρτον, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἔχει οὕτως. Οὗτοι βοηθοῦν ἀλλήλους εἰς τὴν παραγωγὴν τοῦ ἄνθρακος καὶ τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ ταὐτοχρόνως ἐξαρτῶνται ἐκ τοῦ ὑπολοίπου τῶν ἐργατῶν διὰ τὸν ἐξοπλισμὸν καὶ τὰ ὑλικά. Πρὶν ἢ ὁ μεταλλουργὸς καταβῇ ἐντὸς τῆς γῆς, οἱ συνάδελφοί του ἔχουν κοπιάσει ἐν συνεργασίᾳ καθ' ὅλας τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας προσπαθείας, διὰ νὰ τὸν ἐφοδιάσουν μὲ σπίτι, τροφήν, ἔπιπλα, ἐνδύματα, ἐργαλεῖα, κτλ. Καὶ ὄντως εἰς τὴν παραγωγὴν τοῦ ἄνθρακος ὅλοι τὸν ἔχουν βοηθήσει. Αὐτοὶ δὲν βλέπουν τὸν ἄνθρακα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς δὲν θὰ τὸν ἔβλεπεν εἰς τὰ ἔγκατα τῆς γῆς ἄνευ τῆς βοηθείας αὐτῶν, διὰ τοῦτο λοιπὸν ἡ παραγωγὴ τοῦ ἄνθρακος εἶναι μία κοινωνικὴ λειτουργία, εἰς τὴν ὁποίαν ὅλοι οἱ ἐργάται λαμβάνουν μέρος, ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ ὁποῖον πράττει ὁ μεταλλωρύχος εἶναι ἡ ΕΚΤΕΛΕΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΑΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΣ, ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΑΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΤΑΠΟΙΗΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΡΑΚΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ ΧΡΗΣΕΩΣ. Ἀλλὰ ὁ ἄνθραξ δὲν ἔχει παραχθῆ ἀκόμη. Ὁ ἄνθραξ πα-

ράγεται ὄχι διὰ νὰ τὸν μεταχειρισθοῦν οἱ ἐργάται τοῦ μεταλλείου, ἀλλὰ διὰ νὰ θερμαίνῃ μερικὰς οἰκίας καὶ νὰ ἐφοδιάζῃ κινητήριον δύναμιν εἰς μερικὰς βιομηχανίας. Ἄλλοι ἐργάται συνοδεύουσι τὸν μεταλλορύχον διὰ νὰ συμπληρώσουν τὴν παραγωγὴν τοῦ ἄνθρακος. ΟΥΔΕΝ ΠΡΟ·Ι·ΟΝ ΠΑΡΑΓΕΤΑΙ ΠΡΙΝ Ἤ ΕΥΡΕΘΗ Ο ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΗΣ, ΟΣΤΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΑΤΑΝΑΛΙΣΚΕΙ. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ περιπτώσει τὸ μόνον, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐμπνέει πρὸς ἐπιτυχῆ παραγωγὴν, εἶναι ἡ εὐαρέσκεια ἑνὸς ἀτόμου ἢ τῆς κοινωνικῆς ἀνάγκης.

Ο ΜΕΤΑΛΛΩΡΥΧΟΣ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΜΙΑ ΤΥΠΙΚΗ ΕΙΚΩΝ

Ὁ Μεταλλωρύχος ἐνταῦθα ἀναφέρεται ὡς παράδειγμα, ἀλλὰ δύνασαι νὰ τὸν ἀντικαταστήσῃς μὲ τὸν γεωργόν, μὲ τὸν ράπτην, μὲ τὸν κτίστην, κτλ., ἀλλὰ ἐὰν ἐκλέξῃς νὰ μελετήσῃς τὰς ἐνεργείας ὁποιουδήποτε, θὰ ἴδῃς ὅτι οὗτος ἐργάζεται ἐν συνδέσμῳ καὶ ὅτι δὲν δύναται νὰ λειτουργῇ ἄνευ τῆς ὑπολοίπου ἐργατικῆς τάξεως. Ἡ πλουτοκρατικὴ βιομηχανία τοιουτοτρόπως ἔχει ὀργανώσει τοὺς ἐργάτας, ὥστε νὰ εἶναι οὗτοι ἐν συνειδήσει περὶ τῆς ἀναγκαιοτάτης ἀλληλοβοηθείας. Δὲν ὑπάρχει οὐδεμία ἀνεξαρτησία οὔτε διὰ τὸ ἄτομον, οὔτε διὰ τὴν ὁμάδα. Ὡς τάξις αὐτοὶ ἐργάζονται καὶ παράγουν. Ὡς τάξη τοὺς ἐκμεταλλεύονται ἄλλοι, καὶ ὡς τάξις αὐτὴ πρέπει νὰ ὀργανωθοῦν καὶ διὰ μιᾶς ὠργανωμένης τάξεως μόνον θὰ εἶναι εἰς θέσιν νὰ κατορθώσουν βελτίωσίν τινα εἰς τὸ παρόν, ἢ ἀπελευθέρωσιν εἰς τὸ μέλλον.

ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΟΝ ΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΒΙΟΜΗΧΑΝΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΓΑΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ

ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ

Ἐὰν σὺ εἶσαι ἔμμισθος ἐργάτης ἢ ἐργάτρια, ἡ ζωή σου ἐξαρτᾶται ἀπὸ τὸν προσανατολισμὸν πρός τινα ἐργασίαν. Σὺ πρέπει νὰ γίνῃς ὑπάλληλος εἷς τινα ἐργοδότην.

Διὰ νὰ ἀποκτήσῃς αὐτὴν τὴν σχέσιν, πρέπει νὰ κατέχῃς κάτι τι τὸ ὁποῖον ὁ ἐργοδότης ἀπαιτεῖ εἰς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας οὗτος ἐνασχολεῖται. ΣΥ ΕΧΕΙΣ τὴν δύναμιν νὰ παράγῃς πλοῦτον — ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ.

Τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ μόνον πρᾶγμα ποῦ ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ εἶναι οὐσιώδης παράγων εἰς τὴν βιομηχανίαν. Πράγματι, ὅλη ἡ πλουτοκρατικὴ βιομηχανία ἔχει θεμελιωθῆ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καθὼς ἐσύ, ὁ ὁποῖος δὲν δύνασαι νὰ ζήσῃς μὲ ἄλλον τρόπον, εἰμὴ μόνον ὅταν προσφέρῃς εἰς αὐτοὺς πρὸς πώλησιν τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τὴν ἐργατικήν σου δύναμιν. Ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις τῶν ἐργατῶν σχεδὸν εἰς ὅλα τὰ ἐπαγγέλματα τῆς βιομηχανίας χρησιμοποιεῖται ἐν συνδυασμῷ μὲ ἄλλα εἴδη δυνάμεων, ὡς τοῦ ἀτμοῦ, τοῦ ἠλεκτρισμοῦ, φωταερίου, ὕδατος, γαζολίνης καὶ ἵππων. Ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις διαφέρει τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὄχι μόνον δαπανᾶται μόνη της, ἀλλὰ δαπανᾶται μόνη της λογικῶς καὶ διευθύνει, κυβερνᾷ καὶ μεταχειρίζεται τὰς ἄλλας δυνάμεις. Τόσον ὁ ἐγκέφαλος τοῦ ἐργάτου, ὅσον καὶ οἱ βραχίονες καὶ οἱ πόδες του εἶναι παράγοντες τῆς ἐργατικῆς του δυνάμεως. Αἱ ἄλλαι δυνάμεις θὰ ἐπέφερον τοιαύτην βλάβην, ὅσην καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν, ἄνευ τῆς ὁδηγίας τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως.

ΠΩΛΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ

Ὅταν πωλῇς τὴν ἐργατικήν σου δύναμιν πρὸς τὸν προϊστάμενόν σου, συμφωνεῖς νὰ παραδίδῃς εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν χρῆσιν αὐτῆς δι' ἀρκετὰς ὥρας τὴν ἡμέραν, συνήθως δέκα, διὰ τὰς ὁποίας ἐκεῖνος συμφωνεῖ νὰ πληρώνῃ μίαν ὡρισμένην τιμὴν (γνωστὴν ὡς ἡμερομίσθιον), ἂς εἴπωμεν ἐκ τριῶν δολλαρίων τὴν ἡμέραν· ἢ συμφωνεῖς νὰ συσσωματώσῃς ὡρισμένον ποσὸν τῆς δυνάμεώς σου ἐντὸς τῶν ἀκατεργάστων ὑλῶν εἰς δεδομένην τιμήν. Ὁ πρῶτος τρόπος τῆς συμφωνίας εἶναι τὸ χρονικὸν σύστημα τῆς πωλήσεως ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως. Ὁ δεύτερος εἶναι τὸ σύστημα ἐργασίας κατὰ τεμάχια. Κατ' ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς τρόπους σὺ πωλεῖς τὴν ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸν προϊστάμενόν σου, καταμετρουμένην διὰ τοῦ ὡρολογίου ἢ ἐνσωματουμένην εἴς τι ἀντικείμενον.

Ὅταν πωλῇς τὴν ἐργατικήν σου δύναμιν, παραδίδεις αὐτὴν ἐργαζόμενος κατὰ τὰς συμφωνίας τῆς πωλήσεως. Ἐὰν κανεὶς ἔχῃ ζάχαριν ἢ κρέας, ἢ ἔνδυμα πρὸς πώλησιν, ἐγχειρίζων αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν ἀγοραστὴν καὶ λαμβάνων τὸ ἀντάλλαγμα, δι' αὐτὸν ἡ ὑπόθεσις τελειώνει. Ἀλλὰ

ὅταν ὁ ἔμμισθος ἐργάτης πωλῇ τὴν ἐργαιτκήν του δύναμιν, πρέπει νὰ τὴν συνοδεύσῃ εἰς τὸ κατάλληλον μέρος τῆς πωλήσεως, ὡς εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον, εἰς τὰ μεταλλεῖα, εἰς τοὺς σιδηροδρόμους, κτλ., καὶ νὰ ἐργάζηται ἐκεῖ ἕως ὅτου ὁ συμφωνηθεὶς χρόνος ἔχῃ παρέλθει, ἢ τὸ ὡρισμένον ποσὸν ἔχει παραδοθῆ. Αὐτὴ εἶναι ἡ ἰδιαιτέρα ποιότης τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως, ἥτις εἶναι μέρος τοῦ ἐργάτου, τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ **δὲν δύναται νὰ ἀποχωρισθῇ ἀπὸ αὐτόν.**

Η ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΩΣ ΕΜΠΟΡΕΥΜΑ

Ὅλαι αἱ ἐν χρήσει ἀξίαι κατασκευαζόμεναι καὶ προσφερόμεναι πρὸς πώλησιν λέγονται ἐμπορεύματα. Εἶναι χαρακτηριστικὸν τῆς πλουτοκρατικῆς βιομηχανίας, ὅτι τὰ προϊόντα της εἶναι προσδιωρισμέναι ἀξίαι συναλάσσουσαι (ἐμπορεύματα) — καὶ ὁ ἔμμισθος ἐργάτης ὑπολογίζεται ὡς ὁ παράγων τὴν ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν — μίαν συναλλάσσουσαν ἀξίαν —. Τόρα τὰ πράγματα δύνανται νὰ ἔχωσι συναλλάσσουσαν ἀξίαν ταὐτοχρόνως ὅταν ἔχουν καὶ ἐν χρήσει ἀξίαν. Τοιουτοτρόπως, ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις παρέχει εἰς τὸν ἔμμισθον ἐργάτην τὴν συναλλάσσουσαν ἀξίαν ἢ τὴν τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Ἀλλὰ ἀντὶ τῆς συναλλασσούσης ἀξίας ὁ προϊστάμενος ἀγοράζει τὴν ἐν χρήσει ἀξίαν — τὴν ὁποίαν χρησιμοποιεῖ κατὰ τὸν ὡρισμένον χρόνον τῶν δέκα ὡρῶν..... Ὁ ἐργάτης πωλεῖ τὴν ἐργατικήν του δύναμιν καὶ ἀντὶ ταύτης λαμβάνει μισθὸν μὲ τὸν ὁποῖον αὐτὸς πρέπει νὰ προμηθευθῇ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῆς ζωῆς δι' ἑαυτὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν οἰκογένειάν του. Ὁ προϊστάμενος ἀγοράζει ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν, διότι ἔχει ἀνάγκην αὐτῆς πρὸς χειρισμὸν τοῦ ἱδρύματός του, εἴτε εἶναι ἐργοστάσιον, εἴτε μεταλλεῖον εἴτε σιδηρόδρομος ἢ ἀγρός. Τὸ πλέον τελειοποιημένον ἐργαλεῖον θὰ εἶναι ἄχρηστον διὰ τὴν παραγωγὴν πλούτου, ἐὰν δὲν τὸ θέσῃ εἰς ἐνέργειαν ἡ μαγικὴ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις. Εἰς τὸν ἐργάτην παρέχει ἐργασίαν ὁ προϊστάμενος οὐχὶ ἐκ φιλανθρωπικῶν λόγων ὑποκινούμενος, ἀλλὰ διότι ἄνευ τοῦ ἐργάτου δὲν δύναται νὰ προοδεύσῃ εἰς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις του. Ὅταν οὗτος παραλμβάνῃ ἐργάτην τινα προσπαθεῖ νὰ κάμῃ τὸν ἐργάτην νὰ ἐργασθῇ μὲ ὅσον τὸ δυνατὸν μικροτέραν πληρωμήν. Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον, τὸ ὁποῖον οὗτος ὑποχρεοῦται νὰ παραδεχθῇ, εἶναι ὁ μισθὸς ὁ ἐπαρκὴς νὰ συντηρῇ τὸν ἑαυτόν του καὶ τὴν οἰκογένειάν του συμφώνους τοῦ τρόπου τῆς πενιχρᾶς ζωῆς, υἱοθετηθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐργατῶν. Αὐτὸς λοιπὸν ὁ τρόπος τῆς ζωῆς εἶναι ἐκεῖνος ὅστις προσδιορίζει τὸν μισθόν.

Ὁ ἐργατικὸς χρόνος ἀναγκαῖος πρὸς παραγωγὴν ἀξίας ἴσης πρὸς τὰς ἀπαιτουμένας πρὸς συντήρησιν καὶ ἀναπαραγωγὴν τοῦ ἐργάτου, ὁρίζει τὴν ἀνταλλακτικὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ἐργατικῆς του δυνάμεως ἢ τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ ἐργάτου. Ὡς θὰ ἴδωμεν ἀργότερον, ὅτι τοῦτο εἶναι ἐκεῖνο, τὸ ὁποῖον προσδιορίζει τὰς σχέσεις τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων τοῦ ἑνὸς πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο.— Τοῦ ἐντὸς τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων συμπεριλαμβανομένου κοινωνικῶς ἀναγκαίου ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου — καὶ ὡς ἐργατικὴ δύναμις εἶναι ἕν ἐμπόρευμα, τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ συναλλάσσουσα ἀξία καθ' ὅμοιον τρόπον προσδιορίζεται.

Ἀλλὰ ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις ἐν ἀντιθέσει πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἐμπορεύματα, ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὅτι εἶναι μέρος τοῦ ἐργάτου, ἔχει συνδεθῇ μὲ τὰς ἐμπνεύσεις, ἐλπίδσς, φιλοδοξίας καὶ θέλησιν τοῦ ἰδιοκτήτου, δηλαδή, μολονότι ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις εἶναι ἐμπόρευμα, ἔχει ὅμως ἀνθρωπίνας ἰδιότητας· καὶ οὖσα ἀχώριστος ἐκ τοῦ ἐργάτου, ὑποβοηθεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ νὰ μὴ ὀνομασθῇ ἁπλῶς ἐμπόρευμα. Εἰς τὴν πλουτοκρατικὴν κοινωνίαν οὗτος δὲν εἶναι

μόνον παραγωγὸς καὶ πωλητὴς ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος — ἐργατικὴ δύναμις — ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς καθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἕν ἐμπόρευμα — ἤτοι ἕν δέμα περιβεβλημένον δι' ἀνθρωπίνου δέρματος.

ΑΙ ΣΧΕΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥΧΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΟΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ Ο ΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ

Ἐκεῖνο, τὸ ὁποῖον ὑφίσταται μεταξὺ τοῦ ἐργάτου καὶ τοῦ ἐργοδότου δὲν εἶναι ἀνθρωπίνη συγγένεια, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς — ἀγοραστὴς καὶ πωλητής. Ὑπὸ ἀνθρωπίνην ἔποψιν δὲν εἶναι συγγένεια ἀνθρώπου πρὸς ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ δούλου πρὸς κεφαλαιοῦχον κύριον. Ὅταν λέγουν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον συχνάκις ἐπαναλαμβάνουν, ὅτι αἱ πλουτοκρατικαὶ ἐπιχειρήσεις εἶναι οὐσιωδῶς φιλανθρωπικαί, ὅτι προμηθεύουν τὰ μέσα διὰ τῶν ὁποίων οἱ ἐργάται δύνανται νὰ ἀποκτοῦν τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαῖα, εἶναι διαστρέβλωσις ἧς ἀληθείας. Ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον πράγματι οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι πράττουν εἶναι νὰ προμηθεύουν τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαῖα, ἀλλὰ διὰ νὰ ἐπωφεληθοῦν ἐκ τῆς ἐργατικῆς ἐλλείψεως τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων καὶ ἐπειδὴ δὲν δύνανται νὰ ἐκμεταλλευθοῦν τὸν ἀποθανόντα ἐργάτην, διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὶ πρέπει νὰ φροντίζουν διὰ τὴν ζωὴν τῶν ἐργατῶν, ἐὰν ἡ ἐκμετάλλευσίς των εἶναι νὰ ἐξακολουθῇ. Ὁ προϊστάμενος δὲν θέλει νὰ γνωρίζῃ πῶς ζοῦν οἱ ἐργάται ἐνόσῳ αὐτοὶ τοῦ παρέχουν ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν, τὴν ὁποίαν αὐτὸς ἔχει συμφωνήσει. Οὗτος δὲν τοὺς ὑπολήπτεται καθόλου ὡς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς π.χ. ἐὰν ὁ προϊστάμενος χρειάζεται δύο ἐργάτας καὶ παρουσιασθοῦν τέσσαρες διὰ τὰς δύο κενὰς θέσεις, καὶ οἱ δύο εἶναι ρωμαλαῖοι, ὁ ἕνας εἶναι ἀδύνατος καὶ φιλάσθενος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος εἶναι χωλός — ὁ προϊστάμενος θὰ δώσῃ ἐργασίαν εἰς τοὺς δύο ρωμαλαίους, διότι αὐτοὶ κατέχουν ἐκεῖνο, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐκεῖνος ἀγοράζει — ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν —. Οἱ ἄλλοι δύο, μολονότι δυνατὸν νὰ εἶναι εἰς ἀπελπιστικὴν θέσιν, δὲν θὰ ἀποκτήσουν ἐργασίαν, διότι ὁ προϊστάμενος χρειάζεται ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν, ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον ἐκεῖνοι δὲν κατέχουσιν. Οὐδὲν ἀνθρωπιστικὸν ἐλατήριον ἐμπνέει τὸν ἐργοδότην διὰ τὴν ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ διατήρησιν τοῦ ἱδρύματός του. Οὗτος κυβερνᾶται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπορικῶν νόμων. Εἴτε ἀγοράζει ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν, εἴτε ἐργαλεῖα, ἢ ἀκατέργαστον ὕλην, οὗτος προσπαθεῖ παντὶ σθένει νὰ ἀγοράσῃ ταῦτα ὅσον τὸ δυνατὸν εἰς χαμηλωτέραν τιμήν, ζητῶν τὴν ἀρίστην ποιότητα. Οὗτος ἀγαπᾷ ταπεινοὺς μισθοὺς — μίαν ταπεινὴν τιμὴν διὰ τὴν ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν — ὁπότε ὁ ἐργάτης ἐπιθυμεῖ ὑψηλὴν τιμήν.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

1ον. Τὶ σημαίνει ὅταν λέγωμεν: Ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ ἐργάτου ἐξαρτᾶται ἀπὸ τὸν προσανατολισμὸν πρός τινα ἐργασίαν;

2ον. Τὶ εἶναι ἐργατικὴ δύναμις;

3ον. Ποία εἶναι ἡ διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δυνάμεων, ὡς τοῦ ἀτμοῦ, ἠλεκτρισμοῦ, κτλ.;

4ον. Πῶς καταμετρεῖται ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις;

5ον. Διατὶ ὁ ἐργοδότης ἀγοράζει ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν;

6ον. Ποία εἶναι ἡ διφαορά, ἐὰν ὑπάρχῃ τοιαύτη, μεταξὺ τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τοῦ κόπου;

7ον. Τὶ εἶναι ἕν ἐμπόρευμα;

8ον. Διατὶ ὑπάρχει ἡ πλουτοκρατικὴ βιμοηχανία;

9ον. Δύναται ἕνα πρᾶγμα νὰ ἔχῃ ἀνταλλακτικὴν ἀξίαν χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃ ἐν χρήσει ἀξίαν; Διατί;

10ον. Διατὶ ὁ ἐργάτης πωλεῖ τὴν ἐργατικήν του δύναμιν;

11ον. Τὶ ἀπολαμβάνει ἔναντι αὐτῆς;

12ον. Ποῖος ἐν γένει προσδιορίζει τὸν μισθόν του;

13ον. Ἔχουν ὁ ἐργοδότης καὶ ὁ ἐργάτης τὸ ἴδιον συμφέρον ὅταν ὁ ἐργάτης ἀποτείνεται δι' ἐργασίαν;

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ

ΑΝΤΑΛΛΑΚΤΙΚΗ ΑΞΙΑ

'Ο προϊστάμενος καὶ ὁ ἐργάτης, ὁ εἷς ὡς ἀγοραστὴς καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὡς πωλητὴς, δὲν ὁρίζουν τὴν ἀνταλλακτικὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως — μισθούς —. 'Η ἀγορὰ κυβερνᾷ ἀμφοτέρους. Τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ ἐργοδότου τοῦ ἐπιβάλλει νὰ ἀγοράσῃ τὴν ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὴν πλέον ταπεινὴν τιμήν, ἐνῷ ὁ ἐργάτης, ὡς εἶναι φυσικόν, ζητεῖ τὴν ὅσον τὸ δυνατὸν ὑψηλοτέραν τιμήν. 'Αλλὰ ἡ ἀγορὰ διατάσσει, ὅπως ἡ ἐργατικὴ ἀξία πρέπει νὰ συναλλαχθῇ ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως ἐπὶ τῆς ὁποίας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐμπορεύματα συναλλάσσονται — ὁ κοινωνικῶς ἀναγκαῖος ἐργατικὸς χρόνος πρὸς παραγωγὴν πραγμάτων ἀναγκαίων πρὸς συντήρησιν τοῦ ἐργάτου, συμφώνως μὲ τὴν τυπικὴν ζωὴν αὐτοῦ. Τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἀνταλλακτικῆς ἀξίας ὅλων τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων. «Κοινωνικῶς ἀναγκαῖος» ἐννοεῖται σημαίνει τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ ἀναλόγου χρόνου συμφώνως τῆς μηχανικῆς ἱκανότητος τῆς ἐπικρατούσης μεθόδου. Τὸ ἀνάλογον τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου καθορίζει τὰς σχέσεις ὅλων τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων πρὸς ἄλληλα εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ κυβερνᾷ τὴν συναλλαγὴν τῆς ἐργαιτκῆς δυνάμεως, ὡς καὶ ὅλων τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορευμάτων. 'Ο Κὰρλ Μὰρξ λέγει: «'Εὰν θεωρήσωμεν τὰ ΕΜΠΟΡΕΥΜΑΤΑ ΩΣ ΑΞΙΑΣ, πρέπει νὰ τὰς θεωρῶμεν ἀποκλειστικῶς ἀπὸ τὴν μόνην ἄποψιν τοῦ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΟΠΟΙΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ, ΤΟΥ ΠΑΓΙΩΘΕΝΤΟΣ, ἢ ἐὰν θέλητε τοῦ ΑΠΟΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΩΘΕΝΤΟΣ κοινωνικοῦ κόπου. 'Εν τοιαύτῃ περιπτώσει μόνον δύναταί τις νὰ ἴδῃ τὴν διαφορὰν κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπροσώπευσιν μεγάλου ἢ μικροῦ ποσοῦ κόπου, ὡς π.χ. μεγαλειτέρα ποσότης κόπου περιλαμβάνεται ἐντὸς τοῦ ρινομάκτρου, παρὰ ἐντὸς μιᾶς πλίνθου. 'Αλλὰ πῶς μετρᾷ κανεὶς τὴν ΠΟΣΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΠΟΥ; ΜΕ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ, ΟΝ Ο ΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ ΘΕΤΕΙ, μετρουμένου τοῦ κόπου μὲ τὴν ὥραν, τὴν ἡμέραν, κ.τ.λ. Πρὸς ἐπεξήγησιν, ἐὰν λάβωμεν μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως, ἕνα πηλήκιον, ἕνα βιβλίον καὶ ἓν τεμάχιον κρέατος, ἕκαστον ἐξ αὐτῶν πωλεῖται ἀντὶ τριῶν δολλαρίων. Αὐτὰ τὰ ἀντικείμενα οὐδὲν κοινὸν ἔχουσιν ὁρατὸν εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, οὔτε φαίνονται ὅμοια, οὔτε ἐξυπηρετοῦσι τὸν ἴδιον σκοπόν, ἐν τούτοις εἰς ὅλα αὐτὰ εἶναι κάποια κοινὴ ποιότης, ἡ ὁποία ἐξισώνει τὸ ἕν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο καὶ πρὸς τὰ 3.00 χρυσᾶ δολλάρια. Τί εἶναι τοῦτο; Τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου ἀναγκαίου πρὸς παραγωγὴν αὐτῶν (καὶ τῶν τριῶν δολλαρίων εἰς χρυσὸν) ἅτινα εἶναι ἴσης διαρκείας καὶ χρονικότητος. Δὲν εἶναι μόνον ἡ ποσότης τοῦ χρόνου, ὅστις ἐχρειάσθη διὰ τὴν παραγωγὴν ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος μὲ ἀπηρχαιωμένα ἐργλαεῖα καὶ παλαιὰς μεθόδους, ἀλλὰ ὁ χρόνος τοῦ κοινωνικῶς ἀναγκαίου κόπου, ὅστις καθορίζει τὴν ἀνταλλακτικὴν ἀξίαν του.

ΑΞΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΧΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ

'Ο Κὰρλ Μὰρξ λέγει ('Αξία, Τιμὴ καὶ Κέρδη, σελὶς 61) «Θὰ ἐφαίνετο ὅτι ἡ ἀξία ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος καθορίζεται ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΣΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ

ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΗΝ καὶ ὅσον ὀκνηρὸς ἢ ἀφυὴς εἶναι ὁ ἐργάτης, τόσον περισσοτέραν ἀξίαν ἔχει τὸ προϊόν του, ὡς δαπανήσας περισσότερον χρόνον», ἀλλὰ τοῦτο εἶναι ἀσυγχώρητον λάθος. Νὰ ἐνθυμηθῆτε ὅμως ὅτι ἐγὼ μετεχειρίσθην τὴν λέξιν ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟΣ κόπος, ὅπου εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν λέξιν ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟΣ περιπλέκονται πολλὰ ζητήματα.

Λέγοντες ὅτι ἡ ἀξία ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος καθορίζεται ὑπὸ τῆς ΠΟΣΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΠΟΥ τοῦ ἀποκρυσταλωθέντος ἐντὸς τοῦ ἐμπορεύματος, ἐννοοῦμεν τὴν ποσότητα τοῦ κόπου τοῦ ἀναγκαίου πρὸς παραγωγὴν συμφώνως μιᾶς καταστάσεως κοινωνικῆς ὑπὸ ὡρισμένας ἀναλόγους κοινωνικὰς συνθήκας τῆς παραγωγῆς, μὲ δεδομένην ἀνάλογον ἔντασιν, καὶ ἀνάλογον ἐπιτηδειότητα τοῦ ἐργάτου, οὗτινος δίδεται ἐργασία.

Ἡ Μαρία Μαρσὺ (ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ της «Ὁμιλίαι διὰ τὰ Οἰκονομικὰ τῶν ἐργοστασίων») δίδει τὴν ἑξῆς ἐξήγησιν:

Ἐὰν δαπανήσῃς τρεῖς μῆνας διὰ νὰ κατασκευάσῃς ξύλινον κάθισμα μαγειρίου διὰ μικροῦ μαχαιριδίου, τοῦτο δὲν θὰ ἔχῃ μεγαλυτέραν ἀξίαν ἀπὸ τὰ καθίσματα μαγειρίου, τὰ ὁποῖα κατασκευάζονται ἐνὸς ἐργοστασίου, ὅπου ἐργάζονται πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι μὲ μεγάλας μηχανὰς καὶ κατασκευάζουν ταῦτα κατὰ ἑκατοντάδας ἡμερησίως.

Ἡ ἀνταλλακτικὴ ἀξία τοῦ καθίσματος δὲν καθορίζεται ἀπὸ τὴν ἀφελῆ δαπάνην τοῦ χρόνου κατὰ τὴν παραγωγὴν αὐτοῦ διὰ μαχαιριδίου, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦ ἀναλόγου χρόνου τοῦ ἀπαιτουμένου πρὸς κατασκευὴν τοῦ καθίσματος μὲ μηχανὰς τελειοποιημένας καὶ ἱκανὰς μεθόδους. Δὲν εἶναι ἡ ποσότης τοῦ κόπου, ἀλλὰ ἡ ποσότης τοῦ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΥ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΟΥ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ, ὅστις καθορίζει τὴν ἀνταλλακτικὴν ἀξίαν του.

Ἑκάστη νέα μηχανὴ τοποθετουμένη ἐν τῇ βιομηχανίᾳ καὶ κάθε βελτίωσις εἰς τὰς μηχανάς, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἔχουν ἤδη τοποθετηθῆ, ἐλαττώνει τὴν ποσότητα τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου τοῦ ἀναγκαίου διὰ τὴν παραγωγὴν τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων εἰς τὰς βιομηχανίας, ὅπου αὐταὶ αἱ μηχαναὶ εἶναι ἐν χρήσει. Ἀλλὰ ὡς ἀτομικαί τινες μηχαναὶ μόνον ὡρισμένα ἐπαγγέλματα ἐπηρέασαν, ἡ ἀναλογία τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου δὲν ἔχει ἐλαττωθῆ ἀκόμη ἀρκούντως. Ὁ μέσος ὅρος τοῦ χρόνου ὁρίζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ μέσου ὅρου τῆς ἱκανότητος τῶν μηχανῶν καθ' ὅλας τὰς βιομηχανίας διὰ παραγωγὴν εἶναι κοινωνικὸν εἰς σκοπὸν καὶ χαρακτῆρα. Ἡ ἐπήρεια ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδίζειν χρόνον εἰς τὴν τοποθέτησιν νέων μηχανῶν, ἢ βελτίωσιν τῶν ἤδη τοποθετημένων μηχανῶν ἐξαρτᾶται ἀπὸ τὸ στάδιον τῆς βιομηχανικῆς ἀναπτύξεως καθ' ὃν χρόνον τοποθετεῖται μία μηχανὴ ἢ βελτιοῦται. Εἰς ἀρχαιοτέρας περιόδους τῆς πλουτοκρατικῆς ἀναπτύξεως, ὅταν ἡ μηχανὴ ἐξουδετέρωσε τὸ ἐργαλεῖον τοῦ τεχνήτου, ἡ ἐπήρεια ἦτο μεγαλυτέρα παρ' ὅσον σήμερον, ὁπότε αἱ μηχαναὶ εἶναι προηγμέναι καὶ εἶναι ἐν χρήσει γενικῶς. Ἐνόσῳ μία ἐλάττωσις τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου ἀκόμη ἀνακλᾶται ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνταλλακτικῆς ἀξίας ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος. Τόρα ὑπάρχουν ἐργοστασιάρχαι, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἀπουσίαζον κατὰ τὰς ἀρχαίας προόδους τοῦ πλουτοκρατισμοῦ καὶ οἱ ὁποῖοι τείνουν νὰ ἀφανίσουν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Ἐνταῦθα θὰ δανεισθῶμεν ἄλλο παράδιεγμα ἀπὸ τὴν Μαρίαν Μαρσύ (Ὁμιλίαι διὰ τὰ οἰκονομικὰ τῶν ἐργοστασίων, σελὶς 12). Ὑποτεθείσθω ὅτι ἕκαστον ὑποδηματοποιεῖον εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰργάζετο μὲ πλήρη χρόνον ἵνα προφθάσῃ τὴν ζήτησιν τῶν ὑποδημάτων. Τὰ ἐργοστάσια, τὰ ὁποῖα μεταχειρίζονται τὰς παλαιοῦ συστήματος μηχανὰς θὰ χρειασθοῦν περισ-

σοτέρους ἐργάτας ἀπὸ τὰ ἐργοστάσια, τὰ ὁποῖα μεταχειρίζονται νέου συστήματος μηχανάς. Ἐνῷ τὰ ἐργοστάσια μὲ τὰς τελευταίου συστήματος μηχανὰς θὰ χρειασθοῦν ἐν συγκρίσει ἐλαχίστην ἀνθρωπίνην ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν ὑποδημάτων.

ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΩΣ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΣ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΣ

Βλέπομεν ὅτι ὀλιγώτεροι ἐργάται μὲ μηχανὰς τελειοποιημένας εἶναι εἰς θέσιν νὰ παραγάγουν περισσότερα προϊόντα — ὀλιγωτέρα ἐργατικὴ δύναμις ἢ χρόνος ἐπιφέρουν μεγαλύτερα ἀποτελέσματα. Ἡ ἐπεξήγησις δεικνύει ὄχι μόνον τὴν ἐλάττωσιν τῆς ἀναλογίας τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου, ἀλλὰ ταὐτοχρόνως καὶ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν τῶν τεχνητῶν. Αἱ μηχαναὶ ἐπηρεάζουν τὸν ἐργάτην κατὰ δύο τρόπους. 1ον δι' ἀντικαταστάσεως τῶν ἐργατῶν, καὶ 2ον δι' ἐξουδετερώσεως τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματός των. Τοῦτο ὑποβοηθεῖ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ μὴ τοιούτων εἰς τὴν βιομηχανίαν.

Τὸ ἀπαιτούμενον ποσὸν τοῦ χρόνου πρὸς παραγωγὴν ὅλων τῶν ὑποδημάτων ὑφ' ὅλων τῶν ἐργοστασίων μὲ πρόνοιαν διὰ τὴν κοινωνικὴν ὠφέλειαν τῶν ἄλλων ἐργατῶν, προσδιορίζει τὴν ἀνταλλακτικὴν ἀξίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀνταλλακτικὴν ἀξίαν ἑκάστου ζεύγους: Ἡ ἀνταλλακτικὴ ἀξία τοῦ χρυσοῦ, τοῦ ἀργύρου, τοῦ χαλκοῦ, τῶν φασιόλων, κρεάτων, ἐνδυμάτων, — ὁποιουδήποτε ἐμπορεύματος, καθορίζεται κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον τρόπον, ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου τοῦ ἀπαιτουμένου διὰ τὴν παραγωγὴν αὐτῶν.

Αἱ ἀξίαι τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων ὑψώνουν καὶ χαμηλώνουν ἀναλόγως τοῦ ἀπαιτουμένου χρόνου, ὅστις αὐξάνεται καὶ ἐλαττοῦται. Ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμσι δὲν ἐξαρτᾶται ἀπὸ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον. Ὁ ἐργατικὸς χρόνος ὁ ἀπαιτούμενος πρὸς παραγωγὴν ἐργατικῶν δυνάμεων, καθορίζει τὴν ἀνταλλακτικὴν ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ. Παραθέτομεν τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Μάρξ: Καθὼς εἰς κάθε ἐμπόρευμα ἡ ἀξία (ἐργατικὴ δύναμις) του καθορίζεται ἀπὸ τὴν ποσότητα τοῦ ἀπαιτουμένου κόπου πρὸς παραγωγὴν αὐτοῦ. Ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου ὑφίσταται ἐντὸς τῆς ζώσης ἀτομικότητός του. Ὡρισμένη μᾶζα χρειωδῶν πρέπει νὰ καταναλίσκωνται ὑφ' ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου διὰ νὰ αὐξάνῃ καὶ νὰ συντηρῇ τὴν ζωήν του, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος φθείρεται καθὼς ἡ μηχανὴ καὶ πρέπει νὰ ἀντικαθίσταται ὑπὸ ἄλλου τινός. Ἐπίσης ἐκτὸς τῆς μάζης τῶν χρειωδῶν διὰ τὴν συντήρησιν τῆς ζωῆς του, οὗτος ἔχει ἀνάγκην καὶ ἄλλου ποσοῦ χρειωδῶν ἀπαιτουμένων διὰ τὴν ἀνατροφὴν ὡρισμένου ἀριθμοῦ τέκνων, τὰ ὁποῖα θὰ τὸν ἀντικαταστήσωσιν εἰς τὴν ἐργατικὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ θὰ διαιωνίσουν τὴν φυλὴν τῶν ἐργατῶν.

Τροφή, ἐνδύματα καὶ στέγη εἶναι τὰ ἀπαραίτητα διὰ νὰ διατηρῶσι τὸν ἐργάτην κατάλληλον διὰ νὰ συντηρῇ τὴν οἰκογένειάν του. Ὁ ἐργατικὸς χρόνος ὁ ἀναγκαῖος νὰ παραγάγῃ ταῦτα εἶναι ἐκεῖνος ὅστις καθορίζει τὴν ἀνταλλακτικὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως. Οὐχὶ ὁ ἀπαιτούμενος χρόνος πρὸς παραγωγὴν χρειωδῶν διὰ τὴν ἀτομικότητα τοῦ ἐργάτου, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀνάλογον διὰ τὴν τάξιν τῶν ἐργατῶν. Ὁ ἐργάτης πρέπει διαρκῶς νὰ ἀντικαθίσταται καὶ ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ἐφοδιασμοῦ ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως πρέπει νὰ διατηρῆται. Τοιουτοτρόπως οἱ ἐργάται πρέπει νὰ πληρώνωνται τόσον, ὅσον εἶναι ἐπαρκὲς διὰ νὰ διατηρῶσι τὸν ἑαυτόν των καὶ νὰ ἀναπαράγωσιν ἄλλους ἐργάτας, διὰ νὰ τοὺς ἀντικαταστήσωσιν.

Αὐτὴ εἶναι ἡ ἀξία τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως. Τοῦτο εἶναι ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον ὁ κεφαλαιοῦχος θὰ πληρώσῃ τοὺς ἐμμίσθους ἐργάτας του κατὰ μέσον ὅρον.

Ἀλλὰ ὡς ἀκριβῶς αὐτὰ τὰ χρειώδη καθορίζονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐργατῶν ἀπαραίτητα διὰ τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν τυπικὴν ζωήν.

Αὐτὴ αὕτη ἡ τυπικὴ ζωὴ εἶναι καὶ πρέπει νὰ ἐννοηθῇ ὅτι εἶναι ἡ κυβερνῶσα τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου τοῦ ἀπαιτουμένου πρὸς παραγωγὴν ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

1ον. (α) Τὶ εἶναι ἀνταλλακτικὴ ἀξία; (β) καὶ τὶ ἐν χρήσει;

2ον. Τὶ εἶναι κοινωνικὸς ἀναγκαῖος ἐργατικὸς χρόνος;

3ον. Πῶς προσδιορίζεται;

4ον. Ποία εἶναι ἡ ἐπήρεια τῶν νέων μηχανῶν;

5ον. Δύνασαι νὰ ἐξηγήσῃς τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς Μαρίας Μαρσὺ περὶ τοῦ καθίσματος;

6ον. Ἐφάρμοσον τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς Μαρίας Μαρσὺ τοῦ ὑποδηματοποιείου ἐπὶ ἑνὸς ζεύγους ὑποδημάτων.

7ον. Διατὶ εἷς ἐπιτήδειος ἐργάτης πληρώνεται περισσότερον ἀπὸ ἕνα μὴ τοιοῦτον;

8ον. Τὶ χρειάζεται ὁ ἐργάτης συνήθως, ἐκτὸς τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς συντήρησιν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ του;

9ον. Τὶ σημαίνει τυπικὴ ζωή;

10ον. Ὁ τύπος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἐργάτου ἐπηρεάζει τὴν οἰκονομικήν μας ζωήν; Ἐξήγησον.

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ

ΠΛΕΟΝΑΖΟΥΣΑ ΑΞΙΑ

Ὅταν ὁ ἐργάτης πωλήσῃ τὴν ἐργατικήν του δύναμιν πρὸς τὸν ἐργοδότην, οὗτος δίδει εἰς αὐτὸν ἐργασίαν διὰ (10) ὥρας μὲ ἐργαλεῖα καὶ ὑλικά, τὰ ὁποῖα προμηθεύει δι' αὐτόν. Ἀλλὰ τὶ συμβαίνει κατὰ τὰς πρώτας τρεῖς ὥρας τῆς ἐργατικῆς ἡμέρας; Ὁ ἐργάτης παράγει διὰ τὸν ἐργοδότην ἀνταλλακτικὴν ἀξίαν ἴσην πρὸς τὴν ἀνταλλακτικὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ἐργατικῆς του δυνάμεως δι' ὁλόκληρον τὴν ἡμέραν, ἂς εἴπωμεν 3.00 δολλάρια. Αἱ ἀξίαι αἱ παραχθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐργάτου κατὰ τὰς τρεῖς πρώτας ὥρας ἀποζημιοῦν τὸν ἐργοδότην διὰ τὴν ἡμερησίαν πληρωμήν, τὴν ὁποίαν οὗτος πληρώνει εἰς τὸν ἐργάτην. Ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐργάτης δὲν ἐγκαταλείπει τὴν ἐργασίαν εἰς τὸ τέλος τῶν τριῶν ὡρῶν, καθότι ἔχει συμφωνήσει νὰ ἐργασθῇ 10 ὥρας.

Ὁ ἐργάτης ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ παράγῃ ἀξίας κατὰ τὰς ὑπολοίπους ἑπτὰ ὥρας: δηλαδὴ διὰ τὰς ἑπτὰ ὥρας οὗτος δὲν λαμβάνει οὐδεμίαν πληρωμήν, ἤτοι ὁ ἐργάτης κατὰ τὰς ἑπτὰ ὥρας ἐπιδίδεται νὰ παράγῃ ἀξίας, τὰς ὁποίας οἰκειοποιεῖται ὁ προϊστάμενος, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐ«ὰς δὲν πληρώνει τίποτε εἰς τὸν ἐργάτην. Ὁ ἐργοδότης ἰσχυρίζεται ὅτι πληρώνει τὸν ἐργάτην διὰ δέκα ὥρας καὶ παραθέτει ἢ δεικνύει συμβόλαιον, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀποδεικνύει, ὅτι δῆθεν πληρώνει, καὶ ὅμως ὑπὸ τὸ πρόσχημα αὐτὸ τῆς ἀλαζωνείας ἐκρύπτετο ἐπιτυχῶς ἡ ἐκμετάλλευσις τοῦ ἐργάτου ὑπὸ τῶν καπιταλιστῶν.

Τοῦτο διασαφηνίζει ὁ Κὰρλ Μὰρξ ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ του (Ἀξία, τιμὴ καὶ κέρδος, σελὶς 79) ἀλλὰ πληρώνων τὴν ἡμερησίαν καὶ τὴν ἑβδομαδιαίαν ΑΞΙΑΝ τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ ὑφαντοῦ ὁ κεφαλαιοῦχος ἀποκτᾷ τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ χρησιμοποιῇ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν δι' ΟΛΟΚΛΗΡΟΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ Ἢ ΕΒΔΟΜΑΔΑ, ὁπότε οὗτος θὰ ἀναγκάσῃ αὐτὸν νὰ ἐργασθῇ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἂς εἴπωμεν, ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΩΡΑΣ. ΠΛΕΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΩ τῶν ἓξ ὡρῶν τῶν ἀπαιτουμένων νὰ ἀντισταθμίσῃ τὸν μισθόν του καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς ἐργατικῆς του δυνάμεως, οὗτος ἔχει νὰ ἐργασθῇ ΑΛΛΑΣ ΕΞ ΩΡΑΣ, τὰς ὁποίας ἐγὼ θὰ ὀνομάσω ὥρας ΠΛΕΟΝΑΖΟΝΤΟΣ ΚΟΠΟΥ, ὅστις θὰ πραγματοποιηθῇ εἰς ΠΛΕΟΝΑΖΟΥΣΑΝ ΑΞΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΕΟΝΑΖΟΥΣΑΝ ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΗΝ.

ΠΛΗΡΩΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΣ

Εἶναι πολὺ εὔκολον νὰ διακριθῇ ἡ ἐκμετάλλευσις τοῦ ὡς κινητὸν κτῆμα δούλου. Τοῦτον ἐπρομήθευον τρόπον τοῦ ζῆν σύμφωνον μὲ τὸν τυπικὸν ἐκεῖνον βίαν τῶν δούλων ἐν τῇ δουλικῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ τὰ προϊόντα τοῦ κόπου του οἰκειοποιεῖτο ὁ κύριός του. Δὲν ὑπάρχει οὐδεμία δυσκολία νὰ ἴδῃ τις τὶ εἴδους καὶ πόσον ἐκτενὴς εἶναι ἡ ἐκμετάλλευσις.

Ἐπίσης καὶ ἡ ἐκμετάλλευσις τοῦ δουλοπαροίκου εἶναι καταφανής. Οὗτος διὰ τὴν καλλιέργειαν τῶν στρεμμάτων τοῦ κυρίου του δαπανᾷ τὸ

περισσότερον χρονικὸν διάστημα ἐκ τοῦ ἔτους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπονομήν του τὸν ὑπόλοιπον χρόνον. Ἀλλὰ ὁ ἔμμισθος ἐργάτης φαίνεται ὅτι πληρώνεται δι' ὅλον τὸν χρόνον, ὁπότε ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΠΛΗΡΩΝΕΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΟΥ. Κατὰ τὸν ὑπόλοιπον χρόνον (7 ὥρας) οὗτος ἐργάζεται καὶ δὲν λαμβάνει τὸ ἀντίτιμον. Τοιουτοτρόπως ὁ ἐργατικὸς χρόνος τοῦ ἐργάτου διαιρεῖται εἰς δύο εὐκρινεῖς περιόδους: Χρόνος διὰ τὸν ὁποῖον πληρώνεται, καὶ χρόνος, διὰ τὸν ὁποῖον οὗτος δὲν λαμβάνει οὐδεμίαν ἀμοιβήν — ΠΛΗΡΩΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΗ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΧΡΟΝΟΣ.

Ἐκ τούτου ἕπεται, ὅτι τὰ ἐμπορεύματα, τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι ὁ καρπὸς τῆς δαπάνης τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐργάτου, ἡ ἀποκρυστάλωσις αὐτῆς, ἐπίσης ἐμπεριέχεται εἰς τὰ δύο ταῦτα στοιχεῖα, πληρωνόμενος καὶ μὴ κόπος.

Καθὼς τὰ ἐμπορεύματα ταῦτα συναλλάσσονται τὸ ἕν μετὰ τοῦ ἄλλου ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου τοῦ ἀπαιτουμένου διὰ τὴν παραγωγὴν αὐτῶν, ἕπεται ὅτι ὁ συναλλασσόμενος χρόνος αὐτῶν εἶναι τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ πληρωνομένου καὶ μὴ ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου — ὁ ὁλικὸς χρόνος εἰς ἕκαστον ἐξ αὐτῶν.

Ὁ Μὰρξ εἰς τὸ βιβλίον του (Ἀξία, Τιμὴ καὶ Κέρδος, σελὶς 87) λέγει: ἡ ἀξία ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος καθορίζεται ὑπὸ τῆς ΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΣΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΕΜΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΟΠΟΥ. Ἀλλὰ μέρος τῆς ποσότητος αὐτῆς τοῦ κόπου εἶναι πραγματοποιημένος εἰς ἀξίαν, διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ἕν ἰσοδύναμον ἔχει πληρωθῇ ὑπὸ μορφὴν μισθοῦ, καὶ μέρος αὐτοῦ ἔγει πραγματοποιηθῇ εἰς ἀξίαν, διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ΔΕΝ ΕΧΕΙ ΠΛΗΡΩΘΗ ΙΣΟΔΥΝΑΜΟΝ. Μέρος τοῦ ἐμπεριεχομένου κόπου εἰς τὸ ἐμπόρευμα εἶναι ΠΛΗΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΚΟΠΟΣ καὶ μέρος ΜΗ ΠΛΗΡΩΜΕΝΟΣ.

Τοιουτοτρόπως, ὁ ἐργοδότης ἀγοράζων τὴν ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐργάτου, τὴν χρησιμοποιεῖ διὰ νὰ ἀποκτήσῃ ἀξίας, ἀπέναντι τῶν ὁποίων οὐδὲν δίδει εἰς τὸν ἐργάτην — πλεονάζουσαι ἀξίαι —. Αὐτὴ ἡ διαφορὰ τοῦ μισθοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀξιῶν, προερχομένων ἐκ τοῦ κόπου, εἶναι ἐκείνη, ἡ ὁποία καθιστᾷ ἱκανὸν τὸν κεφαλαιοῦχον νὰ πλουτίζῃ καὶ νὰ διατηρῇ τὸν ἐργάτην ἐν πτωχείᾳ καὶ ἐλεεινῇ καταστάσει.

Κατὰ τὸν πλουτοκρατικὸν νόμον τοῦτο δὲν ὀνομάζεται ληστεία, οὔτε κλοπή, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον θεωρεῖται ὡς ἀξιοσέβαστον καὶ ἠθικόν. Τοῦτο εἶναι νομιμοποιημένον, καθιερωμένον καὶ ἐπιβεβαιωμένον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων πολιτῶν καὶ γλυκυφώνως ὀνομασθὲν ἐμπόριον.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

1ον. Τὶ συμβαίνει ὅταν ὁ ἐργάτης πωλῇ τὴν ἐργατικήν του δύναμιν;

2ον. Πῶς εἶναι διηρημένη ἡ ἐργάσιμος ἡμέρα σχετικῶς μὲ τὸν ἐργατικὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἐργάτου;

3ον. Πῶς ὁ τὸ κινητὸν κτῆμα δοῦλος ὑφίσταται ἐκμετάλλευσιν; Πῶς ὁ δουλοπάροικος;

4ον. Πῶς ἐκμεταλλεύονται τὸν ἔμμισθον ἐργάτην;

5ον. Ὑπάρχει καμμία διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ δούλου, τοῦ δουλοπαροίκου καὶ τοῦ ἐμμίσθου ἐργάτου; Ἐξήγησον ὁποία εἶναι.

6ον. Ἐξήγησον τὴν πλεονάζουσαν ἀξίαν μὲ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ Κὰρλ Μὰρξ διὰ τὸν ὑφαντῆ. Ἐφάρμοσον αὐτὸ εἰς τὸν γεωργόν.

7ον. Ἐὰν ὁ ἔμμισθος ἐργάτης πωλῇ τὴν ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν διὰ 10 ὥρας, πῶς ὁ προϊστάμενός του τὸν ἐκμεταλλεύεται;

8ον. Πῶς οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι κρύπτουν τὴν παροῦσαν δουλείαν τοῦ ἐργάτου;

9ον. Ποῖον μέρος ἐκ τοῦ προλόγου τοῦ I. W. W. ἀναφέρει τοὺς τρόπους τῆς ἐκμεταλλεύσεως τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως;

10ον. Κατὰ τὴν γνώμην σου, διατὶ οἱ ἐργάται δὲν δύνανται νὰ διακρίνουν, ὅτι ληστεύονται εἰς τὰ προϊόντα τῆς ἐργασίας των;

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ

Η ΠΗΓΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΥ

Εἰς τὸ προηγούμενον κεφάλαιον εἴδομεν, ὅτι ὁ ἔμμισθος ἐργάτης παράγει ἕνα πλεόνασμα ἀξιῶν καθ' ὅλην τὴν ἐργάσιμον ἡμέραν, τὰς ὁποίας ὁ προϊστάμενος οἰκειοποιεῖται — ἀξίας, ἔναντι τῶν ὁποίων οὐδὲν δίδει εἰς τὸν ἐργάτην. Καθὼς ὁ Μὰρξ ἀναφέρει: 'Η ΠΛΕΟΝΑΖΟΥΣΑ ΑΞΙΑ, ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ μέρος τῆς ὁλικῆς ἀξίας ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος, ἐντὸς τοῦ ὁποίου ὁ ΠΛΕΟΝΑΖΩΝ ΚΟΠΟΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΜΗ ΠΛΗΡΩΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ εἶναι πραγματοποιημένος, τοῦτο ὀνομάζω ΚΕΡΔΟΣ ('Αξία, Τιμὴ καὶ Κέρδος, σελὶς 89).

'Ο κοινὸς ἄνθρωπος πιστεύει, ὅτι τὸ κέρδος γίνεται ἐκ τῆς πωλήσεως τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς τιμὴν ἀνωτέραν τῆς πραγματικῆς, καὶ ὄχι δι' ἀπάτης, ἢ διά τινος κιβδήλου ρόπου. Διὰ τῶν ἀνωτέρω τρόπων γίνεται τὸ κέρδος καὶ μόνον δι' αὐτῶν.

'Εὰν γίνεται κλοπή, αὐτὴ δὲν γίνετα ιεἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς πωλήσεως τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων, ἀλλ' ἔχει ἤδη διαπραχθῆ αὕτη ἐκεῖ ὅπου ὁ δυστυχὴς ἐργάτης ἱδρώνει διὰ τὴν παραγωγήν του καὶ ὁ κόπος τοῦ ὁποίου δὲν πληρώνεται, ἀποκρυσταλούμενος ἐντὸς τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων. Τὸ κέρδος δὲν γίνεται ἀπὸ τὴν ὑπερβολικὴν ἐξύψωσιν τῆς τιμῆς τῆς ἀξίας τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τὴν πώλησιν (συναλλαγὴν) αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς πραγματικάς των ἀξίας. Ἂς ἀναφέρωμεν καὶ πάλιν τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Μάρξ: 'Ως ἐκ τούτου πωλοῦντες ἕν ἐμπόρευμα ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΞΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ, δηλαδή, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἀποκρυστάλωσιν τῆς ΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΣΟΤΗΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΠΟΥ τοῦ ἐμπεριεγομένου ἐν τῷ ἐμπορεύματι, οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι ΠΡΕΠΕΙ ΚΑΤ' ΑΝΑΓΚΗΝ ΝΑ ΠΩΛΟΥΝ ΜΕ ΚΕΡΔΟΣ. Διότι πωλοῦσιν ὄχι μόνον ἐκεῖνο, τὸ ὁποῖον τοὺς ἐστοίχισεν ἕν ἰσοδύναμον, ἀλλὰ πωλοῦν ΕΠΙΣΗΣ ΕΚΕΙΝΟ ΤΟ ΟΠΟΙΟΝ ΔΕΝ ΕΧΕΙ ΣΤΟΙ ΧΙΣΕΙ ΑΠΟΛΥΤΩΣ ΤΙΠΟΤΕ, μολονότι ἔχει στοιχίσει εἰς τὸν δυστυχῆ ἐργάτην. Τὸ τίμημα ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος (εἰς χρῆμα) καὶ τὸ πραγματικὸν τίμημα (εἰς κόπον) εἶναι δύο διάφορα πράγματα. Διὰ τοῦτο ἐπαναλαμβάνω, ὅτι τὰ τακτικὰ καὶ ἀνάλογα κέρδη γίνονται οὐχὶ διὰ τῆς πωλήσεως τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων ὑπεράνω, ἀλλὰ ΕΙΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΙΚΑΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΞΙΑΣ ('Αξία, Τιμὴ καὶ Κέρδος, σελίδες 87 - 88).

"Οταν ὁ κεφαλαιοῦχος ἐκθέσῃ τὸ ἐμπόρευμά του εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, οὗτος συναλλάσσεται μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κεφαλαιούχων διὰ τὰ ἐμπορεύματά των, καὶ ὅταν ἡ συναλλαγὴ ὑψωθῇ, οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι συναλλάσσοντες τὰ ἐμπορεύματά των εἰς τὴν πραγματικὴν ἀξίαν, κερδίζουν ὅλοι καὶ ἕκαστος ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐνθυλακώνει τὴν μετοχήν του ἐξ ἑκάστου ἐμπορεύματος, τὸ ὁποῖον δὲν τοῦ ἐστοίχισεν οὐδέν. Οὗτοι εἶναι οἱ ὁρισμοὶ τοῦ Μὰρξ «τακτικὸν καὶ ἀνάλογον κέρδος». Τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς ἐμπνέει τὴν παραγωγὴν τῶν κεφαλαιούχων. 'Εὰν ἡ ἀπάτη ἦτο νόμος, δὲν θὰ ὑπῆρχεν οὐδεμία συνάφεια μεταξὺ τῶν κεφαλαιούχων, ἀλλὰ εἶναι ἐπιτακτικὸν διὰ τὰ συμ-

φέροντά των νὰ κερδίζουν νομίμως, διὰ νὰ συνεχίζουν τὴν ἐκμετάλλευσιν τοῦ ἐμμίσθου ἐργάτου. Οὗτοι ἔχουσι κάμει νόμους ν ἀἐπιβάλλουν τὰ κανονικὰ κέρδη ὡς μέτρον ἀσφαλείας ἐννοεῖται διὰ τὸν ἑαυτόν των.

ΤΟ ΣΥΣΤΗΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΕΡΔΟΥΣ

Κέρδη εἶναι οἱ λογικοὶ καρποὶ τῆς πλουτοκρατικῆς βιομηχανίας. Οὗτοι εἶναι σύμφωνοι εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ σύστημα τῆς παραγωγῆς καὶ συναλλαγῆς. Ὁ καπιταλισμὸς ἔχει ὀνομασθῆ λίαν προσφυῶς «τὸ σύστημα τοῦ κέρδους». Τὰ προϊόντα αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐμπορεύματα, καὶ τὰ προϊόντα αὐτὰ εἶναι πρὸς συναλλαγήν, μὲ τὸν σκοπὸν νὰ κερδίσουν.

Καθ' ὃν χρόνον τὰ προϊόντα των εἶναι ἀξίαι ἐν χρήσει, οὗτοι παράγουν ὑπὸ μορφὴν ἀνταλλακτικῆς ἀξίας — ἤτοι πράγματα πρὸς πώλησιν. Ἐννοεῖται ὅτι ὁ λαὸς μόνον θὰ τὰ ἀγοράσῃ, ἐνῷ ἐκεῖνοι σκοποῦν νὰ τὰ χρησιμοποιοῦν. Διὰ τὸν κεφαλαιοῦχον τὰ προϊόντα αὐτὰ εἶναι πράγματα, τὰ ὁποῖα θὰ τὰ πωλήσῃ διὰ πολὺ περισσότερα χρήματα ἀπὸ ὅ,τι τοῦ στοιχίζουν. Ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ μέσα τοῦ κερδίζειν. Ἐν περιπτώσει ἀνικανότητος νὰ ἐννοήσῃ τις τὴν πηγὴν (καὶ τάσιν) τοῦ κέρδους — πλεονάζουσαι ἀξίαι, διὰ τῶν ὁποίων τὸν ἐμμισθον ἐργάτην ἔχει ἐκμεταλλευθῆ ὁ κεφαλαιοῦχος — ὅστις προσπαθεῖ νὰ καταπείσῃ τὸν ἁπλοϊκὸν ἐργάτην ὅτι τὸν κλέπτουν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων, τὰ ὁποῖα οὗτος ἀγοράζει. Οἱ ἐργάται, οἵτινες πιστεύουν εἰς αὐτά, ζητοῦν τὸν τόπον τῆς θεραπείας ἐξ ἀντιθέτου διευθύνσεως, καθ' ὅτι μία ὕψωσις τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων, τὰ ὁποῖα οὗτος ἀγοράζει, σημαίνει ὅτι ὁ ἐργατικὸς χρόνος, ὁ ἀναγκαῖος νὰ παραγάγῃ ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν, ἔχει αὐξηθῆ. Πρέπει ὁ ἐργάτης καὶ ὅταν ἐννοήσῃ τοῦτο, νὰ ζητῇ ὕψωσιν τοῦ μισθοῦ ἀπὸ τὸν ἐργοδότην του. Ὁποτεδήποτε καὶ ἀπὸ οἱανδήποτε αἰτίαν καταπέσῃ ἡ ἀγοραστικὴ δύναμις τῶν μισθῶν κατωτέρω ἀπὸ τὸ ἀπαιτούμενον πρὸς συντήρησιν τοῦ συνηθισμένου τυπικοῦ βίου τοῦ ἐργάτου, οὗτος λαμβάνει ἓν ἰσοδύναμον εἰς περικοπὴν τοῦ μισθοῦ. Τοὐναντίον, εἴτε τοῦτο θὰ ὀφείλεται εἰς τὴν ὕψωσιν τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων, εἴτε θὰ εἶναι ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς ὑποτιμήσεως τῆς ἀξίας τοῦ χρυσοῦ, ὁ μισθός του θὰ διορθωθῇ μόνον μὲ μίαν ἀνταποκρινομένην αὔξησιν. Οὗτος, ὡς ἐργάτης, πρέπει νὰ ζητῇ ἐπανόρθωσιν ἀπὸ τὸ μερίδιον τοῦ πληρωνομένου ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου — νὰ ἀπολαμβάνῃ μεγαλύτερον μισθόν —. Ἐὰν τοῦτο δὲν συμβῇ, ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις θὰ πωλῆται κατωτέρω τῆς ἀξίας της. Διότι ἐὰν ὁ καταναλωτὴς ὑφίσταται ἐκμετάλλευσιν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων, δὲν θὰ ἦτο ἀνάγκη νὰ γίνεται ἐκμετάλλευσις τοῦ ἐργάτου κατὰ τὴν παραγωγήν· καὶ ὄχι μόνον τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὡς ἄτομον ὁ κεφαλαιοῦχος εἶναι ὁ μεγαλύτερος καταναλωτὴς καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ἐργάτην — ὡς ἄτομον θὰ ὑφίστατο μεγαλυτέραν ἐκμετάλλευσιν. Τότε ὁ ἐργάτης καὶ ὁ κύριός του θὰ εἶχον κοινὸν συμφέρον καὶ θὰ συνέπραττον μὲ τὸν ἀρτοποιὸν ἐναντίον τοῦ παντοπώλου καὶ τοῦ κρεοπώλου. Μετὰ ταῦτα οὗτοι ἠδύναντο νὰ σχηματίσουν ἄλλην συμμαχίαν μετὰ τοῦ παντοπώλου καὶ τοῦ κρεοπώλου, καὶ οὕτω καθ' ἑξῆς.

Ἐν τοιαύτῃ περιπτώσει ὁ ἐργάτης θὰ ὡδηγεῖτο πρὸς διεύθυνσιν ἐσφαλμένην. Οὗτος θὰ περιεφέρεται ἐντὸς φαύλων κύκλων καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος τῶν ἐνεργειῶν του θὰ εὕρισκε τὸν ἑαυτόν του ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἐλεεινῇ καταστάσει, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῇ προηγουμένῃ, καὶ θὰ παρεδέχετο, ὅτι διὰ νὰ ἀποκτήσῃ τὸν συνήθη τρόπον τοῦ ζῆν, θὰ ἠναγκάζετο νὰ ζητήσῃ μισθὸν ὑψηλότερον παρὰ τοῦ ἐργοδότου του.

Ὁ ἐργάτης εἶναι μέλος τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως. Ὡς ἔμμισθος ἐργάτης παράγει ἀξίας, διὰ τὰς ὁποίας οὐδὲν ἰσοδύναμον οὗτος πληρώνεται. Δὲν ὑπομένει ταῦτα ἐκ θελήσεως, ἀλλὰ διότι ἡ κατάστασις τῆς τάξεως, εἰς ἣν οὗτος ἀνήκει, τὸν ἀναγκάζει νὰ πωλῇ τὴν ἐργατικήν του δύναμιν ὅπως προμηθεύηται τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαῖα δι' ἑαυτὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν οἰκογένειάν του. Η ΠΛΟΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΚΗ ΤΑΞΙΣ λαμβάνει ὡς μερίδιόν της ἐκ τῆς πλουσίας παραγωγῆς ΟΛΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΛΕΟΝΑΖΟΥΣΑΣ ΑΞΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΑΣ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΠΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΤΑΞΕΩΣ. Ἐὰν ὁ συνήθης βίος τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως ταπεινωθῇ, ἡ ἀξία τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως ὡσαύτως ὑποβιβάζεται, καὶ ἡ ποσότης τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας θὰ αὐξηθῇ — τὰ κέρδη θὰ εἶναι μεγαλύτερα.

Ο ΑΓΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΤΑΞΕΩΣ

Τὰ συμφέροντα τῶν κεφαλαιούχων ἐξαρτῶνται ἐκ τῆς πιέσεως, ἐὰν εἶναι δυνατή, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν πρὸς ταπεινότερον τύπον ζωῆς. Φυσικῷ τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ συμφέρον τῶν ἐργατῶν ἐξαρτᾶται ὄχι μόνον ἐκ τῆς διατηρήσεως τοῦ παρόντος τύπου τοῦ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς προσπαθείας πρὸς βελτίωσιν αὐτοῦ. Οὗτος ὁ συναγωνισμὸς ἀποδεικνύει τὶ σημαίνει ἀγὼν τῆς τάξεως. Ὁ ἀγὼν τῆς τάξεως εἶναι μία ζῶσα ἀνθρωπινη καὶ κοινωνικὴ ἀλήθεια, ἥτις πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ὁ ὁδηγός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁποίου πρέπει νὰ προσδιορίζωνται καὶ νὰ διευθύνωνται ὅλαι αἱ ἐνέργειαι τῶν ἐργατῶν.

Ἡ συνείδησις τῆς ἀγωνιζομένης τάξεως πρέπει πάντοτε νὰ εἶναι μὲ τὸν ἐργάτην διὰ τὴν πραγματικὴν θέσιν καὶ κατάστασιν τοῦ «ἐλευθέρου ἐργάτου» ἐν τῇ πλουτοκρατικῇ κοινωνίᾳ εἶναι μέλος τῆς δουλικῆς τάξεως. Ὁ ἐργάτης ὡς ἄτομον ἴσως ἀφήσῃ τὴν ἐργασίαν του οἰκειοθελῶς, ἀλλὰ οὗτος πρέπει ἀμέσως νὰ ζητήσῃ ἄλλον προϊστάμενον ἄνευ καθυστερήσεως, ὡς λέγει ὁ Μάρξ: «Ἀλλὰ ὁ ἐργάτης, τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ μόνη πηγὴ τοῦ κερδίζειν εἶναι ἡ πώλησις τῶν ἐργατικῶν του δυνάμεων, ΔΕΝ ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ ΝΑ ΕΓΚΑΤΑΛΕΙΨΗ ΟΛΟΚΛΗΡΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΑΞΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ, δηλαδὴ τὴν ἐργοδότριαν τάξιν, πρὶν ἢ ἀποκηρύξῃ τὴν ὕπαρξίν του ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ. Οὗτος δὲν ἀνήκει εἰς αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν ἄλλον ἐργοδότην, ΑΛΛΑ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΛΟΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΚΗΝ ΤΑΞΙΝ. Καὶ σαφέστερον: Οὗτος εἶναι ὑποχρεωμένος νὰ εὕρῃ ἕνα προϊστάμενον. Δηλαδὴ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐργοδοτῶν, οὗτος πρέπει νὰ ἀνακαλύψῃ τὸν ἰδιαίτερον ἀγοραστὴν τῆς ἐργατικῆς του δυνάμεως (Μισθός, Κόπος καὶ Κεφάλαιον, σελὶς 19).

ΥΠΟΔΟΥΛΩΣΙΣ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥΧΩΝ

Ἡ ὑποδούλωσις τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως ὑπὸ τῶν κεφαλιαούχων καθιστᾷ ἱκανὸν τὸν κεφαλαιοῦχον νὰ κατέχῃ τὰ προϊόντα τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ κόπου. Αὐτὴ εἶναι ἡ σημασία καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων μορφῶς τῆς ὑποδουλώσεως. Ἡ διαφορὰ εἶναι μόνον φαινομενική. Ἡ ὑποδούλωσις εἶναι πλήρης καὶ πράγματι ὑπερπλήρης. Λέγει ὁ Μάρξ: «Τὸ κεφάλαιον προϋποθέτει τὸν ἔμμισθον κόπον καὶ ἔμμισθος κόπος προϋποθέτει τὸ κεφάλαιον, δηλαδὴ δὲν ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ ὑπάρχῃ κεφαλαιοῦχος, ἐὰν δὲν ὑπῆρχε μία τάξις ἐργατῶν, ἥτις, διὰ νὰ ζῇ, ἔπρεπε νὰ πωλῇ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς ζωῆς, ἤτοι μία τάξις εἰς θέσιν δούλου.

Ἡ ἐκμετάλλευσις τοῦ ἐργάτου λαμβάνει μέρος κατὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν. Μὴ ἔχοντες ἄλλο τι νὰ κλέψωσιν ἀπὸ τὸν ἐργάτην, εἰμὴ μόνον τὴν δύναμίν του, ἥτις παράγει πλοῦτον, κλέπτουσι ταύτην. Καὶ τὶ ἠδύναντο νὰ κλέψωσι περισσότερον τούτου; Αὐτὰ λαμβάνουν χώραν εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐργασίας — ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν — ἡ ἐκμετάλλευσις δὲν γίνεται εἰς ἄλλο μέρος. Δὲν ὑπάρχει ἄλλο μέρος ὅπου νὰ ἀποταθῇ πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν καὶ νὰ ἀναμείνῃ ἀποτέλεσμα. Ἡ ἐξουσία του ἐπὶ τῆς παραγωγῆς εἶναι ἡ μόνη δύναμις, τὴν ὁποίαν οὗτος δύναται νὰ ἐξασκῇ μὲ προσδοκίαν ἀποτελέσματός τινος. Αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις εἶναι ἄνευ ὠφελείας δι' αὐτόν, ἐφ' ὅσον δὲν ὀργανοῦται πρὸς χρησιμοποίησίν της. Οὗτος δὲν πρέπει νὰ ἀναμένῃ ἀπὸ τοὺς κεφαλαιούχους οὐδεμίαν χάριν, οὔτε βοήθειαν· καὶ ὁ Μὰρξ λέγει: «Τὰ συμφέροντα τοῦ κεφαλαίου εἶναι ὁ ἄμεσος ἀνταγωνιστὴς τῶν συμφερόντων τοῦ ἐμμίσθου κόπου.»

Τὸ νὰ κατηγορῇς τὸν ἐργοστασιάρχην εἶναι ἀνωφελὴς δαπάνη χρόνου καὶ ἄσκοπος ἐνέργεια, διότι ὁ κανονισμὸς τῆς τιμῆς τῶν προϊόντων εἶναι ἀνώτερος τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως. Ὅταν αἱ τιμαὶ ὑψώνωνται, οἱ δὲ μισθοὶ μένουν στάσιμοι, τὸ μόνον, ὅπερ ἀπολαμβάνει ὁ ἐργάτης εἶναι μία περικοπὴ τοῦ μισθοῦ του. Οὗτος πρέπει νὰ ἀγωνισθῇ διὰ τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ μισθοῦ του. Οὗτος πρέπει νὰ ζητῇ μίαν αὔξησιν τοῦ μισθοῦ του ἀνάλογον τοῦ πληρωνομένου ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου. Νὰ ἀναγκάσῃ τὸν προϊστάμενόν του νὰ θυσιάσῃ ὀλίγην ἀπὸ τὴν πλεονάζουσαν ἀξίαν. Ὁ ἐργάτης δὲν ὑφίσταται ἐκμετάλλευσιν ἐν τῷ ἐργαστηρίῳ, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς παραγωγῆς, καὶ εἰς τὴν παραγωγὴν αὐτὸς πρέπει νὰ ζητῇ ἐπανόρθωσιν — εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐργασίας καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν προϊστάμενον.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

1ον. Τὶ καλεῖ κέρδος ὁ Μάρξ;

2ον. Τὸ κέρδος γίνεται ἁπλῶς ἀπὸ τὰς ὑπερβολικὰς τιμάς;

3ον. Πῶς γίνεται τὸ τακτικὸν ἢ ἀνάλογον κέρδος;

4ον. Διατὶ ὁ πλουτοκρατισμὸς καλεῖται «σύστημα κέρδους»;

5ον. Τὶ συμβαίνει ὅταν ὑψῶνται αἱ τιμαὶ καὶ οἱ μισθοὶ δὲν ὑψῶνται ἐν ἀναλογίᾳ.

6ον. Πρέπει ὁ ἐργάτης νὰ ζητῇ χαμηλὰς τιμὰς καὶ αὔξησιν μισθοῦ; Διατί;

7ον. Διατὶ οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι προσπαθοῦν νὰ ταπεινώσουν τὸν τυπικὸν βίον τοῦ ἐργάτου;

8ον. Τὶ σημαίνει ὁ ἀγὼν τῆς τάξεως;

9ον. Ποία εἶναι ἡ θέσις τοῦ ἐλευθέρου ἐργάτου εἰς τὴν πλουτοκρατικὴν κοινωνίαν;

10ον. Τὶ σημαίνει ὑποδούλωσις;

11ον. Τὶ σημαίνει τὰ συμφέροντα τοῦ κεφαλαίου εἶναι ἄμεσος ἀνταγωνιστὴς πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ πληρωνομένου κόπου;

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ

Η ΤΙΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΜΠΟΡΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ

Ἡ ἀξία ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος καὶ ἡ σχέσις του πρὸς ἄλλα ἐμπορεύματα δὲν εἶναι τὸ ἴδιον πρᾶγμα μὲ τὴν τιμήν του, τὰ χρήματα, ἢ τὴν ἐν χρυσῷ ἔκφρασιν, διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν πωλεῖται εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. Διότι ὅταν ἡ ἀξία ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος καθορίζεται μόνη της ἀπὸ τὴν ποσότητα τοῦ κοινωνικῶς ἀναγκαίου ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου, τοῦ ἐνσωματουμένου ἐν τῷ ἐμπορεύματι, καὶ κυμαίνεται καθὼς ὁ ὄγκος τοῦ χρόνου τούτου, ἡ τιμὴ ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος ἐπηρεάζεται ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν κατάστασιν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς πωλήσεως.

Ἡ σχέσεις μεταξὺ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τῆς ζητήσεως εἶναι ὁ σπουδαιότερος παράγων ὁ κανονίζων τὴν τιμήν. Ἐὰν ἡ προσφορὰ εἶναι ὑπερτέρα τῆς ζητήσεως, τότε ἡ τιμὴ τείνει νὰ κατέλθῃ κατωτέρω τῆς ἀξίας. Ἐὰν πάλιν ἡ ζήτησι εἶναι μεγαλυτέρα τῆς παραγωγῆς, ἡ τιμὴ θὰ ὑψωθῇ καὶ τὸ πρὸς πώλησιν ἀντικείμενον θὰ πωλῆται ἀνωτέρω τῆς ἀξίας του.

ΜΙΣΘΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΜΑΙ

Ὁμιλοῦντες γενικῶς, ἀξία καὶ τιμὴ εἶναι ἴσαι καί, κατὰ μέσον ὅρον, ἕν ἐμπόρευμα, τὸ ὁπεῖον στοιχίζει δεκάωρον κόπον πρὸς παραγωγήν, θὰ ἀνταλλαγῇ μὲ χρυσόν, κατέχοντα δεκάωρον κοινωνικῶς ἀναγκαῖον ἐργατικὸν χρόνον.

Ἐπίσης ὑπάρχει ἐντελῶς κοινὴ γνώμη, ὅτι οἱ πληρωνόμενοι μισθοὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν κανονίζουν τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων. Ἐπί τινα καιρὸν ἐν τῷ παρελθόντι ἡ πλουτοκρατικὴ προπαγάνδα μετεχειρίζετο πᾶν μέσον νὰ προαγάγῃ τὴν ἐσφαλμένην ταύτην ἰδέαν, δυστυχῶς δὲ οἱ ἐργάται, ὡς ἐν νάρκῃ, παρεδέχοντο τὴν ὀλεθρίαν ταύτην ἀρχὴν ὡς οἰκονομικὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα ἦτο ὅτι ὁποτεδήποτε δὲν παρεδέχθησαν οἰκειοθελῶς ἐλάττωσιν μισθοῦ, δὲν ἠδυνήθησαν νὰ ἀντισταθῶσι κατὰ τῆς περὶ περικοπῆς μισθοῦ ἐκστρατείας, τῆς θεσπισθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν κεφαλαιούχων.

Κατὰ τὴν περίοδον τοῦ πολέμου, ἥτις περιλαμβάνει καὶ ἔτη τινὰ μετὰ τὴν λῆξιν τῶν δραστικῶν ἐχθροπραξιῶν, οἱ (εἰς χρῆμα) μισθοὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν ὑψώθησαν ἐν συγκρίσει εἰς ὑψηλὰ ἐπίπεδα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων εἶχον ὑψωθῇ εἰς ἀνάλογα ὑψηλὰ ἐπίπεδα. Βεβαιοῦται ὅτι ἡ ὕψωσις τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων εἶναι ἀποτέλεσμα τῶν ὑψηλῶν μισθῶν τῶν πληρωνομένων κατὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον. Ναί, καθ' ὅλην αὐτὴν τὴν περίοδον, ἀλλὰ πρὸ παντὸς ὅταν ἡ Ἀμερικὴ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὑπῆρχεν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ βαθμίδι ποικιλία προϊόντων ἀπὸ τὴν παραγωγὴν τῶν κοινῶν προϊόντων ἐν εἰρήνῃ μέχρι τῆς ἐν ἀσυγκρίτῳ ἐντάσει παραγωγῆς πολεμικῶν εἰδῶν. Ἀκόμη καὶ τὰ προϊόντα, τὰ ὁποῖα

ἐχρησιμοποιοῦντο ἐξ ἴσου καὶ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ προηγοράζοντο πρὸς ὑποστήριξιν πολεμικῶν σκοπῶν. Πολλὰ ἐργοστάσια εἶχον μετατραπῆ ἀπὸ ἐργοστάσια παραγωγῆς ἐργαλείων εἰρήνης εἰς ἐργαστάσια παραγωγῆς πολεμικῶν ὑλῶν τοῦ ἑνὸς ἢ τοῦ ἄλλου εἴδους, ὁπότε ἡ ἐμπορικὴ παραγωγὴ ἔπαθε παρακμήν τινα.

Καὶ ὡς ἦτο ἐπόμενον, ἐπειδὴ ἀπεσύρθησαν πολλὰ ἑκατομμύρια ἐργατῶν ἀπὸ τὰ βιομηχανικὰ ἔργα, ἡ ζήτησις τῶν ἐργατῶν ὑπερέβη τὴν προσφορὰν καὶ οἱ μισθοὶ ἀνῆλθον. Ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἡ προσφορὰ ἐργατῶν ἦτο ἄνισος πρὸς τὴν ζήτησιν τοιούτων, οὕτως ἦτο ἄνισος καὶ ἡ προσφορὰ χρειωδῶν πρὸς τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῶν. Πρὸ παντὸς τοῦτο ἀληθεύει ὅταν ὑπολογίσῃ τις τὴν αὐξηθεῖσαν ζήτησιν τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως.

Αἱ εἰσαγωγαὶ ἦσαν ὡρισμέναι καὶ ἐπειδὴ αἱ χῶραι, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας συνήθως ἐξάγομεν, ἦσαν περιπεπλεγμέναι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἐσκόπουν νὰ ἐπιμακρύνουν τὰς πολεμικάς των ἐπιχειρήσεις, αἱ ἐξαγωγαὶ αὐτῶν ἦσαν πενιχραί, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὔτε τὴν εὐκαιρίαν εἶχον νὰ ἐξαγάγουν, διότι ἡ μεταφορὰ διὰ θαλάσσης ἦτο λίαν ἐπικίνδυνος. Ὁ συναγωνισμὸς μεταξὺ τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν βιομηχάνων καὶ ἐμπόρων εἶχεν οὐσιωδῶς ἐξουδετερωθῆ. Τότε παρουσιάσθη μία κατάστασις ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὅπου ἡ προσφορὰ ἐμπορευμάτων ἦτο πολὺ κατωτέρα τῆς ζητήσεως καὶ τοιουτοτρόπως ἡ τιμὴ τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων ὑψώθη. Ἐπίσης ὑπῆρχε τότε ζήτησις ἐργατῶν ὑπερτεροῦσα τὴν πρσοφοράν, οὕτως ὥστε οἱ μισθοὶ ἀρκούντως ὑψώθησαν.

Αἱ ὑψηλαὶ τιμαὶ τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων δὲν ὠφείλοντο εἰς τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς μισθούς, τοὺς ὁποίους ἐπλήρωνον εἰς τοὺς ἐργάτας, ἀλλὰ εἰς τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν κατάστασιν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἡ ὁποία ἦτο εὐνοϊκὴ διὰ τοὺς ἐμπόρους.

ΑΙΤΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΥΨΩΣΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΜΠΟΡΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ

Ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ἐργατῶν, τῶν ὁποίων οἱ μισθοὶ εἶχον ὑψωθῆ, διὰ νὰ βελτιώσουν τὸν τυπικόν των βίον, τοὺς ὡδήγησεν εἰς πρωτοφανῆ ἀγορὰν μὲ τάσιν ὅλων τῶν χρειωδῶν τῆς ζωῆς, ὡς καὶ διαφόρων ἄλλων πραγμάτων, μέχρι σημείου τοῦ νὰ εἶναι ἀπρόσιτοι εἰς τιμήν, γενόμενοι οὕτως ὑπεύθυνοι διὰ τὴν ὕψωσιν τῶν τιμῶν τῶν ἐμπορευματων. Ἐπίσης ὑπῆρξεν ἡ ὕψωσις της τιμῆς τῶν ειδῶν τῆς πολυτελειας, διότι εκεινο, τὸ ὁποῖον δὲν ἦτο κέρδος, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς (μολονότι επροστατευετοϊ αρπαγή, κατέστησεν ἱκανοὺς τοὺς αἰσχροκερδεις καὶ ἁρπαγας να ικανοποιησουν τὰς ἐπιθυμιας των πρὸς πολυτιμα κοσμηματα και αλλας ἰδιοτροπιας. Ἡ περίοδος τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τους χρηματιστας ἦτο ὁ χρυσοῦς αιων, κατὰ τὸν ὁποῖον εἰς μίαν στιγμὴν ἐθησαύριζον τόσα, ὅσα ὁ ἐργάτης δὲν δύναται καθ' ὅλον του τὸν βίον.

Ἐὰν οἱ μισθοὶ δὲν ὑψώνοντο, ἕκαστος παραδέχεται τὴν ἐπήρειαν, τὴν ὁποίαν ἠδύνατο νὰ ὑποστῇ ὁ ἐργάτης καὶ ὁ τυπικός του βίος ἀπὸ τὴν ὑπερτιμηθεῖσαν παραγωγὴν καὶ τὰ ἐπακόλουθα τῆς καταστάσεως ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. Οἱ μισθοὶ ἔπρεπε νὰ ὑψωθοῦν καὶ ὑψώθησαν ΜΟΝΟΝ ΟΤΑΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΠΕΒΑΛΛΕΝ Η ΥΨΩΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΜΠΟΡΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ. Ὁποτεδήποτε, κατὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν περίοδον, ἐζητεῖτο αὔξησις τοῦ μισθοῦ, ΑΥΤΗ ΕΒΑΣΙΖΕΤΟ ΠΑΝΤΟΤΕ ΕΠΙ ΠΡΟΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ ΥΨΩΣΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΜΠΟΡΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ.

ΕΝΟΙΚΙΩΝ, κτλ. Τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς ἀποδεικνύει, ὅτι ὑψηλοὶ μισθοὶ δὲν ἐπέφερον ὑψηλὰς τιμάς, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ὑψηλαὶ τιμαὶ ἐπέφερον ὑψηλοὺς μισθούς.

Ἐὰν ἡ περίοδος αὐτὴ ἐξηκολούθει ὀλίγον ἀκόμη, θὰ ἐπήρχετο μία ἀλλαγὴ τῶν ὑψηλῶν τιμῶν εἰς τακτικὰς τιμὰς καὶ ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα τούτου θὰ ἦτο ἡ ὕψωσις καὶ βελτίωσις τοῦ τακτικοῦ βίου τῶν ἐργατῶν. Ἀλλὰ οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι ἐσκέφθησαν ὄχι μόνον νὰ ἐμποδίσωσι κάθε ἐξύψωσιν καὶ βελτίωσιν τοῦ τυπικοῦ βίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ νὰ ἐπιβάλλωσι τὴν ταπείνωσιν αὐτοῦ.

ΤΟ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΙΚΟΝ ΣΧΕΔΙΟΝ

Ἑκάστη βελτίωσις τοῦ τύπου τοῦ ζῆν τῶν ἐργατῶν ἐνδυναμώνει αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξαντλεῖ τὴν ἐργοδότριαν τάξιν. Οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι ἔχουσιν ἐννοήσει καλῶς τὸ πλεονέκτημα ἐκ τοῦ εὐθηνοῦ κόπου — εὐθηνότεροι ἐργάται καὶ ταπεινότερος τύπος τοῦ ζῆν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς ὑπῆρξε μία ἐκ συμφώνου ἐνέργεια ὑπὸ τῶν συμφερόντων τῶν πλουτοκρατῶν διὰ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ ζῆν τῶν ἐργατῶν. Αὐτὴ ἡ ἐνέργεια εἶναι γνωστὴ ὡς «Ἀμερικανισμὸς» ἢ «Τὸ Ἀμερικανικὸν Σχέδιον καὶ Κίνημα Ἐλευθέρου Καταστήματος». Αὕτη εἶναι καλῶς ὠργανωμένη, καλῶς ὑποστηριχθεῖσα οἰκονομικῶς καὶ καλῶς διαχειριζομένη. Αὐτὴ ἡ ἐνέργεια ἔχε ικάμει ὡρισμένας ἐπιτυχίας, ὠφειλομένας, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, εἰς τὴν παραδοχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐργατῶν τῆς οἰκονομικῆς σοφιστείας, ὅτι αἱ ὑψηλαὶ τιμαὶ ὠφείλοντο εἰς τοὺς ὑψηλοὺς μισθούς. Ἀκριβῶς ἐν ἀναλογίᾳ, ὡς οὗτοι παρεδέχθησαν αὐτὴν τὴν σοφιστείαν ὡς ἀλήθειαν, ἠρνήθησαν νὰ ἀντισταθῶσι κατὰ τῶν προσπαθειῶν περὶ ταπεινώσεως τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ ζῆν, παραδεχθένες περικοπὴν μισθοῦ. Ἀλλὰ ὁ κύριος λόγος τῆς ἀποτυχίας ὠφείλετο εἰς τὰς διαφόρους ἐπαγγελματικὰς ἑνώσεις, αἵτινες δὲν ἠδυνήθησαν νὰ ἀφήσωσι κατὰ μέρος τὴν ἅμιλλαν καὶ νὰ παρουσιάσωσιν ἡνωμένον μέτωπον κατὰ τοῦ πλουτοκρατισμοῦ.

ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΙΟΝ ΤΡΟΠΟΝ ΚΑΘΟΡΙΖΕΤΑΙ Η ΤΙΜΗ ΕΝΟΣ ΕΜΠΟΡΕΥΜΑΤΟΣ; ἐρωτᾷ ὁ Μὰρξ εἰς τὸ βιβλίον του «Ψισθός, Κόπος καὶ Κεφάλαιον». Καὶ προχωρῶν, ἀπαντᾷ μόνος του εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν τυο ἐρώτησιν ὡς ἑξῆς:

«Μέσον τοῦ συναγωνισμοῦ μεταξὺ ἀγοραστοῦ καὶ πωλητοῦ καὶ τῆς σχέσεως μεταξὺ προσφορᾶς καὶ ζητήσεως — προσφορὰ καὶ προτίμησις. Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἅμιλλα διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν παγιοῦται ἡ τιμὴ ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος εἶναι τριπλῆ.

Τὸ αὐτὸ ἐμπόρευμα ἐκτίθεται εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ὑπὸ διαφόρων πωλητῶν. Ὁποιοσδήποτε προσφέρει μεγαλυτέραν ἱκανοποίησιν εἰς τὸν ἀγοραστήν, οὗτος εἶναι βέβαιος νὰ ἐκδιώξῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πωλητας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ νὰ ἐξασφαλίσῃ δι' ἑαυτὸν μεγαλυτέραν πώλησιν. Ὅθεν οἱ πωληταὶ φιλονεικοῦσι διὰ τὴν πώλησιν καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν μεταξύ των. Ἕκαστος ἐξ αὐτῶν θέλει καὶ κάμνει τὸ πᾶν διὰ νὰ πωλῇ περισσότερον, καὶ ἐὰν ἦτο δυνατὸν νὰ μείνῃ ὁ μόνος πωλητής. Ὅθεν, ἕκαστος προσπαθεῖ νὰ ὑπερτερῇ τὸν ἄλλον εἰς τὴν εὐθηνείαν, ὁπότε λαμβάνει χώραν ἕνας συναγωνισμὸς ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΑΥΤΩΝ, ὅστις ὑποβιβάζει τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πωλουμένων προϊόντων. Εἰς τὸ τέλος ὁ συναγωνισμὸς μεταδίδεται

καὶ μεταξὺ πωλητοῦ καὶ ἀγοραστοῦ, ὁ μὲν ἀγοραστὴς προσπαθεῖ νὰ ἀγοράσῃ τὰ προϊόντα ὅσον τὸ δυνατὸν εὐθηνότερα, ὁ δὲ πωλητὴς προσπαθεῖ νὰ τὰ πωλήσῃ ὅσον τὸ δυνατὸν ἀκριβώτερον. Τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα αὐτοῦ τοῦ συναγωνισμοῦ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀγοραστοῦ καὶ τοῦ πωλητοῦ θὰ ἐξαρτηθῇ ἀπὸ τὰς δύο πρώτας ἀπόψεις τοῦ συναγωνισμοῦ. Δηλαδή, θὰ ἐξαρτηθῇ ἀπὸ ΤΗΝ ΥΠΕΡΟΧΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΣΥΝΑΓΩΝΙΣΜΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΔΥΟ ΤΑΞΕΩΝ, ΤΟΥ ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΩΛΗΤΟΥ. Τοιουτοτρόπως, τὸ ἐμπόριον ὁδηγεῖ δύο στρατεύματα εἰς τὸ πεδίον τῆς μάχης, ἕκαστον δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρουσιάζει τὴν ὄψιν μιᾶς μάχης εἰς τὴν σειράν της μὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας της. Τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ ὁποίου οἱ στρατιῶται εἶναι ὀλιγώτερον δυσηρεστημένοι ὁ εἷς πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον, νικᾷ τὸν ἐχθρόν.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

1ον. Ὑπάρχει καμμία διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τῆς ἀξίας ἑνὸς ἀντικειμένου καὶ τῆς τιμῆς αὐτοῦ;

2ον. Ποῖος κανονίζει τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων;

3ον. Μία αὔξησις μισθῶν ἐπιβάλλει ὕψωσιν τῆς τιμῆς; Διατί;

4ον. Ποία ἦτο ἡ πρωτεύουσα αἰτία τῶν ὑψηλῶν τιμῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ἀμέσως μετ' αὐτόν;

5ον. Τὶ σκοπεῖ τὸ κίνημα τοῦ ἐλεύθερου καταστήματος;

6ον. Αἱ ἐπαγγελματικαὶ ἑνώσεις ὑποβοηθοῦν τοὺς ὑποκινοῦντας τὴν ἐνέργειαν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου καταστήματος; Πῶς;

7ον. Δεῖξον τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα τοῦ συναγωνισμοῦ μεταξὺ τῶν πωλητῶν ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος. Ἐφάρμοσον αὐτὸ εἰς τὴν ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν.

8ον. Τὶ ἐννοεῖς μὲ τὸν «συναγωνισμὸν μεταξὺ πωλητοῦ καὶ ἀγοραστοῦ»;

9ον. Τὶ ἐννοεῖς μὲ τὸ «προσφορὰ καὶ προτίμησις», ὅπως ἀναφέρεται ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ.

10ον. Δύνασαι νὰ ἐφαρμόσῃς τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ Μὰρξ τῶν ἀντιθέτων στρατοπέδων εἰς τοὺς ἐργάτας; Πῶς;

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΚΤΟΝ

ΚΑΝΟΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΙΜΩΝ

Οἱ πληρωνόμενοι μισθοὶ δὲν ἐπηρεάζουν ποσῶς τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων, δηλαδὴ οἱ ὑψηλοὶ μισθοὶ δὲν κάμνουσιν ὑψηλὰς τιμάς, οὔτε οἱ εὐθηνοὶ μισθοὶ κάμνουσι χαμηλὰς τιμάς: ἡ σχέσις τῆς προσφορᾶς καὶ ζητήσεως εἶναι ὁ σπουδαιότερος παράγων τοῦ κανονισμοῦ τῆς τιμῆς.

Ἐὰν ὑπάρχουν 100 τόννοι γαιανθράκων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ χίλιοι ἄνθρωποι, ἕκαστος τῶν ὁποίων θέλει νὰ ἀγοράσῃ ἀπὸ ἕνα τόννον, ὁ συναγωνισμὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων θὰ ὑψώσῃ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ ἄνθρακος. Καὶ ἐὰν ὁ καιρὸς εἶναι πολὺ ψυχρός, τότε ὁ πωλητὴς θὰ ζητῇ ὑψηλοτέραν τιμὴν παρὰ ὅταν ὁ καιρὸς εἶναι εὔδιος. Ἔχοντες ἀνάγκην γαιάνθρακος ἕκαστος ἐκ τῶν χιλίων αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ συναγωνισμὸς μεταξύ των διὰ νὰ ἀποκτήσουν γαιάνθρακα ἐντείνεται, τοῦ ψυχροῦ καιροῦ καθιστῶντος αὐτὸν ἀπαραίτητον δι' αὐτούς. Ἡ ἀξία τοῦ γαιάνθρακος δὲν θὰ αὐξηθῇ, ἀλλὰ ἡ ὕψωσις τῆς τιμῆς του ὀφείλεται εἰς τὴν ἐπικρατοῦσαν κατάστασιν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς πωλήσεως. Ἀλλὰ ἐὰν ὁ καιρὸς δὲν ἦτο γλυκύς, ἡ ζήτησις τοῦ γαιάνθρακος δὲν θὰ ἦτο τόσον μεγάλη καὶ θὰ ἀνέμενον οἱ ἀγορασταὶ μίαν ἢ δύο ἡμέρας πρὸς καλλιτέρευσιν τῆς τιμῆς. Τότε ὁ συναγωνισμὸς δὲν θὰ ἦτο τόσον σφοδρὸς καὶ ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ γαιάνθρακος τόσον ὑψηλή.

Ἐὰν ἐξ ἄλλου ὑπῆρχον 1000 τόννοι γαιάνθρακος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ μόνον 100 ἀγορασταί, ὁ συναγωνισμὸς θὰ λάβῃ μέρος μεταξὺ τῶν πωλητῶν καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τοῦ γαιάνθρακος θὰ καταπέσουν. Καὶ πάλιν ἡ ἀξία τοῦ γαιάνθρακος δὲν ἔχει μεταβληθῇ, ἀλλὰ ἡ κατάστασις τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔχει ὑποβιβάσει τὴν τιμήν.

Ὅταν αἱ τιμαὶ παραμένουν ὑπεράνω τῆς ἀξίας δι' οἱανδήποτε περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου, ὑπάρχει περίοδος ἀποζημιώσεως, κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν αἱ τιμαὶ εἶναι κατώτεραι τῆς ἀξίας. Ἀλλὰ ὅταν ληφθῇ ὑπ' ὄψιν ἡ κύμανσις τῆς τιμῆς ὑπεράνω καὶ κατωτέρω τῆς ἀξίας εἰς τὸ παρελθόν, θὰ εὑρεθῇ ὅτι τὰ ἐμπορεύματα πωλοῦνται εἰς τὴν ἀξίαν των — ἀξία καὶ τιμὴ εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἀνάλογον ἰσοδύναμον.

Καθὼς ὁ σκοπὸς ἑκάστης πλουτοκρατικῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως εἶναι τὸ κέρδος, τὸ ὁποῖον δύναται νὰ πραγματοποιηθῇ ἔν τινι συναλλαγῇ, πρέπει νὰ ὑπάρχῃ βάσις τις, ἐπὶ τῆς ὁποίας ὅλα τὰ ἐμπορεύματα θὰ συναλλάσσωνται. Αὐτή, καθὼς προεἴπομεν, εἶναι ἡ βάσις τοῦ ἐνσωματωμένου ἐντὸς τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων κοινωνικῶς ἀναγκαίου ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου. Βλέπομεν ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἐργατικὸς χρόνος σύγκειται ἐκ δύο στοιχείων — πληρωνόμενος καὶ μὴ ἐργατικὸς χρόνος.

ΥΨΗΛΟΙ ΜΙΣΘΟΙ ΔΕΝ ΚΑΜΝΟΥΝ ΥΨΗΛΑΣ ΤΙΜΑΣ

Ἂς λάβωμεν τὸ ὀρθογώνιον Α διὰ νὰ παραστήσωμεν τὸν ἐργατικὸν χρόνον τῆς ἡμέρας, διαιροῦντες αὐτὸ εἰς δέκα μέρη, τὰ ὁποῖα παριστά-

νουν τὰς δέκα ὥρας τῆς ἐργασίας, μεταχειριζόμεθα δὲ τὸ σημεῖον Β διὰ νὰ δείξωμεν τὰς τρεῖς ὥρας, τὰς ὁποίας ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν, ὅτι χρειάζεται ὁ ἐργάτης διὰ νὰ παραγάγῃ ἀξίας ἴσας πρὸς τὸν ἡμερήσιον μισθόν του.

Ἐὰν ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις ἑνὸς ἐργάτου διὰ μίαν ἡμέραν εἶναι ἰσοδύναμος πρὸς τὸν κοινωνικὸν χρόνον, τὸν ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς παραγωγὴν ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος, αὐτὸ τὸ ἐμπόρευμα θὰ ἀνταλλαχθῇ μετ' ἄλλων ἐμπορευμάτων, τὰ ὁποῖα περιέχουν ὁμοίαν ποσότητα ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου.

Ἀλλὰ μέρος ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου εἶναι πληρωνόμενος (διὰ 3 ὥρας) καὶ μέρος αὐτοῦ δὲν εἶναι πληρωνόμενος (7 ὥρας). Τόρα, ἐὰν ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ἐργάτου αὐξηθῇ ἀπὸ 3 εἰς 4 δολ. ἡμερησίως, τότε θὰ χρειασθῇ μίαν ἀκόμη ὥραν ἢ τέσσαρας ὥρας τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ του χρόνου διὰ νὰ παραγάγῃ ἀξίας ἰσοδυνάμους πρὸς τὴν νέαν πληρωμήν. Δηλαδή, τόρα ἐκεῖνος πληρώνεται διὰ τέσσαρας ὥρας, καὶ τοῦ μὴ πληρωνομένου ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου ἐλαττουμένου κατὰ μίαν ὥραν ὁ προϊστάμενος λαμβάνει ἀξίας μιᾶς ὥρας ὀλιγώτερον. Ἀλλὰ διὰ νὰ παραχθῇ τὸ ἐμπόρευμα ἀπαιτοῦνται δέκα ὧραι ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ θὰ συναλλαχξῇ μόνον ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς βάσεως. Ὁ προϊστάμενος δὲν δύναται νὰ προσθέσῃ εἰς τὴν τιμήν του, διότι ὁ νόμος ἐπιβάλλει πειθαρχίαν, καὶ οἱ κάτοχοι ἄλλων ἐμπορευμάτων θὰ ἀρνηθοῦν νὰ συναλλαχθοῦν, ἐκτὸς συμφώνως τοῦ νόμου τῆς συναλλαγῆς. Οὐδέποτε συμπίπτει, ὥστε νὰ ἀλλάξῃ τὴν σχέσιν τὸ ἕν ἐμπόρευμα πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα. Τὸ μόνον τὸ ὁποῖον συμπίπτει εἶνα ἡι ἀλλαγὴ τῶν οὐσιωδῶν στοιχείων ἑνὸς ἑκάστου. Τὸ στοιχεῖον τοῦ πληρωνομένου ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου ἔχει αὐξηθῇ καὶ τὸ στοιχεῖον τοῦ μὴ πληρωνομένου ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου ἔχει ἐλαττωθῇ. Ἐπειδὴ ὁ προϊστάμενος χάνει τὴν ἀξίαν, μιᾶς ὥρας ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας τοῦ ἐργάτου εἶναι πολὺ φυσικὸν νὰ προσπαθῇ νὰ καταπείσῃ τὸν ἐργάτην, ὅτι οἱ ὑψηλοὶ μισθοὶ δὲν εἶναι ἐπωφελεῖς, διότι θὰ ὑψωθοῦν καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων. Ἀλλὰ ἐὰν ἡμεῖς περιφρονήσωμεν τὰ λεγόμενά του, ὁ προϊστάμενος δὲν θὰ ἀντιτείνῃ νὰ πληρώσῃ ὑψηλοὺς μισθούς, ἐκτὸς δι' ἕνα λόγον — διότι τοῦτο σημαίνει μικρότερα κέρδη δι' αὐτόν. Ἐὰν οὗτος ἠδύνατο νὰ ἀποζημιώσῃ τὸν ἑαυτόν του ἐκ τῆς αὐξήσεως τῶν μισθῶν, διὰ τῆς ἐπαυξήσεως τῶν μισθῶν, οὗτος δὲν θὰ κατεπολέμει τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν μισθῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὗτος δὲν δύναται νὰ πράξῃ τοῦτο, διὰ τοῦτο τόσον ἀπεγνωσμένως μάχεται ἐναντίον τῆς αὐξήσεως τῶν μισθῶν. ΥΨΗΛΟΙ ΜΙΣΘΟΙ ΔΕΝ ΚΑΜΝΟΥΝ ΥΨΗΛΑΣ ΤΙΜΑΣ. Ὅταν ὁ κεφαλαιοῦχος παραπονῆται δι' ἄλλα τινὰ πράγματα, οὗτος πράττει τοῦτο μόνον ὅταν κάμνῃ μικρὰ κέρδη, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐναντιοῦται κατὰ παντὸς κωλύματος πρὸς αἰσχροκέρδειαν.

Εὐθηνοὶ μισθοί, δὲν σημαίνουν χαμηλὰς τιμάς.

Ἐὰν ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ἐργάτου χαμηλωθῇ ἀπὸ 3 δολ. εἰς 2 δολ., δὲν θὰ ἐπέλθῃ οὐδεμία ἔκπτωσις εἰς τὴν τιμήν, διὰ τὸν λόγον ὅτι ἐν τοιαύτῃ περιπτώσει, ὡς εἰς τὰς ἄλλας, δὲν ὑπάρχει μεταβολὴ εἰς τὸν χρόνον τὸν ἀπαιτούμενον νὰ παραχθῇ τὸ ἐμπόρευμα. Ὁ ἐργάτης τόρα πληρώνεται 2 δολ. καὶ οἱ καρποὶ τοῦ κόπου του τῶν 8 ὡρῶν οἰκειοποιεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ προϊσταμένου του. Ὁ προϊστάμενος θὰ εἶνα ιπλέον ἱκανοποιημένος ἢ ὅσον πρότερον, ἐν τούτοις ἐκθέτων τὸ ἐμπόρευμα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, προσπαθεῖ νὰ ἀνταλλάξῃ αὐτὸ μὲ τιμὴν ἴσην πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν του ἢ καὶ ὑπεράνω αὐτῆς, ἐὰν δύναται, καὶ κατωτέρω αὐτῆς, ὅταν πρέπει. Ἀλλὰ ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ἐργάτου ἔχει νὰ κάμῃ τόσον ὅσον ὁ ὑδράργυρος τοῦ θερμομέτρου μὲ τὸν καιρόν.

Ἐὰν τὸ ἐμπόρευμα πωλῆται διὰ 10.00 δολ. καὶ ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ἐργάτου ἔχῃ αὐξηθῇ ἀπὸ 3.00 εἰς 4.00 δολ., ὁ προϊστάμενος κάμνει 1.00 δολλάριον ὀλιγώτερον κέρδος. Τὸ ἀντικείμενον θὰ πωλῆται καὶ πάλιν ἀντὶ 10 δολλαρίων, διότι ἐκεῖνο, τὸ ὁποῖον καθορίζει τὴν ἀξίαν — ἐργατικὸς χρόνος — δὲν ἔχει κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον νὰ μεταβληθῇ. Ἀλλὰ ὁ προϊστάμενος δὲν ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν τῶν κερδῶν καὶ ὀλολύζει περὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν τιμῶν, μολονότι οὐδέποτε ἐνδιεφέρθη διά τινα χαμηλὴν τιμὴν ἀφ' ὅ,τι δύναται ὁ λαὸς νὰ ὑποφέρῃ.

Ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον θὰ ἤθελε νὰ κάμῃ ὁ προϊστάμενος καὶ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον θὰ ἔκαμνεν ἐὰν οἱ νόμοι τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ ἐπέτρεπον, εἶναι νὰ ὑψώνῃ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων, ἵνα διατηρῇ τὴν παλαιὰν ποσότητα καὶ εἰ δυνατὸν νὰ τὴν αὐξήσῃ.

Ἀλλὰ βλέπων ὅτι δὲν δύναται νὰ πράξῃ τοῦτο, προσπαθεῖ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καλύτερον: — παρακινεῖ τὸν ἐργάτην νὰ δεχθῇ μίαν περικοπὴν τοῦ μισθοῦ του καὶ κατόπιν καὶ ἄλλην, ἐὰν τοῦτο φανῇ καλόν. Ἰδοὺ τί ἐστὶ ἀγὼν ἐλευθέρου καταστήματος! Ἡ πλεονάζουσα ἀξία εἶναι ἡ μόνη πηγὴ τοῦ κέρδους. Τοῦτο εἶναι τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων διὰ τὸν κεφαλαιοῦχον. Οὗτος θεωρεῖ κάθε ἐπιδρομὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας ὡς ἱεροσυλίαν. Οὗτος μάχεται ἀπεγνωσμένως καὶ περισυλλέγει κάθε οὐγγίαν τῆς δυνάμεώς του διὰ νὰ ἐμποδίσῃ αὐτήν.

ΑΥΞΗΘΕΙΣΑ ΖΗΤΗΣΙΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΡΙΝΩΣ ΑΥΞΑΝΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΤΙΜΗΝ

Ὅταν λαμβάνῃ χώραν μία αὔξησις μισθοῦ, οἱ ἐργάται ἔχουσι περισσότερα χρήματα διὰ νὰ ἀγοράσωσιν ἐμπορεύματα. Οὗτοι πηγαίνουν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν διὰ νὰ θεραπεύσουν τὰς ἀνάγκας των καὶ κατόπιν τὰς ὀρέξεις των. Τοιουτοτρόπως, ἡ αὐξηθεῖσα ζήτησις ἐδημιούργησε τάσεις τῆς ὑψώσεως τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων. Αὐτὰ τὰ ἐμπορεύματα ἐπὶ τινα καιρὸν πωλοῦνται ὑπεράνω τῆς ἀξίας των. Η ΑΥΞΗΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΙΜΩΝ ΦΑΙΝΕΤΑΙ ΟΤΙ ΟΦΕΙΛΕΤΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΥΞΗΣΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΙΣΘΟΥ, ὡς καὶ ἐπίσης Η ΑΥΞΗΘΕΙΣΑ ΖΗΤΗΣΙΣ ΕΠΙΦΕΡΕΙ ΑΥΞΗΘΕΙΣΑΝ ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΙΚΗΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΓΑΤΟΥ. Αἱ τιμαὶ εἶναι ὑψηλαὶ ὄχι διότι ηὐξήθησαν οἱ μισθοί, ἀλλὰ διότι οἱ ἐργάται ἀγοράζουσι ζωηρότερον. Ὁ τύπος τοῦ ζῆν τοῦ ἐργάτου ὑψοῦται εἰς ἀνώτερον ἐπίπεδον μὲ ἀκριβοὺς μισθούς. Ἐὰν ὁ νέος τύπος τοῦ ζῆν παραμείνῃ ἐπὶ μακρὸν χρόνον, τότε οὗτος νιοθετεῖται καὶ ὅσον ὑψηλότερος εἶναι ὁ τύπος τοῦ ζῆν, τόσον ἀκριβωτέρα εἶναι ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις καὶ ὀλιγώτερα τὰ κέρδη. Ἐντεῦθεν ἡ ἐναντίωσις τῆς πλουτοκρατικῆς τάξεως κατὰ τῶν ἀκριβῶν μισθῶν.

Ἐπί τινα ἔτη πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου αἱ τιμαὶ ὑψοῦντο ἐνῷ οἱ μισθοὶ ἐχαμήλωνον. Ἐνῷ αἱ τιμαὶ διαφόρων ἐμπορευμάτων, ἐὰν ὄχι ὅλων, εἶχον ὑψωθῇ ἀρκούντως, ὑπῆρξεν ἀξιοπαρατήρητον, ὅτι ἡ σχέσις τοῦ ἑνὸς ἐμπορεύματος πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο ἔμεινε σταθερά. Ἡ ποσότης τῆς ὑψώσεως τῆς τιμῆς ἦτο περίπου ἡ ἰδία εἰς τὰ ἐμπορεύματα. Ἡ σχέσις αὐτῶν μὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἶχε μεταβληθῇ — διότι ἀπητεῖτο περισσότερος χρυσὸς διὰ νὰ ἀνταλλαγῇ πρὸς αὐτά, καὶ περισσότερος χρυσὸς βεβαίως διὰ νὰ ἐκφράσῃ τὴν σχέσιν τοῦ ἑνὸς πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο. Ἡ ἀξία τοῦ χρυσοῦ εἶχε καταπέσει. Ἐννῷ τὰ ἄλλο ἐμπορεύματα ἀντηλλάσσοντο μὲ αὐξηθεῖσαν ποσότητα χρυσοῦ, ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις ἕνεκα τοῦ συναγωνισμοῦ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐργατῶν, δὲν ἠδυνήθη νὰ κανονίσῃ τὴν ἀξίαν της καὶ ἐν συγκρίσει πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἐμπορεύματα ἐπωλεῖτο κατωτέρω τῆς ἀξίας της. Ἤτοι οἱ μισθοὶ

ἦσαν ταπεινοί. ΥΨΗΛΟΙ ΜΙΣΘΟΙ ΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΟΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΑΣ ΥΨΗΛΑΣ ΤΙΜΑΣ. ΗΤΟ Η ΥΠΟΤΙΜΗΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΞΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΡΥΣΟΥ.

ΤΙ ΑΙΝΑΙ ΥΨΗΛΟΣ ,ΜΕΤΡΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΜΗΛΟΣ ΜΙΣΘΟΣ

Ἀκούομεν τοὺς ὅρους τῶν ἀκριβῶν μισθῶν, μετρίων μισθῶν καὶ χαμηλῶν μισθῶν. Τὶ ἐννοοῦμεν ἀπὸ ταῦτα; Πράγματα δύνανται νὰ θεωρηθῶσ ν ὡς ὑψηλά, μέτρια καὶ χαμηλὰ ὅταν ταῦτα συγκρίνωνται μὲ ἄλλο τι. Πρέπει νὰ ὑπάρχῃ τύπος τις, ὅστις νὰ καταμετρῇ τοὺς μισθούς. Τὶ εἶναι ἐκεῖνο, τὸ ὁποῖον καθορίζει ὑψηλούς, μετρίους καὶ χαμηλοὺς μισθούς; Ο ΤΥΠΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΖΗΝ Ο ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΓΑΤΩΝ.

Ὅταν ὁ μισθὸς ἑνὸς ἐργάτου καθιστᾷ αὐτὸν ἱκανὸν νὰ ζῇ ἐν ὑπερτέρῳ βαθμῷ ἀπὸ τὸν συνήθει, τότε λέγεται ὅτι ὁ μισθός του εἶναι ἀκριβός. Ὅταν ὁ μισθὸς καθιστᾷ τὸν ἐργάτην ἱκανὸν νὰ ζῇ κατὰ προσέγγισιν συμφώνως τοῦ ἐπικρατοῦντος τύπου τοῦ ζῆν, τότε λέγεται ὅτι ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ἐργάτου εἶναι μέτριος, ὅταν ἐξ ἄλλου ὁ μισθός του δὲν τὸν καθιστᾷ ἱκανὸν νὰ φθάσῃ τὸν ἐπικρατοῦντα τύπον τοῦ ζῆν, τότε λέγεται ὅτι ὁ μισθός του εἶναι χαμηλός. Ὁ ἐπικρατῶν (ἱστορικὸς) τύπος τοῦ ζῆν εἶναι ὁ ὀνομαστὴς τοῦ μισθοῦ.

Ὁ μισθὸς ἔχει τρία χαρακτηριστικά. Εἶναι ὀνομαστικός, πραγματικὸς καὶ σχετικός. Ὁ ὀνομαστικὸς μισθὸς εἶναι ἡ τιμὴ τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως, ἀναφερθεῖσα εἰς τοὺς ὅρους τῶν χρημάτων 2.00 δολ., 5.00 δολ. ἢ 10.00 δολ. τὴν ἡμέραν. Ὁ πραγματικὸς μισθὸς ἐκπροσωπεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων, τὰ ὁποῖα ὁ ὀνομαστικὸς μισθὸς θὰ ἐφοδιάσῃ αὐτόν. Ὁ σχετικὸς μισθὸς ἐκπροσωπεῖ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τοῦ μισθοῦ, ὃν λαμβάνει, ἔναντι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραγομένων ἀξιῶν. Οὕτως, ἐὰν αὐτὸς παραγάγῃ 10.00 δολ. ἀξίας συναλλασσούσας διὰ τὸν προϊστάμενόν του, οὗτος λαμβάνει 2.00, ὁ σχετικὸς μισθός του εἶναι 2.10.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

1ον. Οἱ μισθοὶ καθορίζουν τὰς τιμὰς τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων; Ἐξήγησον διατί.

2ον. Ποία κατὰ μέσον ὅρον εἶναι ἡ σχέσις τῆς τιμῆς πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν;

3ον. Δύναται ὁ προϊστάμενος νὰ ἀποζημιωθῇ ἀπὸ τὴν αὔξησιν τῶν μισθῶν διὰ τῆσς αὐξήσεως τῆς τιμῆς τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων; Διατί;

4ον. Δύναται ἡ ἐλάττωσις τοῦ μισθοῦ νὰ χαμηλώσῃ τὰς τιμάς; Διατί;

5ον. Πῶς θὰ θεωρήσῃς τὴν προσωρινὴν ὕψωσιν τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὴν ὕψωσιν τῶν μισθῶν;

6ον. Τὶ ἔχει νὰ κάμῃ ὁ ἐφοδιασμὸς καὶ ἡ ζήτησις μὲ τὸν κανονισμὸν τῆς τιμῆς;

7ον. Τὶ συμβαίνει ὅταν τὰ ἐμπορεύματα διατηροῦσι τὴν σχέσιν τοῦ ἑνὸς πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ ὑψοῦνται;

8ον. Ὁ χρυσὸς εἶναι τὸ μέτρον τῆς ἀξίας ἢ ἡ ἔκφρασις τῆς ἀξίας;

10. Πότε ὁ μισθὸς εἶναι ὑψηλός, μέτριος καὶ χαμηλός;

11. Πότε λέγεται ὀνομαστικὸς μισθός;

12. Πότε λέγεται πραγματικὸς μσιθός;

13ον. Πότε λέγεται σχετικὸς μισθός;

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΒΔΟΜΟΝ

Ο ΤΥΠΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΖΗΝ

Ἡ ἀνταλλακτικὴ ἀξία τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως, καθοριζομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου, τοῦ ἀπαιτουμένου διὰ τὴν παραγωγήν της, ἔπεται ὅτι ὁ χρόνος καθορίζεται μόνος του διὰ τοῦ τακτικοῦ βίου τῶν ἐργατῶν. Ὅθεν, ἐὰν ὑψωθῇ ὁ τρόπος τοῦ ζῆν, θὰ εἶναι πρεισσότερος χρόνος ἀναγκαῖος πρὸς παραγωγὴν ἑνὸς ἰσοδυνάμου ἀπὸ πρότερον. Ἐὰν οὗτος ταπεινωθῇ, ὀλιγώτερος χρόνος θὰ εἶναι ἀναγκαῖος.

Ἀναλόγως τοῦ αὐξανομένου ἢ ἐλαττουμένου χρόνου, ὁ ὄγκος τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας αὐξάνεται ἢ ἐλαττοῦται. Ἕνεκα τούτου ὑπάρχει διαρκὴς πάλη μεταξὺ τοῦ ἐργάτου καὶ τοῦ ἐργοδότου. Αἱ προσπάθειαι τῶν ἐργατῶν σκοποῦν τὴν βελτίωσιν τοῦ τυπικοῦ των βίου, ἐνῷ αἱ προσπάθειαι τῶν κεφαλαιούχων πρὸς απείνωσιν αὐτοῦ, οὕτως εἰπεῖν ἐναντιοῦνται διὰ τὴν ἀνύψωσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁποτεδήποτε εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἐπιβάλλωσι τὴν ταπείνωσιν, πράττουσι τοῦτο διότι, ὡς εἴδομεν, ὑψηλότεροι μισθοὶ σημαίνουν ὀλιγώτερα κέρδη διὰ τὸν προϊστάμενον — ἀποτυχία, μέχρι τινός, τοῦ σκοποῦ του. Ὁ προϊστάμενος ἐμπορεύεται μὲ τὸν σκοπὸν νὰ κερδίζῃ καὶ ἐφόσον δύναται θὰ ἐξουδετερῇ πᾶν τὸ παρεμβαῖνον εἰς τὴν τελικὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ σκοποῦ του.

Εἰς τὴν σχέσιν τοῦ ἐργάτου πρὸς τὸν ἐργοδότην ὑπάρχουν τρεῖς χαρακτῆρες — μισθός, ὥρα καὶ κατάστασις ἐργοδοσίας — καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τριῶν τούτων τὰ συμφέροντα τοῦ ἐργάτου καὶ τὰ τοῦ ἐργοδότου εἶναι διαμέτρως ἀντίθετα. Ὁ προϊστάμενος θὰ συνηγορῇ περὶ τοῦ μέτρου ὡς καὶ τῆς ἀξιώσεως διὰ τὴν πλεονάζουσαν ἀξίαν, διότι ἡ ὕπαρξίς του ὡς ἐργοδότου ἐξαρτᾶται ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ πράττῃ ταῦτα ἐπιτυχῶς. Ἡ πλεονάζουσα ἀξία εἶναι ἡ ἀμοιβὴ διὰ τῆς πλουτοκρατικῆς ἰδιοκτησίας. Ἡ ἐπιτυχία του καταμετρεῖται ἐκ τῆς βαθμίδος τῆς ἐκμεταλλεύσεως εἰς ἣν δύναται νὰ ὑποτάξῃ τοὺς ἐργάτας. Ὅσον μεγαλύτερος εἶναι ὁ ὄγκος τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας, τόσον ἐπιτυχὴς εἶναι ἡ ἐπιχείρησίς του. Οὗτος δὲν θέλει μόνον κέρδος, ἀλλὰ ὅλον ὅσον εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ κερδίσῃ.

Ἐὰν ὁ ἐργάτης ζητῇ μίαν αὔξησιν τοῦ μισθοῦ του κατὰ δύο δολλαρίων τὴν ἡμέραν, ὁ προϊστάμενος θὰ ἀρνηθῇ καὶ θὰ ἀντισταθῇ εἰς τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτήν. Ὁ ἐργάτης θὰ ἐπιμείνῃ ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ οὕτω θὰ προέλθῃ ὁ βιομηχανικὸς ἀγών. Καὶ ἐν τέλει, ἡ μερὶς ἐκείνη, ἥτις ἤθελεν ἐπιδείξει μεγαλυτέραν δύναμιν, θὰ ἀποφασίσῃ ἐὰν πρέπει νὰ παραχωρηθῇ τι ἢ νὰ ἀπορριφθῇ ἡ αἴτησις. Καὶ ἐὰν οἱ ἐργάται ἔχουν ἑνωθῇ καὶ ἔχουν καταστῇ ἀπειλητικοὶ εἰς τοιοῦτον βαθμόν, ὥστε νὰ συγίσουν τὸν ἐργοδότην, εἰς τὸν ὁποῖον, ἐὰν τοῦ φανῇ συμφεροντικώτερον νὰ ὑποχωρήσῃ εἰς παραχωρήσεις, παρὰ νὰ ἐξακολουθήσῃ τὴν πάλην, πράττει ἀμέσως τοῦτο. Αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες δὲν ἀποκαθίστανται ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε ἡ τοιαύτη ἀποκατάστασις εἶναι ζήτημα δυνάμεως. Ἡ νίκη εἶναι μὲ τὸ μέρος τῶν ἰσχυρῶν συνταγμάτων.

Ἐὰν ὁπωσδήποτε οἱ ἐργάται δὲν ἔχουν ἑνωθῆ οὕτως ὥστε νὰ εἶναι εἰς θέσιν νὰ κυβερνῶσι τὴν προσφορὰν τοῦ κόπου, ὁ ἐργοδότης θὰ κερδίσῃ. Εἰς τὸ παρελθὸν ἐργατικαὶ ὁμάδες ὑπέστησαν ἥττας, τὴν μίαν κατόπιν τῆς ἄλλης, ἕως ὅτου ἡττήθησαν καὶ ἐτρομοκρατήθησαν ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου. Αἱ ἐπαγγελματικαὶ ἑνώσεις δὲν ἦσαν εἰς θέσιν νὰ συνδυάσουν τοὺς ἐργάτας μέχρι σημείου τινὸς καὶ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα ἦτο μία γενικὴ καταπίεσις τοῦ τυπικοῦ βίου τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν ἐργατῶν. Τοῦτο ἐξηγεῖ τὴν τάσιν πρὸς ἕν τελειότερον εἶδος βιομηχανικῶν ἑνώσεων τῆς ὀργανώσεως. Ἂς μεταχειρισθῶμεν τὴν προηγουμένην εἰκόνα, διὰ νὰ ἐπεξηγήσωμεν τὴν σημαντικότητα τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ ἐργάτου περὶ αὐξήσεως μισθοῦ ἡμερησίως κατὰ 2 δολλάρια.

Τὸ σημεῖον Β, τὸ ὁποῖον μετεφέρθη ἀπὸ τὰς τρεῖς ὥρας εἰς τὰς 5, δηλοῖ ὅτι τώρα ὁ ἐργάτης πρέπει νὰ πληρώνεται 5 δολ. ἐκ τῶν δέκα δολ., τὰ ὁποῖα οὗτος παράγει ἡμερησίως, ὡς ὑπολογίζομεν. Ὅθεν οὗτος τώρα θὰ λαμβάνῃ ἓν ἰσοδύναμον πέντε ὡρῶν τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου, οὕτως ὥστε ἐκ τῆς ἡμερησίας ἐργασίας τοῦ ἐργάτου ὁ προϊστάμενος θὰ λαμβάνῃ πλεοναζούσας ἀξίας πενταώρου μόνον ἐργατικοῦ χρόνου, ἐνῷ πρὶν ἐλάμβανε τὰς ἀξίας ἑπταώρου ἐργασίας. Τοῦτο θὰ ἐσήμαινεν ὅτι ὁ προϊστάμενος θὰ ἔχανε δύο ὡρῶν ἀξίας ἡμερησίως, αἵτινες ἦσαν ἰδικαί του πρίν. Αὐτὴ ἡ μεταβολὴ θὰ ἦτο μία δυσάρεστος προσδοκία δι' αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν ὁποίαν οὗτος δὲν θὰ τὴν δεχθῇ παραχωρητικῶς. Οὗτος διατίθεται νὰ πολεμήσῃ τοὺς ἐργάτας. ΑΛΛΑ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΘΑ ΑΝΑΜΕΝΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΜΑΧΗΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΡΓΑΤΑΣ. Φυσικῷ τῷ λόγῳ, οὗτος ἐποφθαλμιᾷ διαίρεσιν εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ ἀκριβῶς ΤΟ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΑ ΒΛΕΠΗ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΡΓΑΤΑΣ ΔΙΗΡΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ. Τοῦτο εἶναι ἀξιόλογον δι' αὐτόν, καθότι Η ΠΡΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΛΕΟΝΑΖΟΥΣΗΣ ΑΞΙΑΣ ΟΦΕΙΛΕΤΡΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΙΡΕΣΙΝ. Ἓν ἀρκετὰ σεβαστὸν ποσὸν τῶν ἐξόδων του δαπανᾶται διὰ νὰ προμηθεύῃ ἢ διατηρῇ τὴν τοιαύτην κατάστασιν μεταξὺ τῶν ἐργατῶν, καθότι ἐὰν δὲν ἐμφανισθοῦν ἐργάται νὰ χειρισθοῦν τὸ σχέδιόν του καὶ νὰ ἐργασθοῦν εἰς τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις του, οὗτος μόνος του οὐδέποτε δύναται νὰ πολεμήσῃ τοὺς ἐργάτας ἐπιτυχῶς. Οὗτος ἐξαρτᾶται ἀπὸ τὸν συναγωνισμὸν τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως, ὅστις τὸν βοηθῇ νὰ ἀνθίσταται κατὰ τῶν μισθῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἀπαιτήσεων τῶν ἐργατῶν του ἢ μέρους αὐτῶν. Ἐνῷ οἱ ἐργάται μάχονται διὰ τὰς ἐργασίας, τὰς ὁποίας οὗτος κυβερνᾷ, αὐτὸς εὐχαριστεῖται. Οὗτος οὐδέποτε ταράσσεται τὴν ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν οἱ ἐργάται θὰ παύσωσι νὰ μάχωνται καὶ νὰ συνδυασθῶσι διὰ τὴν ἐκθρόνισίν του. Οὗτος γνωρίζει τὶ πρέπει νὰ ἐννοήσουν οἱ ἐργάται — ΟΤΙ ΑΥΤΟΙ ΕΚΜΗΔΕΝΙΖΟΥΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ.

Ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἐργοδότης ἐξαρτᾶται ἀποκλειστικῶς ἀπὸ τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν ἐργατῶν, οὗτος προσπαθεῖ νὰ διατηρῇ τὴν διαίρεσιν μεταξὺ τῶν τάξεων τῶν ἐργατῶν. Οὗτος μισθώνει στιγματίας καὶ κατασκόπους, οὗτος ὑποβοηθεῖ πρακτορεῖα νέων, ὀργανώνει ἀντιαπεργικὰ στρατεύματα καὶ ὑποθάλπει ἐθνικοὺς καὶ φυλετικοὺς ἀνταγωνισμούς, οὗτος ὑποστηρίζει πᾶν τὸ ὑποθάλπον τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν ἐργατῶν.

Ἴσως τοῦτο μᾶς βοηθήσῃ νὰ ἐννοήσωμεν τὰς ἑνώσεις, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἀποτελοῦσι τὸ A. F. τοῦ L. Αὐταὶ αἱ ἑνώσεις ἔχουν ἐργασθῆ καὶ ἐργάζονται διὰ νὰ διατηρῶσι τὴν διαίρεσιν τῶν ἐργατῶν. Ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτῶν τῶν ἑνώσεων οὐκ ὀλίγας φορὰς ὑπεβοήθησε τοὺς κεφαλαιούχους νὰ νική-

σωσι τοὺς ἐργάτας καὶ μάλιστα ὑπῆρξεν ἡ ὑλικὴ ὠφέλεια εἰς τοὺς ἐργοδότας περισσότερον ἀπὸ τὰς ἀνταπεργικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνόπλους τοιαύτας. Αἱ ἑνώσεις αὗται ἔχουν διασπάσει ἀπεργίας, τὴν μίαν μετὰ τὴν ἄλλην, πλέον ἀποτελεσματικῶς καὶ ἀντὶ οὐδεμιᾶς σχεδὸν δαπάνης ὑπὸ τῶν ἐργοδοτῶν, ἐκτὸς τῶν (ἐν συγκρίσει) μικρῶν ποσῶν τεχνηέντως διανεμηθέντων εἰς τοὺς κύκλους ἐπιρροῶν. Ἀνεπιφυλάκτως δύναται νὰ λεχθῇ ὅτι αἱ ἐπαγγελματικαὶ αὗται ἑνώσεις ἔχουσιν ὑπερβῆ ὅλα τὰ ἄλλα πρακτορεῖα κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑπηρεσίας των πρὸς τοὺς κεφαλαιούχους. Αὗται ὡς ὀργανώσεις ἀποτελοῦν τὸν ἐργατικὸν διαμελισμόν. Ἐν ὅσῳ αἱ ἑνώσεις αὗται εἶναι ἐν τῇ ὑπάρξει, εἶναι ἐντελῶς ἀδύνατος ἡ ἐξουδετέρωσις τοῦ συναγωνισμοῦ μεταξὺ ὧν ἐργατῶν.

Μόνον ἄλλοι ἐργάται δύνανται νὰ νικήσουν τὰς ἀπεργικὰς ὁμάδας, καθότι αἱ ἐπαγγελματικαὶ ἑνώσεις πάντοτε προθύμως ἐφοδιάζουν καὶ βοηθοῦσιν αὐτούς. ΟΠΟΤΕΔΗΠΟΤΕ ΕΡΓΑΤΑΙ, ΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΟΣ, ΚΑΘ' ΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΠΕΡΓΙΑ, ΟΥΤΟΙ ΕΞΥΠΗΡΕΤΟΥΣΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥΧΟΥΣ. Ἐξ ὅλων τούτων συμπεραίνεται ὅτι αἱ ἐπαγγελματικαὶ ὀργανώσεις εἶναι πρακτορεῖα τῶν κεφαλαιούχων καὶ ἐχθροὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν.

ΑΙ ΩΡΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ

Ὑποτεθείσθω, ὅτι ὁ ἐργάτης ἐζήτησε δύωρον ἐλάττωσιν ἐκ τοῦ μήκους τῆς ἡμερησίας ἐργασίας του, ἀντὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως τοῦ μισθοῦν του κατὰ δύο δολλάρια. Ὁ προϊστάμενος θὰ πολεμήσῃ αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τόσον ζωηρῶς, ὅσον καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν μισθοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸν ἴδιον λόγον — καθότι τοῦτο θὰ ἐσήμαινεν ἐλάττωσιν τοῦ ὄγκου τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας. Ἐὰν λάβωμεν ὡς παράδειγμα τὸ ὀρθογώνιον, τὸ ὁποῖον μετεχειρίσθημεν, θὰ ἔχωμεν εἰκόνα ἀντιπροσωπεύουσαν δεκάωρον ἐργασίαν.

Ἀλλὰ ἡ νέα ἐργατικὴ ἡμέρα εἶναι τόρα ὀκτάωρος καὶ ἐφόσον ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ ἐργάτου παραμένει ὁ ἴδιος, αἱ ὀλιγώτεραι ὧραι ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας πρὸς παραγωγὴν ἀξιῶν, διὰ τὰς ὁποίας δὲν λαμβάνει ἀμοιβήν, εἶναι δύο, ὁπότε ὁ προϊστάμενος ἀποστερεῖται τῶν ἀξιῶν τῶν παραγομένων κατὰ τὰς δύο ὥρας. Τοῦτο εἶναι μία ἀλλαγή, διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ὁ προϊστάμενος δὲν εἶναι διατεθειμένος νὰ συνδιαλλαχθῇ. Οὗτος ἀναφέρει εἰς τοὺς ἐργάτας, ὅτι αὐτὴ ἡ ἀλλαγὴ εἶναι ἕν εἶδος κλοπῆς δι' αὐτὸν καὶ ἰσχυρίζεται ὅτι πληρώνει δεκάωρον μισθὸν διὰ ὀκτάωρον ἐργασίαν.

Καὶ ὁ ἐργάτης τείνει νὰ πιστεύσῃ ὅτι ὁ ἰσχυρισμὸς τοῦ προϊσταμένου εἶναι δίκαιος — καὶ ὅτι ἐκεῖνος λαμβάνει δεκάωρον μισθὸν ἀπέναντι ὀκταώρου ἐργασίας — καὶ ὅτι λαμβάνει σχετικῶς καὶ ὀνομαστικῶς ὑψηλότερον μισθόν. Ἀλλ' ἐὰν λαμβάνῃ ἢ ὄχι, τοῦτο θὰ ἐξαρτηθῇ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀγοραστικὴν δύναμιν τῶν πληρωμῶν του. Οὗτος λαμβάνει ὑψηλοτέραν τιμὴν καθ' ὥραν καὶ ἐν μέρει ἔχει βελτιώει τὴν θέσιν του — οὗτος ἔχει αὐξήσει τὸν μισθόν του κατὰ 7 1)2 σὲντς τὴν ὥραν. Λαμβάνων δεκάωρον μισθὸν διὰ ὀκτάωρον ἐργασίαν, πληρώνεται τόρα διὰ τρεῖς ὥρας ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ οὐχὶ διὰ τρεῖς ἐκ τῶν δέκα, ὡς πρότερον. Ἐξ ἄλλου ὁ προϊστάμενος ἀπολαμβάνει τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν πέντε ὡρῶν ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ, ἐνῷ οὗτος εἶχε συνειθίσει νὰ λαμβάνῃ τὰς ἑπτὰ ἐκ τῶν δέκα. Αὐτὴ εἶναι μία ἀλλαγή, τὴν ὁποίαν ὁ προϊστάμενος δὲν ἀρέσει καὶ δὲν θέλει νὰ τὴν συνειθίσῃ, ἐὰν δύναται νὰ τὴν ἐκμηδενίσῃ.

Οἱ μισθοὶ ἐπηρεάζονται ἐκ τῆς ἐλαττώσεως τῶν ἐργατικῶν ὡρῶν καθότι τὸ τίμημα διὰ τὴν παραγωγὴν ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως δι' ὀκτάωρον ἡμέραν εἶναι τόσον, ὅσον καὶ διὰ δεκάωρον· ἑπομένως, ἡ ἀνταλλακτικὴ ἀξία τοῦ κόπου του δὲν ἔχει ποσῶς διασαλευθῆ, μόνον ἡ ποσότης τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας διεσαλεύθη. Τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ κέρδους ἐλαττοῦται. Τοῦτο σημαίνει σταθερὰν προαγωγὴν τοῦ ἐργάτου καὶ ἀποφασιστικὴν ἀπώλειαν διὰ τὸν προϊστάμενον.

Ἡ ἐλά«τωσις τοῦ μήκους τῆς ἐργατικῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιφέρει ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα τὴν προμήθειαν περισσοτέρων ἐργασιῶν διὰ τοὺς ἐργάτας καὶ ἐν μέρει ἐξασθενεῖ τὸν συναγωνισμὸν μεταξὺ τῶν ἐργατῶν. Αὐτὸ τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα ἐπίσης δὲν εἶναι ἐπιθυμητὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ προϊσταμένου, καθότι αὐτὸ προμηθεύει εἰς τοὺς ἐργάτας προκεχωρημένην θέσιν, ἐκ τῆς ὁποίας ὁρμώμενοι θὰ ἐπιτεθῶσιν ἐκ νέου κατὰ τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας.

Διὰ νὰ βελτιώσῃ τὴν ἐργατικὴν κατάστασιν ὁ προϊστάμενος πρέπει νὰ θυσιάσῃ ὀλίγον ἐκ τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας καὶ νὰ ἐφεύρῃ ἄλλους τρόπους συνδιαλλαγῆς. Ἀλλ' οὗτος ἀρνεῖται νὰ πράξῃ τοῦτο καὶ οτιουτοτρόπως λαμβάνει χώραν ἄλλος ἀγὼν μεταξὺ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν του. Διότι ὁ προϊστάμενος εἶναι πρόθυμος ν' παραχωρήσῃ μέρος τοῦ κέρδους του τόσον, ὅσον θὰ ἦτο πρόθυμος νὰ χάσῃ τὸν δεξιόν του ὀφθαλμόν. εἶναι ἀδύνατον νὰ ὑπάρξῃ εἰρήνη. Ὁ πόλεμος τῆς τάξεως θὰ ἐξακολου-Εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐργασίας — κατὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν — τὰ συμφέροντα τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ τῶν κεφαλαιούχων εἶναι ἐν διαρκεῖ ἀγῶνι. Μεταξύ των θῇ ἕως ὅτου ἢ οἱ ἐργάται ὑποταχθοῦν ἢ οἱ προϊστάμενοι ἐξαφανισθοῦν. Τὸ κέρδος τοῦ ἑνὸς εἶναι ἀπώλεια διὰ τὸν ἄλλον.

Τὰ συμφέροντα τῶν ἐργοδοτῶν ζητοῦν διῃρημένην ἐργατικὴν τάξιν — τὰ συμφέροντα τῶν ἐργατῶν εἶναι μία ἡνωμένη ἐργατικὴ τάξις — οἱ προϊστάμενοι μισοῦν τὸ I. W. W. καὶ οἱ πράκτορες μεταξὺ τῶν ἐργατῶν μισοῦν ἐπίσης τὸ I. W. W. Τὸ I. W. W. ὅλα τὰ ὑποφέρει καὶ προσπαθεῖ νὰ κατορθώσῃ μίαν ἡνωμένην ἐργατικὴν τάξιν.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

1ον. Ποῖα εἶναι τὰ τρία σπουδαῖα σημεῖα εἰς τὰς σχέσεις τοῦ ἐργάτου πρὸς τὸν ἐργδότην;

2ον. Σχετικῶς μὲ αὐτά, εἶναι ταὐτόσημα τὰ συμφέροντά των;

3ον. Ποίαν ἐπήρειαν ἔχει ἡ αὔξησις τοῦ μισθοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρδους τῶν ἐργοδοτῶν;

4ον. Ποίαν ἐπήρειαν δύναται νὰ ἐπιφέρῃ ἡ ἐλάττωσις τῆς ἐργατικῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρδους τοῦ ἐργοδότου, ἐὰν δὲν γίνῃ ἄλλη τις ἀλλαγή;

5ον. Αἱ ἀπεργίαι ἀποκαθίστανται ἐπὶ δικαίας ἢ ἀδίκου βάσεως; Πῶς αὗται ἀποκαθίστανται;

6ον. Θέλει ὁπροϊστάμενος νὰ ἑνωθοῦν οἱ ἐργάται; Διατί;

7ον. Τὶ ἴσως νὰ ἐγίνετο ἐὰν ἡ ἐργατικὴ τάξις ἦτο στερῶς ἡνωμένη;

8ον. Κατὰ τὰς ἀπεργίας ὁ προϊστάμενος νικᾷ τοὺς ἐργάτας; Ποῖος;

9ον. Προσπαθεῖ ὁ προϊστάμενος νὰ διατηρῇ διαίρεσιν μεταξὺ τῶν ἐργατῶν; Τὶ ἄλλο κάμνει πρὸς τοῦτο;

10ον. Ἐὰν ἡ ἐργατικὴ ἡμέρα ἐλαττωθῇ ἀπὸ 10 ὥρας εἰς 8 ὥρας, χωρὶς νὰ ἐλαττωθοῦν οἱ μισθοί, πληρώνεται ὁ ἐργάτης διὰ 10 ὥρας; Ἐξήγησον τὶ συμβαίνει.

11ον. Ἐξήγησον τὴν σπουδαιότητα τοῦ τύπου τοῦ ζῆν τοῦ ἐργάτου.

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΟΓΔΟΟΝ

ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΕΜΑΧΙΟΝ

Ἐκτὸς τῆς μισθώσεως τοῦ ἐργάτου μὲ ὥραν, ἡμέραν ἢ ἑβδομάδα, οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι πολλάκις μισθώνουν αὐτοὺς δι' ἐργασίαν κατὰ τεμάχιον. Κατὰ τὴν κατὰ τεμάχιον ἐργασίαν ὁ ἐργάτης πληρώνεται μὲ τιμὴν ὡρισμένου ποσοῦ χρημάτων διὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν ἐπὶ ὡρισμένου καὶ εἰδικοῦ πράγματος, ὡς σκάπτων αὔλακα ἑνὸς ποδός, πριονίζων κορμοὺς δένδρων, ἐκκόπτων καναβορίζας, καρφώνων λέβητας, κ.τ.λ καὶ ὑπερπληρώνων τὰς ἀπαιτήσεις ἀναφορικῶς τῆς ποιότητος τῆς γενομένης ἐργασίας. Δηλαδή, ἡ ἀνασκαφὴ πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ὡρισμένων διαστάσεων, τὸ πριόνισμα πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ὁριζόντιον καὶ οὕτω καθ' ἑξῆς. Διὰ τὴν ἐλαττωματικὴν ἐργασίαν ὁ προϊστάμενος δὲν πληρώνει. Οὕτως, ὁ ἐργάτης πρέπει νὰ εἶναι προσεκτικός, ὥστε νὰ παράγῃ ἐργασίαν, ἥτις τοὐλάχιστον θὰ διαφύγῃ τὸ πρόστιμον. Δι' ἀποδοκιμασθέντα προϊόντα οὗτος δὲν πληρώνεται καθόλου καὶ διὰ τὰ ἐπιδιορθωθέντα πληρώνεται ὀλιγώτρεον τῆς συμπεφωνημένης τιμῆς. Ὅθεν οὗτος θὰ πονέσῃ διὰ νὰ κάμῃ καλὴν ἐργασίαν. Ἡ διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἐργάτου μὲ χρόνον καὶ τοῦ ἐργάτου κατὰ τεμάχιον εἶναι ἡ ἑξῆς: Ο ΜΕΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΠΛΗΡΩΝΕΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΟΠΟΙΟΝ ΕΡΓΑΖΕΤΑΙ, Ο ΔΕ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΣ ΠΛΗΡΩΝΕΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΠΟΣΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΗΣ ΤΟΥ συμφώνως πρὸς τὸν συμφωνηθέντα τύπον ποιότητος.

Ἂς εἴπωμεν, ὁ Τζὰν Σμὶθ ἐργάζεται ὡς ἐργάτης πληρωνόμενος μὲ τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς ἕνα αὔλακα, μὲ ἡμερήσιον μισθὸν 3 δολ. δι' ὀκτάωρον ἡμέραν. Οὗτος κατὰ μέσον ὅρον σκάπτει ἡμερησίως δύο τιμήματα ἀπὸ 10 πόδας, ἤτοι 20 πόδας αὔλακος ἡμερησίως.

Ἐὰν ὁ προϊστάμενος εἴπῃ εἰς αὐτόν, «Τζάν, ἀπὸ τόρα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς θὰ σοῦ πληρώνω 15 σέντς τὸν πόδα τῆς τάφρου», καὶ ὁ Σμὶθ παραδέχεται τὴν προσφοράν, καὶ θὰ τὸν ἀκούσωμεν νὰ μονολογῇ οὕτω. Τόρα ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι διὰ τὸν ἑαυτόν μου, ὅσον περισσότερον θὰ ἐργασθῶ, τόσον περισσότερον θὰ πληρωθῶ. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ὁ Τζὰν λαμβάνει μεγάλον μισθόν! Αὐτὴν τὴν ἑσπέραν ὁ Τζὰν μετρᾷ τὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ εὑρίσκει ὅτι ἔχει σκάψει τρία τμήματα, ἤτοι 30 πόδας καὶ ἐπῆρε 4.50 δολ. Οὗτος κομπάζει διότι ἔλαβεν 1.50 δολ. περισσότερον ἀπὸ ὅσον ἐλάμβανε πρίν. Οὗτος πείθει τὸν ἑαυτόν του ὅτι δύναται νὰ βγάζῃ περισσότερα χρήματα. Ὁ προϊστάμενος, ὁ ὁποῖος ἔχει συμφωνήσει νὰ σκάψῃ τὴν τάφρον μὲ 30 σέντς τὸν πόδα, ἔχει αὐξήσει τὰ κέρδη του ἀπὸ τὸν κόπον τοῦ Σμὶθ μὲ ποσὸν ἀνάλογον τῆς αὐξήσεως τοῦ ἐργάτου του. Οὗτος τόρα κάμνει 4.50 δολ. τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐνῷ προηγουμένως ἐκέρδιζε μόνον 3.00 δολ.

Ἀλλὰ ὁ Σμὶθ αὐξάνει τὴν ἐργασίαν του ἕως ὅτου οὗτος σκάπτει 40 πόδας τὴν ἡμέραν, ὑψώνων οὕτω τὸν μισθόν του μέχρις 6 δολ., ὡς καὶ τὸ κέρδος τοῦ προϊσταμένου του εἰς παρόμοιον ποσόν. Ὁ Σμὶθ εἶναι ἱκανοποιημένος καὶ ὁ προϊστάμενος πρέπει νὰ εἶναι πλέον ἱκανοποιημένος.

'Αλλὰ δὲν ἔχει οὕτω. Μολονότι τὸ κέρδος του εἶχε διπλασιασθῆ, ὁ προϊστάμενος νομίζει ὅτι ὁ Σμίθ, ὁ ὁποῖος λαμβάνει μισθὸν δύο φορὰς μεγαλύτερον (ἀπὸ τὸν συνήθη μισθὸν τοῦ σκαπανέως), λαμβάνει μισθὸν παραπολὺ μεγάλον. Τοιουτοτρόπως οὗτος πλησιάζει τὸν Σμὶθ καὶ τοῦ λέγει ὅτι δὲν δύναται νὰ τοῦ πληρώνῃ 15 σέντς τὸν πόδα καὶ τοῦ προσφέρει 10 σέντς τὸν πόδα ὡς τὸ ἀνώτερον ποῦ δύναται νὰ πληρώσῃ. Οὗτος συμβουλεύει τὸν Σμὶθ ὅτι ἕνας σκαπανεύς, δυνατὸς ὡσὰν αὐτόν, θὰ δυνηθῇ νὰ κερδίζῃ πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν τιμήν. 'Ο Σμὶθ δέχεται τὴν περικοπὴν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀρχίζει μὲ μεγάλην ταχύτητα διὰ νὰ πλησιάσῃ τὸν προηγούμενον μισθόν. Οὗτος τόρα σκάπτει 50 πόδας ἡμερησίως καὶ κερδίζει 5.00 δολ., ἐργαζόμενος μὲ μεγάλην ταχύτητα. "Οταν ὁ προϊστάμενος τοῦ προτείνει καὶ ἄλλην περικοπὴν τοῦ μισθοῦ, ὁ Τζὰν εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὴν ἀνάγκην νὰ ἀναπαυθῇ ὀλίγον ἢ ἐργαζόμενος πλέον βραδέως, καὶ ὁ προϊστάμενος μισθώνει τὸν Τζὰν μὲ τὸν συνήθη μισθὸν τῶν σκαπανέων, ἀλλὰ ἐπιμένει ὅτι ὁ Τζὰν πρέπει νὰ σκάπτῃ κατὰ προσέγγισιν 35 πόδας τὴν ἡμέραν, ἤτοι ἓν ἀνάλογον, τὸ ὁποῖον αἱ προσπάθειαι τοῦ Σμὶθ καθώρισαν. Κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ἡ κατὰ τεμάχιον ἐργασία χρησιμοποιεῖται διὰ τὸν καθορισμὸν τοῦ ποσοῦ τῆς παραγωγῆς ἐν τῇ βιμηχανίᾳ.

'Ο Μὰρξ λέγει διὰ τὴν κατὰ τεμάχιον ἐργασίαν ὅτ ιαὐτοὶ (οἱ μισθοὶ κατὰ τεμάχιον) ἐπιφέρουν εἰς τὸν κεφαλαιοῦχον ἕνα ἀνάλογον ποσὸν διὰ τὴν ἔντασιν τοῦ κόπου, καὶ προσθέτει πάλιν: 'Αφ' ὅτου ἡ ποιότης καὶ ἡ ἔντασις τσῦ κόπου κυβερνῶνται ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ τὴν μορφὴν τοῦ μισθοῦ καθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἡ ἐπιστασία τοῦ κόπου γίνεται ἐντελῶς περιττή.

"Οταν ὁ Σμὶθ ἔσκαπτε τὴν τάφρον μὲ τὸν πόδα, οὗτος δὲν ἐχρειάζετο ἐπόπτην διὰ νὰ διευθύνῃ ἢ παροτρύνῃ. Οὗτος καθώριζε μόνος του τὸ ποσὸν τῆς ἐργασίας, τὸ ὁποῖον ἔπρεπε νὰ διεξαγάγῃ κατὰ τὴν ἀντίληψίν του, οὗτος κατεμέτρα τὴν δύναμίν του.....

'Ο ἐργάτης μὲ τεμάχιον δὲν ἐνδιαφέρεται διὰ τὴν ὀλιγόωρον ἢ πολύωρον ἡμέραν, καθότι ὁ κόπος του δὲν καθορίζεται καθ' ὥραν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ τῆς παραγωγῆς του... Μία ἢ δύο ὥρας περισσότερον ἢ ὀλιγώτερον ἐξαρτᾶται μόνον ἀπὸ τὸ ποσὸν, τὸ ὁποῖον αὐτὸς ἔχει ὡρίσει νὰ διεξάγῃ κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν. 'Η μακρὰ ἢ ἡ βραχεῖα ἐργάσιμος ἡμέρα δι' αὐτὸν δὲν εἶναι σπουδαῖον ὅταν αὐτὸς ἔχῃ κατορθώσει ἢ ὄχι τὴν διεξαγωγὴν τοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὁρισθέντος ποσοῦ. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπαναλαμβάνομεν τὰ τοῦ Μάρξ: "Οταν δίδεται ἐργασία κατὰ τεμάχιον ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΟΝ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΓΑΤΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΝΑ ΤΕΝΤΩΝΗ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΥΝRΜΙΝ ΟΣΟΝ ΕΝΤΑΤΙΚΩΣ ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ: ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΝΘΑΡΡΥΝΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥΧΟΝ ΝΑ ΥΨΩΣΗ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΙΑΥΤΗΝ ΒΑΘΜΙΔΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΠΟΥ. Πρὸς δὲ ΤΟ ΑΤΟΜΙΚΟΝ ΣΥΜΦΕΡΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΓΑΤΟΥ ΕΙΝΑΙ Η ΕΠΙΜΑΚΡΥΝΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ οὕτως ὥστε μαζὺ μὲ αὐτὴν αὐξηθῇ ἡ ἡμερησία ἢ ἑβδομαδιαία αὔξησις τοῦ μισθοῦ.

'Η ἐργασία κατὰ τεμάχιον ὑποβοηθεῖ τὴν ἐνδυνάμωσιν τῆς ἀδιαβιβάστου προσπαθείας εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐργασίας. Καθὼς ὁ Μὰρξ λέγει εἰς ἄλλο μέρος: «Τοῦτο εἶναι ἡ μορφὴ τοῦ μισθοῦ ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ μὲ τὸν τρόπον τῆς παραγωγῆς τῶν κεφαλαιούχων.»

Συχνάκις εἰς τὰς βιομηχανίας συμβαίνει τοῦτο, τὸ νὰ θέσῃ ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ ἡ διαχείρισις τῶν κεφαλαιούχων τὴν βάσιν τῆς τιμῆς κατὰ τεμάχιον

οὕτως ὥστε οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως αὐτῆς δι' ἀναπτύξεως ταχύτητος καὶ φιλοπονίας κοτρθώσωσι νὰ κάμνουν μισθὸν πολὺ ὑπερβολικὸν (ἐν συγκρίσει) μὲ τὸν μισθὸν τῶν μὲ χρόνον ἐργαζομένων ἐργατῶν, εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐργασίαν. Κατόπιν ἐπισταμένων παρατηρήσεων ἐπὶ ἀρκούντως μακρῶν περιόδων, ὑπολογίζεται ἕνας μέσος ὅρος ἐργσαίας διὰ τοὺς ἐμμίσθους ἐργάτας, οἱ ὁποῖοι πρέπει νὰ διεξάγωσι κατὰ προσέγγισιν ἡμερησίως. Ἡ κατὰ τεμάχιον ἐργασία εἶναι τέχνασμα τῶν κεφαλαιούχων διὰ τοῦ ὁποίου κατορθώνουν νὰ καθορίζουν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πλέον ἱκανοῦ ἐργάτου καὶ οὕτως χρησιμοποιεῖται ὡς μέτρον τῆς ἱκανότητος ἑκάστου ἐργάτου.

ΤΟ ΣΥΣΤΗΜΑ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΔΩΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ

Ὑπάρχει καὶ ἄλλη μορφὴ τῆς ἐργασίας κατὰ τεμάχιον καὶ ἴσως καλυτέρα, μία ἐπέκτασις τῆς κατὰ τεμάχιον ἐργασίας — εἶναι τὸ σύστημα φιλοδωρημάτων. Αὐτὴ εἶναι συνήθως μία τακτική, κατὰ τὴν ὁποίαν οἱ ἐργάται ὠθοῦνται πρὸς μεγαλυτέραν προσπάθειαν, ἀμοιβόμενοι δι' ἑνὸς φιλοδωρήματος (μπόνους) διὰ τὸ ποσὸν τῆς παραγωγῆς ἐν ὑπερβολῇ πρὸς τὸ ὁρισθὲν διὰ μίαν ἡμέραν, ἑβδομάδα ἢ δι' ἕνα μῆνα. Ὑποτεθείσθω, ὅτι δι' ἕνα μεταλλουργὸν ἔχουν ὁρισθῇ τόσοι πόδες μηνιαίας ἐργασίας. Ἐὰν οὗτος ἐργασθῇ σκληρότερον καὶ ὑπερβῇ τὸν ὡρισμένον ἀριθμὸν τῶν ποδῶν τῆς μηνιαίας του ἐργασίας, θὰ πληρωθῇ ὡρισμένον ποσὸν περιπλέον διὰ τοὺς πόδας τοὺς περισσεύοντας τοῦ ὡρισμένου ἀριθμοῦ. Ἐὰν οἱ μεταλλουργοὶ ἐπηρεασθοῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ συστήματος τούτου, θὰ ἴδουν ὅτι ὁ προϊστάμενος θὰ αὐξήσῃ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ποδῶν διὰ τὴν μηνιαίαν των ἐργασίαν, καὶ ἐὰν ἀπατηθοῦν μὲ τὰ μπόνους πρέπει αὐτοί, διὰ νὰ κρατήσωσι τὴν ἐργασίαν των, νὰ ἐργασθῶσι σκληρότερον ἀπὸ πρότερον.

ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΚΕΡΔΟΣ — ΑΓΟΡΑ ΜΕΤΟΧΩΝ

Ἡ συμμετοχὴ εἰς τὸ κέρδος καὶ ἡ ἀγορὰ μετοχῶν ἐπίσης εἶναι τεχνάσματα διὰ νὰ ὠθῶνται οἱ ἐργάται νὰ διαθέτουν οἰκειοθελῶς καὶ φιλοπόνως ὅλην τὴν ἐργατικήν των δύναμιν εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐργασίας. Αὐτοὶ συνήθως ἐξαρτῶνται ἀπὸ τοὺς ὅρους περὶ διαρκοῦς ἐργασίας. Ἐκτὸς τῆς ταχύτητος, τὴν ὁποίαν ἀναπτύσσουν αὐτὰ τὰ τεχνάσματα, ἀλλὰ ὑποχρεοῦν τοὺς ἐργάτας ὅπως χρησιμεύσουν καὶ ἕν κάλυμμα διὰ παῦσίν τινα τῆς ἐργασίας, καθότι ἡ ἐγκατάλειψις ἐργασίας τινὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐργατῶν ἔχει ἀπδειχθῇ ὑπὸ πεπειραμένων κεφαλαιούχων, ὅτι εἶναι τὸ δαπανηρότερον πρᾶγμα διὰ τὴν διαχείρισιν τῆς βιομηχανίας. Γνώριζε τὸ ἑξῆς: Η ΑΛΛΑΓΗ ΕΝΟΣ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΜΟΝΟΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΟΥ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΤΙΝΟΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΡΑΓΜΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΧΕΙΡΙΣΙΝ ΜΙΡΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΣ ΒΙΟΜΗΧΑΝΙΑΣ. Εἶναι σπουδαῖον νὰ γνωρίζωσιν οἱ ἐργάται, ὅτι ὁ ΠΟΛΥΠΛΟΚΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ εἰς τὴν ἀνωτέραν βιομηχανίαν, εἶναι τὸ πλέον ἀδύνατον σημεῖον τῶν κεφαλαιούχων. Ὁ κεφαλαιοῦχος προσπαθεῖ πάντοτε νὰ κρατῇ αὐτὴν τὴν δύναμιν διῃρημένην. Ἐὰν οὗτος δύναται νὰ κάμνῃ τοῦτο, εἶναι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ, εἰδ' ἄλλως εἶναι ἐν ἐπισφαλεῖ θέσει. Ἐὰν ἡ ἐργατικὴ δύναμις μιᾶς νεωτέρας βιομηχανίας ἦτο ἀρκούντως ὠργανωμένη οὕτως ὥστε νὰ ἐνεργῇ ὡς μία μονὰς καὶ νὰ ἀποσύρεται ἐν καιρῷ πάλης, θὰ ἦτο ἐντελῶς ἀδύνατον νὰ ἀντικατασταθῇ. Θὰ ἐχρειάζοντο ἔτη ὁλόκληρα διὰ νὰ γίνῃ τοῦτο. Ἐνταῦθα καταφαίνεται πῶς αἱ ἐπαγγελματικαὶ ἑνώσεις παρέχουσιν ὠφελείας εἰς τοὺς κεφαλαιούχους. Αὐταὶ λειτουργοῦσι διὰ νὰ ἐμποδίσωσι τὴν ὀργάνωσιν τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως.

ΟΙΚΟΓΕΝΕΙΑΚΗ ΠΙΕΣΙΣ

Ὅμον πρὸς ὅμον μὲ τὰ τεχνάσματα τῆς συμμετοχῆς εἰς τὰ κέρδη, καὶ ἀγορᾶς μετοχῶν, συμβαδίζει καὶ ἡ τακτικὴ νὰ ἐνισχύωνται αἱ μεγαλύτεραι βιομηχανίαι δι' ἀνθρώπων οἰκογενειαρχῶν. Εἶναι γενικὴ τακτικὴ τῶν μεγάλων ἐπιχειρήσεων νὰ ἐνισχύωσι τὰ βιομηχανικά των καταστήματα δι' ἐγγάμων καθότι ἡ συναίσθησις τῶν ὑποχρεώσεών των πρὸς τὴν οἰκογένειαν θὰ τοὺς ἀναγκάσῃ νὰ εἶναι εὐπειθεῖς καὶ πειθήνιοι, καὶ τῶν ὁποίων ἡ ἀτομικὴ δύναμις δι' ἀντίσταισν εἶναι μικροτέρα ἐκείνης τῶν ἀγάμων. Συμμετοχὴ εἰς κέρδη, ἀγορὰ μετοχῶν, οἰκοδόμησις οἰκιῶν καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα τεχνάσματα, σκοπὸν ἔχουσι νὰ συνδέσωσι τὴν ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν μὲ τὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ ἰδίως τῶν ἐργατῶν ἐκείνων, οἱ ὁποῖοι εἶναι ἡ κλεὶς τῆς βιομηχανίας. Φαντάσθητι ἕνα ἐργάτην εἰς τὰ διϋλιστήρια τῆς Στάνδαρ Ὄϊλ ἐν Γοκαΐτην, Ἰνδιάνας, ὅστις εἶχε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νὰ ἀγοράσῃ μίαν ἢ δύο μετοχὰς ὡς ἀνταμοιβὴν τῆς «πιστῆς ὑπηρεσίας», νὰ αἰσθάνηται ὅτι ἐξ ἴσου ἐνδιαφέρεται καὶ ὠφελεῖται ὑπὸ τῆς ἑταιρείας μὲ τὸν Τζὰν Δ. Ρακφέλλερ. Τοιοῦτοι ἐργάται εἶναι διὰ τοὺς κεφαλαιούχους ὅ,τι εἶναι τὰ πληρωμένα ὄργανα τῶν πολιτικῶν. Οὗτοι προδίδουσι τοὺς συναδέλφους των χωρὶς νὰ ὠφελῶνται ἐκ τῆς προδοσίας.

Ἓν κανονικὸν κίνημα τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως θὰ διδάξῃ τὰ μέλη της τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὰ ἐλατήρια, τὰ ὁποῖα ἐμπνέουν τοὺς κεφαλαιούχους εἰς τὰ ποταπὰ αὐτὰ τεχνάσματα, καὶ αἰωνίως πρέπει νὰ κατευθύνωνται πρὸς τὴν ἑνότητα ἐκείνην, ἥτις θὰ καταστήσῃ αὐτοὺς ἱκανοὺς νὰ λύσωσι καὶ τότε μόνον, ὅταν οὗτοι ἔχουν στερεώσει τὴν ἀλληλεγγύην ὡς ἐργάται — εἰς μίαν ἕνωσιν ἐργατικῆς τάξεως.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ

1ον. Ποία εἶναι ἡ διαφορὰ μεταξὺ τῆς κατὰ τεμάχιον ἐργασίας καὶ ἐργασίας μὲ τὴν ὥραν;

2ον. Ποία εἶναι πλέον ἐπιθυμητὴ διὰ τὸν προϊστάμενον;

3ον. Προσπαθεῖ διὰ βραχεῖαν ἡμέραν ὁ ἐργάτης μὲ τεμάχια; Διατί;

4ον. Ὁ ἐργάτης κατὰ τεμάχια ἐργάζεται σκληρότερον ἀπὸ τὸν ἐργάτην μὲ ἡμέρας μισθόν; Διατί;

5ον. Τὶ εἶναι τὸ σύστημα τῶν φιλοδωρημάτων; Καὶ πῶς ἐπηρεάζει τὸν ἐργάτην;

6ον. Ποῖα πλεονεκτήματα δίδει ὁ ἐργάτης κατὰ τεμάχια εἰς τὸν προϊστάμενον;

7ον. Ποῖος εἶναι ὁ σκοπὸς τῶν τεχνασμάτων τῆς συμμετοχῆς εἰς τὸ κέρδος, τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ οἰκοδομήσεως οἰκιῶν;

8ον. Διατὶ εἰς τὰς μεγάλας βιομηχανίας οἱ ἔγγαμοι προτιμοῦνται;

9ον. Ποῖον εἶναι τὸ πλέον ἀδύνατον σημεῖον τοῦ προϊσταμένου;

10ον. Ἐκεῖνο, τὸ ὁποῖον φοβεῖται, εἶναι ἡ βιομηχανικὴ ἕνωσις; Ἐξήγησον.

11ον. Τὶ εἶναι τὸ δαπανηρότερον εἰς τὰς νεωτέρας βιομηχανίαςἔ Ἐξήγησον.

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΝΝΑΤΟΝ

Η ΑΡΧΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥ

Πῶς τὸ νέον κεφάλαιον γεννᾶται; Αὐτὴ εἶναι μία σπουδαία ἐρώτησις, ἡ ὁποία ἀξίζει νὰ ἐξηγηθῇ διὰ βραχέων. Εἴδαμεν προηγουμένως ὅτι ἡ ὑπάρχουσα σχέσις μεταξὺ τοῦ ἐμμίσθου ἐργάτου καὶ τοῦ ἐργοδότου δικαιώνει τὸν ἐργοδότην νὰ ἐγκολπώνῃ τοὺς ἐργατικοὺς κόπους. Αἱ παραγωγαὶ περιέχουν μίαν πλεονάζουσαν ἀξίαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλεοναζουσῶν αξιῶν παράγεται τὸ κεφάλαιον.

Ὅταν εἷς κεφαλαιοῦχος ἀποφασίσῃ νὰ ἱδρύσῃ ἐργοστάσιόν τι οὗτος καλεῖ εἰδήμονά τινα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν. Εἰς τὸν κεφαλαιοῦχον δὲν εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον νὰ γνωρίζῃ τι ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν. Ἀπὸ τὸν διευθυντὴν μέχρι τοῦ σαρωτοῦ ὅλοι εἶναι ἔμμισθοι ἐργάται. Ὑπὸ τὴν διεύθυνσιν ἀνθρώπου τινὸς εἰρήμονος κτίρια κτίζονται καὶ ἐξοπλίζονται μὲ μηχανὰς καταλλήλους νὰ κατασκευάζωσι ὁ,τιδήποτε ἀντικείμενον ἔχει ἀποφασισθῇ. Ὑπάρχει ὡσαύτως προμήθεια διὰ τὴν διατήρησιν τῶν μηχανῶν, ἔλαια, ράκη πρὸς καθαρισμὸν καὶ διάφορα ἐργαλεῖα. Ἐπίσης μεταφέρονται καὶ ἀκατέργαστοι ὕλαι ἐκ διαφόρων μερῶν. Τὸ κατάστημα τόρα χρειάζεται μόνον ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν. Ὁ ἐπιτετραμένος πρὸς τοῦτο πηγαίνει εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως, συνήθως τοποθετεῖ ἔξωθεν πίνακα μὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν «ζητοῦνται ἐργάται» δι' ὅλα τὰ εἴδη τῆς ἐργασίας. Καὶ πολλάκις οὗτος εὑρίσκει τοὺς καταλλήλους ἄνευ δυσκολίας τινός. Οὗτος ἐκλέγει τοὺς ἱκανωτέρους διὰ κάθε εἶδος ἐργασίας καὶ τοιουτοτρόπως ὀργανώνει τὴν ἐργατικὴν δύναμιν. Τοῦτο συμπληροῖ τὴν προετοιμασίαν καὶ τὸ κατάστημα εἶναι τόρα ἕτοιμον νὰ λειτουργήσῃ.

Ἔχομεν ἀναφέρει προηγουμένως πῶς ὡς ἀποτέλεσμα ὁ ἐργατικὸς κόπος ἔχει τὴν πλεονάζουσαν ἀξίαν· καὶ πῶς πραγματοποιεῖται ἓν τακτικὸν κέρδος ἀπὸ τὴν πηγὴν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς. Ἔχομεν ἐπίσης μάθει ὅτι ὁ χρόνος τῆς παραγωγῆς εἶναι ἡ βάσις τῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς. Ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν κεφαλαιοῦχον, ὁ χρόνος εἶναι χρῆμα. Οὕτω πρὶν ἢ μεταβῇ εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ὑπολογίζει τὰ χρήματα, τὰ ὁποῖα τοῦ στοιχίζει τὸ ἐμπόρευμα. Λέγει ὁ Μάρξ: Αἱ συνθῆκαι, αἱ ὑποθάλπουσαι τὴν ὕπαρξιν τῶν κεφαλαιούχων, ἀναγκάζουσιν αὐτοὺς νὰ κρατῶσιν ἀκριβεῖς ὑπολογισμούς.

Τοιουτοτρόπως εὑρίσκομεν, ὅτι ὁ προϊστάμενος ἔχει προσεκτικῶς ὑπολογίσει τὴν ἐπιδιόρθωσιν τῶν μηχαγῶν κατὰ μέσον ὅρον δι' ἕκαστον ἐμπόρευμα, τὴν καύσιμον ὕλην καὶ τὸ τίμημα τῆς κινητηρίου δυνάμεως, τοῦ ἐλαίου, τῶν ἀκατεργάστων ὑλῶν, κλπ., ὁμοῦ μὲ τὸ τίμημα τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως. Ὡς ἐκ τούτου οὗτος γνωρίζει μέχρι τοῦ κλάσματος τοῦ σεντσιοῦ τὶ τοῦ στοιχίζει ἡ παραγωγὴ ἑνὸς ἀντικειμένου. Οὗτος δὲν δίδει σημασίαν τινὰ εἰς ταῦτα. Διὰ νὰ ὑπάρχῃ ὡς προϊστάμενος, πρέπει

νὰ πωλῇ τὸ προϊὸν ὑπεράνω τοῦ τιμήματός του. Ἂς ὑποθέσωμεν ὅτι ὁ κεφαλαιοῦχος ἔχει ὑπολογίσει τὸ τίμημα ἑνὸς ἀντικειμένου 5 δολ. ὡς ἑξῆς:

Ὅλα τὰ λεπτομερῆ ἔξοδα	δολ.	1.50
Ἀκατέργαστος ὕλη	»	1.50
Μισθὸς	»	2.00
Ὁλικὸν	»	5.00

Ἐὰν πωλήσῃ τοῦτο ἀντὶ 5 δολ. οὗτος δὲν κάμνει κέρδος. Ἐὰν πωλύσῃ αὐτὸ εἰς μικροτέραν τιμὴν τῶν πέντε δολλαρίων, οὗτος ἔχει ζημίαν, καὶ γνωστὸν εἶναι ὅτι οὗτος δὲν εἶναι ἐπιχειρηματίας διὰ νὰ χάνῃ ἢ νὰ καλύπτῃ τὰ ἔξοδα μόνον. Οὗτος εἶναι εἰς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν διὰ νὰ κερδίζῃ. Διὰ τοῦτο οὗτος θὰ κρατῇ τὸ ἐμπόρευμά του ἕως ὅτου δυνηθῇ νὰ μὴ πωλήσῃ ἀντὶ τοῦ τιμήματός του ἢ ὀλιγώτερον αὐτοῦ. Οὗτος δὲν θέλει ὡς συνήθως πωλοῦνται τὰ ἀντικείμενα εἰς τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ ἀντιτίμου, ἀλλὰ πωλεῖ αὐτὸ ἀντὶ 10 δολλαρίων καὶ κερδίζει πέντε δολλάρια περιπλέον ἀπὸ τὸ χρηματικὸν τίμημα τοῦ ἀντικειμένου. Τὰ διάφορα μικρὰ ἔξοδα ἔχουσιν ἀκριβῶς ὑπολογισθῇ καὶ τὸ τίμημα τῶν ἀκατεργάστων ὑλῶν ὁρίζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ τιμήματος τοῦ χρησιμοποιηθέντος ποσοῦ. Ὅλα ὁμοῦ στοιχίζουσι 3 δολ. καὶ αὐτὰ εἶναι τὰ μόνα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀντιπροσωπεύονται ὑπὸ τῶν 10 δολ, ἄρα ἔχει κερδίσει 5 δολ. ὁ κεφαλαιοῦχος ἀπὸ τὸν ἐργατικὸν κόπον. Διότι δὲν ὑπάρχει ἄλλο μέρος ἀπὸ τὸ ὁποῖον νὰ προέλθῃ τὸ κέρδος. Καθὼς ὡσαύτως τὸ ἐργοστάσιον παράγει πλεῖστα ἐμπορεύματα ἡμερησίως, 5 δολ. πολλαπλασιαζόμενα μὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἡμερησίως ἐξαγομένων ἐμπορευμάτων, εὑρίσκομεν τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ ἡμερησίου κέρδους. Μολονότι οὗτος δαπανᾷ ἀρκούντως διὰ τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαῖα δι' ἑαυτὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν οἰκογένειάν του, μένει πάλιν ἀρκετὸν πλεόνασμα. Αὐτὸ τὸ πλεόνασμα μεταποιεῖται εἰς νέον κεφάλαιον, τὸ ὁποῖον γίνεται ἐργαλεῖον διὰ νὰ προσθέτῃ εἰς τὸν ὄγκον τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας τοῦ κεφαλαιούχου, ἵνα ἐπανειλημμένως μεταποιῆται εἰς ἄλλα νέα κεφάλαια. Ὡς λίαν ἐπιτυχῶς λέγει ὁ Μάρξ: Μὲ διδομένην βαθμίδα ἐκμεταλλεύσεως τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως, ἡ μᾶζα τῆς παραχθείσης πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας καθορίζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἐργατῶν ταὐτοχρόνως ἐκμεταλλευθέντων. Καὶ τοῦτο ἀνταποκρίνεται, ἂν καὶ διὰ ποικίλων ἀναλογιῶν τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ κεφαλαίου.

Ὅσον περισσότερον λοιπὸν αὐξάνει τὸ κεφάλαιον μέσον ἀλλεπαλλήλων συσσωρεύσεων, τόσον περισσότερον αὐξάνει τὸ ποσὸν τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας.

ΣΥΣΣΩΡΕΥΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥ

Αἱ διάφοροι ἀπόψεις τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ μισθοῦ ἔχουν ὡρισμένην ἐπήρειαν ἐπὶ τῆς συσσωρεύσεως τοῦ νέου κεφαλαίου. Ἐὰν ὑπάρχῃ αὔξησις ταὐτοχρόνως τοῦ ὀνομαστικοῦ, τοῦ πραγματικοῦ καὶ τοῦ σχετικοῦ μισθοῦ, πρέπει νὰ ὑπάρξῃ ὡς ἄμεσον ἀποτέλεσμα ἡ γενικὴ ἐλάττωσις τοῦ ποσοῦ τοῦ κέρδους, καὶ ὅταν γίνῃ τοῦτο ὡς εἶναι ἐπόμενον θὰ ὑπάρξῃ μία περικοπὴ τοῦ ὄγκου τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας τῆς ἀναγκαιοτάτης διὰ τὸ νέον κεφάλαιον.

'Αλλὰ εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ συμβῇ ὁ ὀνομαστικὸς (εἰς χρῆμα) μισθὸς νὰ ὑψωθῇ καὶ ὁ πραγματικὸς (ἐμπόρευμα) μισθὸς ἐπίσης νὰ ὑψωθῇ καὶ ὁπότε ὁ σχετικὸς μισθὸς ταὐτοχρόνως νὰ ἐλαττωθῇ, ἐὰν καθὼς λέγει ὁ Μάρξ: "Οταν τὸ ἐμπόριον εἶναι καλό, οἱ μισθοὶ ὑψοῦνται κατὰ 5 ο)ο, ἐξ ἄλλου τὰ κέρδη κατὰ 30 ο)ο, ὁπότε ὁ ἀναλογικὸς ἢ σχετικὸς μισθὸς δὲν ἔχει ὑψωθῇ, ἀλλὰ χαμηλωθῇ.

Παραδείγματος χάριν, ἐὰν τὸ ἐμπόρευμα, τὸ ὁποῖον πωλεῖται ἀντὶ 10 δολ., πωληθῇ εἰς αὔξησιν 30 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκατὸν τοῦ κέρδους, τὸ ὁποῖον ἦτο 5 δολ., θὰ πωληθῇ ἀντὶ 11.50. 'Ο μισθός, ὁ ὁποῖος ἦτο δολ. 2.00 μὲ αὔξησιν 5 τοῖ» ἑκατόν, θὰ εἶναι 2.10 δολ. 'Οπότε τὸ τίμημα θὰ εἶναι 5.10 δολ. καὶ τὸ κέρδος 6.40 δολ. 'Ο σχετικὸς μισθὸς θὰ ἔχῃ ἐλαττωθῇ ἀπὸ 2:5 ἕως 1:3 καὶ τόρα θὰ εἶναι 5)6 τοῦ τὶ ἦτο πρότερον.

Λέγει ὁ Μάρξ: «Εἷς σπουδαῖος παράγων συσσωρεύσεως κεφαλαίου εἶναι ὁ βαθμὸς τῆς παραγωγικότητος τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ κόπου.»

Μὲ τὴν παραγωγικὴν δύναμιν τοῦ κόπου αὐξάνει ὁ ὄγκος τῶν προϊόντων, εἰς τὰ ὁποῖα μία ὡρισμένη ἀξία καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου μία πλεονάζουσα ἀξία ἑνὸς δεδομένου μεγέθους εἶναι ἐνσωματωμένη. Εἴτε τὸ ποσὸν τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας μένει τὸ αὐτὸ ἢ ἐλαττοῦται πολὺ βραδύτερον ἀπὸ τὴν ὕψωσιν τῆς παραγωγικῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ κόπου, ὁ ὄγκος τοῦ πλεονάζοντος προϊόντος αὐξάνει. . . . 'Αλλὰ μὲ τὴν αὔξησιν τῆς παραγωγικότητος τοῦ κόπου συμβαδίζει καὶ ἡ εὐτέλεια τοῦ ἐργάτου, ἥτις σημαίνει μεγαλύτερον ποσὸν πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας ἕως ὅτου ὁ πραγματικὸς μισθὸς ὑψωθῇ. 'Ο τελευταῖος οὐδέποτε ὑψώνεται ἐν ἀναλογίᾳ πρὸς τὴν παραγωγικὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐργάτου.

Τὸ ἀλάνθαστον τῆς ἐκθέσεως τοῦ Μὰρξ ἐπιβεβαιοῦται ἐκ τοῦ γεγονότος ὅτι, μολονότι ἡ αὔξησις εἰς τὴν παραγωγικότητα τοῦ ἑνὸς ἐργάτου, ὡς ἐκ τούτου καὶ ὁλοκλήρου τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως, ἕνεκα τῆς μεγάλης χρήσεως μηχανημάτων εἰς τὴν βιομηχανίαν, ὡς καὶ βαθμηδὸν τελειοποιουμένων τοιούτων, κατάστασις ὅμως τῶν ἐργατῶν εἶναι σχετικῶς χειροτέρα ἀπὸ κοινωνικὴν ἄποψιν ἀπὸ ὅτι ἦτο πρὶν ὅταν ὁ κόπος των ἦτο ὀλιγώτερον παραγωγικός. Αὐξανομένης τῆς παραγωγικότητος τοῦ κόπου, ἡ ἀσφάλεια τῆς ἐργασίας ἐλαττοῦται.

Ο ΑΠΟΔΗΜΩΝ ΕΡΓΑΤΗΣ

"Ας λάβωμεν ὡς παράδειγμα τὸν γεωργόν, καὶ θὰ ἴδωμεν ὅτι οὗτος εἶναι μία ἠθικὴ εἰκὼν διὰ τὴν κατάστασιν ὅλης τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως καὶ ὅστις ὅταν τὰ γεωργικὰ ἐργαλεῖα ἦσαν ὀλιγώτερον παραγωγικά, οὗτος ἠδύνατο νὰ ἔχῃ ἐργασίαν δι' ὁλόκληρον τὸ ἔτος, νὰ ἀποκατασταθῇ καὶ νὰ ἀπολαύσῃ τὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκογενειακοῦ βίου. Οὗτος εἶχε μεγαλυτέραν βεβαιότητα διαρκοῦς διαμονῆς ὡς ἐκ τῆς διαρκοῦς ἐργασίας. Σήμερον οὗτος εἶναι ὡς τὸ ἀποδημητικὸν πτηνόν, τυχαίως ἐργαζόμενος εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν καὶ ἄλλας βιομηχανίας, συνήθως ἄγαμος, ἄστεγος, ἂν καὶ εἶναι παραγωγικώτερος ἀπὸ τὸν γεωργὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐκείνων, κατὰ τὰς ὁποίας ἦτο εἰς χρῆσιν τὸ δρέπανον, ἡ διὰ τῆς χειρὸς δεματοποίησις, τὸ ἁλώνισμα δι' ἵππου, κ.τ.λ. Οὗτος ἔχει ὀλιγωτέραν ἀσφάλειαν ὅταν ἐργάζεται μὲ ἀτμοκίνητον ἄροτρον, τὸ ὁποῖον ὀργώνει 25 - 30 ἑκτάρια τὴν ἡμέραν, παρὰ ὅταν ἐργάζεται μὲ ἓν ξύλινον ἄροτρον, συρόμενον δι' ἵππων ἢ βοῶν καὶ μὲ τὸ ὁποῖον ὀργώνει 2 - 2 1)2 ἑκτάρια τὴν ἡμέραν.

Οὕτως, ὁ σχετικὸς μισθὸς τοῦ γεωργοῦ ἔχει ἐλαττωθῆ ἀρκούντως. Ἡ ἐλάττωσις τοῦ μισθοῦ τοῦ ἐργάτου εἰς ἐργοστάσιον εἶναι μεγαλυτέρα καθ' ὅτι τὰ μηχανήματα τῶν ἐργοστασίων εἶναι πολὺ περισσότερον τελειοποιημένα ἀπὸ τὰ μηχανήματα τῆς γεωργίας.

Διὰ νὰ ἐκθέσωμεν τὸν ὀνομαστικὸν μισθὸν τῆς σήμερον ἐν συγκρίσει μὲ τὸν πρὸ δεκάδων ἐτῶν καὶ δοκιμάσωμεν νὰ ἀποδείξωμεν ὅτι ὁ ἐργάτης σήμερον πληρώνεται καλύτερον ἀπὸ ὅ,τι κατὰ τὸν τότε χρόνον, πρέπει νὰ παραβλέψωμεν τὰ κοινωνικὰ πλεονεκτήματα, τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς αὐξηθείσης παραγωγικότητος τοῦ ἐργάτου καὶ ἀπὸ τὴν ὁποίαν οἱ ἐργάται οὐδόλως ἔχουν ἐπωφεληθῆ, τοὐλάχιστον ἐν ἀναλογίᾳ. Καὶ ἐὰν ἀκόμη ὑπῆρχε προαγωγὴ εἰς τὸν πραγματικὸν μισθόν, ἐν συγκρίσει πρὸς τὴν προαγωγὴν εἰς τὸν ὀνομαστικὸν μισθόν, ὁ σχετικὸς μισθὸς ἐξ ἄλλου θὰ εἶχεν ἐλαττωθῆ, διότι ὅταν ὁ ὄγκος τοῦ κεφαλαίου αὐξάνῃ καὶ ὁ ὄγκος τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας πρέπει νὰ αὐξάνῃ· καὶ μὲ τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ ὄγκου τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας, αὐξάνει καὶ ἡ διαφωνία μεταξὺ τῆς ἀγοραστικῆς δυνάμεως τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ τῆς ποσότητος τοῦ ὄγκου τῶν πλεοναζόντων προϊόντων. Ἡ ἐργατικὴ τάξις δύναται νὰ ἐπαναγοράσῃ ὀλίγον καὶ πολὺ ὀλίγον ἐκ τῶν προϊόντων της.

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΙΣ

Πλεονάζον κεφάλαιον δὲν δύναται νὰ παραμείνῃ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ἀδρανείᾳ. Οἱ κάτοχοί του θὰ ζητοῦν τρόπον διὰ τὴν χρησιμοποίησίν του. Αὐτὴ ἡ προτροπὴ τοῦ κεφαλαίου εἶναι ὑπεύθυνος διὰ τὰς κατακτητικὰς τάσεις τῶν νεωτέρων πλουτοκρατικῶν κυβερνήσεων. Οὕτως, ὅταν παρατηρήσωμεν ἀλλαγήν τινα τῆς Ἀμερικανικῆς κυβερνήσεως, ἐὰν ἐρευνήσωμεν τὴν αἰτίαν, τὴν ὑποκινοῦσαν καὶ ἐμπνέουσαν τὴν ριζοσπαστικὴν αὐτὴν ἀλλαγήν, θὰ ἀνακαλύψωμεν ὅτι τοῦτο ὀφείλεται εἰς τὴν ἀνάγκην εὑρέσεως χώρας ἢ ἐδάφους πρὸς κατάθεσιν τοῦ πλεονάζοντος κεφαλαίου τῆς πλουτοκρατικῆς μας τάξεως. Τοῦτο μᾶς διασαφηνίζει τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀλλαγῆς πολιτικῆς τοῦ κράτους. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς ἡ κυβέρνησις ζητεῖ «εἰλικρινῆ συναλλαγὴν» μὲ τὴν Κίναν καὶ ἀναμιγνύεται εἰς τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν ξένων ἐθνῶν.

Τόσον μεγάλη ἔχει γίνει ἡ Ἀμερικανικὴ πλεονάζουσα ἀξία, ὥστε ἔχει καταστῆ ὁ πιστωτὴς ὅλων τῶν ἐθνῶν τοῦ κόσμου. Ἡ σπουδαιότης τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν ὀφείλεται εἰς τὸν κόπον τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ ἐργατριῶν των. Λέγοντες ὅτι οἱ ἰδικοί μας κεφαλαιοῦχοι εἶναι εὐφυέστεροι τῶν κεφαλαιούχων τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν, δίδομεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀξίαν, διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν δὲν εἶναι ἄξιοι. Οὗτοι εἶναι μόνον πλέον ἀσυνείδητοι ἐκμεταλλευταὶ τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως τῆς Ἀμερικῆς παρ' ὅ,τι εἶναι οἱ ἄλλοι κεφαλαιοῦχοι διὰ τοὺς συμπατριώτας των. Ἐνθυμοῦ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον ὑπάρχει εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν ἢ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὅλον, ἐκτὸς τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου παραχθέντος. ΤΟ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΪΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΠΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΩΝ ΕΡΓΑΤΩΝ, ΔΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΟΠΟΙΟΝ ΟΙ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΟΙ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥΧΟΙ ΟΥΔΕΝ ΙΣΟΔΥΝΑΜΟΝ ΕΔΩΣΑΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΡΓΑΤΑΣ, ΕΙΝΑΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΘΕ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ.

ΕΥΤΕΛΩΣ ΠΛΗΡΩΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΚΟΠΟΣ

Ὁ Ἀμερικανὸς ἐργάτης σχετικῶς πληρώνεται ὀλιγώτερον ἀπὸ κάθε ἐργάτην εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Αὐτὴ ἡ χώρα μὲ τὸν ὑψηλότερον ὀνομαστικὸν μισθὸν καὶ τὸν ὑψηλότερον πραγματικὸν μισθὸν ἀπὸ κάθε ἄλλην χώραν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, πληρώνει τὸν εὐτελέστερον σχετικὸν μισθὸν ἀπὸ κάθε ἄλλην χώραν ἐν τῇ ὑδρογείῳ. Ὁ Ἀμερικανὸς ἐργάτης λαμβάνει ὀλιγώτερον ἀπὸ τὰς ἀξίας, τὰς ὁποίας παράγει ἀπὸ κάθε ἄλλον ἐργάτην ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀκριβῶς τὸ Ἀμερικανικὸν τμῆμα τῆς πλουτοκρατικῆς τάξεως εἶναι καὶ τὸ πλουσιώτερον. Τόσον πλούσιον, ὥστε ζητεῖ νὰ προσαρτήσῃ καὶ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον κόσμον διὰ νὰ δυνηθῇ νὰ ἐκμεταλλευθῇ τοὺς ἐργάτας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν.

Ἐὰν γίνῃ πόλεμος μεταξὺ Ἀμερικῆς καὶ Ἰαπωνίας, δὲν θὰ γίνῃ κατὰ τῶν Ἰαπώνων τῆς Καλλιφορνίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν Ἰαπωνικῶν καταθέσεων ἐν Κίνᾳ, Κορέᾳ, Σιβηρίᾳ καὶ ὁπουδήποτε αὗται συγκρούονται μὲ τὰς καταθέσεις τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν κεφαλαιούχων.

Ἡ ἰδέα ὅτι οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι μεταξύ των ἢ ἐκ τοῦ συναγωνισμοῦ μετὰ τῶν ξένων κεφαλαιούχων κάμνουν κέρδη, εἶναι μία ἀπάτη. Μόνον ἐκ τοῦ ἐμμίσθου κόπου δύναται νὰ γίνῃ κέρδος. Ὑποτεθείσθω ὅτι πέντε ἄνθρωποι ἀρχίζουν ἕν χαρτοπαίγνιον μὲ 10 χιλ. δολ. ἕκαστος. Εἰς τὸ τέλος μιᾶς νυκτὸς παιγνιδίου, ὁ εἷς ἔχει καθαρίσει τοὺς ἄλλους τέσσαρας. Καὶ οἱ τέσσαρες εἶναι ἀπένταροι, ἐνῷ μόνον ὁ εἷς ἔχει 50 χιλ. δολ., ἀλλὰ οὔτε ἕν δολλάριον περιπλέον ἀπὸ ὅ,τι εἶχον καὶ οἱ πέντε κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ παιγνιδίου. Τόρα, ἐὰν καὶ οἱ πέντε αὐτοὶ εἰργάζοντο ὅλην τὴν νύκτα εἴς τινα βιομηχανίαν, εἰς τὸ τέλος τῶν ἐργατικῶν των ὡρῶν θὰ εἶχον περισσότερα ἀπὸ ὅ,τι εἶχον ὅταν ἤρχισαν καὶ ἑπομένως περισσότερα κέρδη. Τὸ ζήτημα δὲν εἶναι ἐὰν οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι σπαταλοῦν, διασκεδάζουν, χάνουν εἰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἢ καταθέτουν τὰς πλεοναζούσας ἀξίας ὡς νέα κεφάλαια. Τὸ ζήτημα εἶναι ὅτι τὸ κέρδος ὡς μόνην πηγὴν ἔχει τὴν πλεονάζουσαν ἀξίαν τὴν παραγομένην ἐκ τοῦ ἐμμίσθου κόπου.— Πλεονάζουσα ἀξία εἶναι ἡ νεωτέρα πηγὴ τοῦ νέου κεφαλαίου.

Ὅταν ἱδρύθη ἡ ἑταιρεία «Ἀμαλγαμέϊτεδ Κόππερ Κο.» διεδόθη φήμη ὅτι διὰ μίαν νύκτα καὶ μόνον ἡ ἑταιρεία ἐκέρδισε 36 ἑκατομμύρια δολλάραι. Ἡ πραγματικότης ὅμως ἦτο ὅτι οἱ βοηθοῦντες οἰκονομικῶς τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐπίστευον ὅτι ἡ ἀγορὰ μετοχῶν ἀντιπροσωπεύει τὴν μεγαλυτέραν προσδοκίαν κέρδους ἀπὸ τὰ ὡρισμένα κέρδη τῶν καταθέσεών των εἰς ἄλλας βιομηχανίας. Ἡ κατοχὴ τῶν ὀρυχείων τοῦ χαλκοῦ θὰ τοὺς καταστήσῃ ἱκανοὺς νὰ ἐκμεταλλευθοῦν τοὺς ἐμμίσθους ἐργάτας, ὡς εἴθισται τῇ κεφαλαιοκρατίᾳ. Τὰ 36 ἑκατομ. δολ. δὲν ἦσαν κέρδη, ΑΛΛΑ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΗΛΗΡΩΘΕΙΣΗΣ ΤΙΜΗΣ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΔΕΙΑΝ ΝΑ ΕΚΜΕΤΑΛΛΕΥΘΟΥΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΚΛΑΒΟΥΣ ΠΩΛΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΤΟΧΑΣ.

Ὁ Δὰν Ράϋαν, ὁ Κὸν Κίλυ καὶ ἡ συμμορία των ἀπὸ τότε ἔχουν ἀγωνισθῇ καὶ ἐπέβαλον τὴν ἀπόφασίν των, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἔχουν προκληθῇ δύο δαπανηραὶ ἐπαναστάσεις εἰς τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως.

ΤΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ

Κεφάλαιον εἶναι πλοῦτος ἐν οἱᾳδήποτε μορφῇ χρησιμοποιούμενος πρὸς ἐκμετάλλευσιν τοῦ ἐμμίσθου κόπου, καὶ προέρχεται ἀπὸ τὴν ἐκμετάλλευσιν τοῦ κόπου, τὸν ὁποῖον οὗτος μισθώνει. Κεφάλαιον εἶναι ἡ πλε-

ονάζουσα ἀξία, περισσότερον κεφάλαιον περισσοτέρα πλεονάζουσα ἀξία καὶ οὕτω καθ' ἑξῆς. Εἷς φαῦλος κύκλος ἐκμεταλλεύσεως, ὅστις καθιστᾷ τὸν ἐργάτην ἀδύνατον καὶ αἰωνίως ἔρμαιόν του.

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

1ον. Ἀπὸ ποῦ πηγάζει τὸ νέον κεφάλαιον;

2ον. Ποίαν σχέσιν ἔχει ὁ σχετικὸς μισθὸς μὲ τὸ νέον κεφάλαιον;

3ον. Ἐξήγησον πῶς ὁ ὀνομαστικὸς καὶ πραγματικὸς μισθὸς δύναται νὰ ὑψωθῇ καὶ ὁ σχετικὸς μισθὸς νὰ ἐλαττωθῇ ταὐτοχρόνως.

4ον. Ποίαν σχέσιν ἔχει ἡ αὐξηθεῖσα παραγωγικότης μὲ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ ἐμμίσθου ἐργάτου.

5ον. Ἐὰν ὁ ἐργάτης ἐλάμβανε 3 δολ. τὴν ἡμέραν κατὰ τὸ 1914 καὶ τώρα 4 δολ., ἔχει ὑψωθῇ ὁ μισθός του; Διατί;

7ον. Ποίαν σχέσιν ἔχει ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ Ἀμερικανοῦ ἐργάτου μὲ τὸν μισθὸν τῶν ἐργατῶν τῶν ἄλλων χωρῶν (α) ὀνομαστικὸς (β) πραγματικὸς (γ) σχετικός.

8ον. Τὶ κοινὸν ἔχει τὸ νέον κεφάλαιον μὲ τὰς ξένας πολιτικάς;

9ον. Οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι κάμνουν κέρδη μεταξύ των; Διατί;

10ον. Ποῖον θὰ ἦτο τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα διὰ τοὺς ἐργάτας ἐὰν ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ νέου κεφαλαίου — πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας — ἐλαττώνετο;

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ

Ο ΝΟΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΟΡΑΣ

Ὑπάρχει διαδεδομένη ἡ ἰδέα, ὅτι οἱ λεγόμενοι μονοπωληταὶ δύνανται νὰ ὑπερτιμῶσι τὰ ἐμπορεύματά των κατὰ βούλησιν. Π.χ., ὁ Τζὰν Δ. Ρακφέλλερ συμπληροῖ τὸ δαπανηθὲν ποσὸν διὰ φιλανθρωπικοὺς σκοποὺς ὑψώνων τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ πετρελαίου καὶ τῆς γαζολίνης. Ἐὰν πρὸς στιγμὴν σταματήσωμεν καὶ σκεφθῶμεν τοῦτο, θὰ εἴπωμεν ὅτι ὁ Τζὰν Δ. δύναται μὲν νὰ δωρήσῃ μέρος τοῦ πλούτου του, σπεύδων ὅμως, ὡς βεβαιοῦται, νὰ εἰσπράξῃ ἐνωρίτερον τὸν φόρον, τὸν ὁποῖον προσθέτει εἰς τὴν τιμὴν τῆς γαζολίνης καὶ τοῦ πετρελαίου. Ἀλλὰ πράγματι ἡ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ Ρακφέλλερ δὲν πρέπει νὰ συνδέεται μὲ τὴν ὕψωσιν τῶν τιμῶν τῶν προϊόντων τῆς Στάνδαρ Ὄϊλ Κο., ἀλλὰ πρέπει νὰ ὑπολογίζεται ὡς τυχαία σύμπτωσις.

ΚΡΙΣΙΜΟΙ ΠΕΡΙΣΤΑΣΕΙΣ

Πραγματικῶς ὁ Τζὰν Δ. ἔχει μεγάλην δύναμιν καὶ ἀφάνταστον, ἀλλὰ ἡ δύναμίς του δὲν εἶναι τόσον μεγάλη διὰ νὰ ἀλλάξῃ τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Ἐν ὅσῳ ἡ Στάνδαρ Ὄϊλ προσπαθεῖ νὰ γίνῃ τοιαύτη, τόσον περισσότερον μένει μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ νὰ γίνῃ ἕν ἀπόλυτον καὶ πλῆρες μονοπώλιον· καὶ οὔτε κανὲν πρᾶγμα ἔχει μονοπωληθῆ. Τὸ μέτρον μέχρι τοῦ ὁποίου ἔχουν φθάσει κολοσσιαῖα συνδυασμένα κεφάλαια, ὡς τῆς Στάνδαρ Ὄϊλ, εἶναι ἀποτέλεσμα ὄχι ἀπὸ τὴν ἀλλαγὴν ἢ ἀπὸ τὴν προσπάθειαν περὶ ἀλλαγῆς τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τὴν αὐστηρὰν ἐπίβλεψιν τῶν νόμων καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν διευθετήσεως. Ὅταν ὑποθέτῃ τις καὶ ἰσχυρίζεται ὅτι ἡ θέλησις τῶν μετοχικῶν ἑταιρειῶν ἵσταται ὑπερτέρα τῶν νόμων τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατὰ τρόπον ὥστε νὰ δύναται νὰ διατάσσῃ τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἀγορᾶς, δὲν ὑπάρχει ἐπιχείρημα διὰ νὰ στηριχθῇ ἡ ὑπόθεσις αὕτη ἢ ὁ ἰσχυρισμός. Ὅλαι αἱ μετοχικαὶ ἑταιρεῖαι, αἵτινες εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, δὲν διατάσσουν τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀλλὰ διατάσσονται ὑπ' αὐτῆς. Αὗται εἶναι οἱ λογικοὶ καρποὶ τῆς πείρας τῶν κεφαλαιούχων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἱδρυθεῖσαι σύμφωνα πρὸς τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ οὐχὶ διαφοροτρόπως.

Εἰς τοὺς παλαιοτέρους χρόνους τοῦ κεφαλαιοκρατικοῦ συστήματος, ὅταν ὁ ἀπεριόριστος συναγωνισμὸς ἦτο ὁ κανών, καὶ πρὶν ἢ ἡ ἀνάγκη πρὸς καταμέτρησιν τῆς χωρητικότητος τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐννοηθῇ ἢ τὰ μέσα πρὸς τοῦτο ἀναπτυχθοῦν, ἕκαστον βιομηχανικὸν ἵδρυμα ἐνεπνέετο ἀπὸ τὴν φιλοδοξίαν νὰ ἐξασφαλίσῃ τὸ μεγαλύτερον μερίδιον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἕκαστος δὲ βιομήχανος ἐπροχώρει εἰς τὴν παραγωγήν, χωρὶς νὰ ὑπολογίσῃ τοὺς ἄλλους, οἵτινες παρήγαγον τὸ αὐτὸ ἀντικείμενον. Ὅλοι ὠθοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλατηρίων. Τὸ ἀναπόφευκτον ἦτο ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἔγινε τοιαύτη συσσώρευσις περιοδικῶς, ὥστε οἱ ἐργοστασιάρχαι ἠναγκάσθησαν νὰ ὀλιγοστεύσουν τὴν παραγωγὴν ἢ νὰ κλείσουν ἐντελῶς τὰ καταστήματά των.

Πολλοὶ τούτων δὲν ἠδύναντο νὰ ἀναμένωσι μέχρις ὅτου ἡ ἀγορὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν φυσικήν της θέσιν, νὰ δύναται νὰ ἀπορροφᾷ τὰ προϊόντα των. Οὗτοι ἐπιέσθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀτομικῆς καὶ ἀμέσου ἀνάγκης αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦτο εἶχον τὰ ἐργοστάσιά των ἐν κινήσει μὲ κεφάλαιον ἐν στενῷ περιθωρίῳ, ὁπότε ἄλλοι ἐκ τούτων δὲν εἶχον οὐδὲν περιθώριον εἰς τὴν χρησιμοποίησιν τοῦ κεφαλαίου των, ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἐσήμαινε μεγάλην θυσίαν. Ἡ ἀνάγκη δὲν ἀναγνωρίζει νόμους, οὔτε ἀκόμη καὶ νόμους τῆς ἀγορᾶς. Οὕτως, ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τοῦ συναγωνισμοῦ διὰ νὰ αὐξήσουν τὰς ἀνάγκαίας προσόδους ἀξίαι καὶ πλεονάζουσαι τοιαῦται ἤρχισαν νὰ χάνωνται, καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων ἐταπεινώθησαν μέχρι τοῦ σημείου τοῦ νὰ πωλῶνται κατωτέρω τοῦ ποσοῦ, τὸ ὁποῖον ἐστοίχισε νὰ παραχθοῦν. Τότε βεβαίως ἦτο πώλησις μὲ μεγάλας θυσίας. Πολὺ ἐκ τῶν κεφαλαιοκρατῶν ἐπτώχευσαν καὶ ἐρρίφθησαν εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν ἐμμίσθων βιοπαλαιστῶν.

ΤΟ ΜΑΘΗΜΑ

Ἑκάστη ἐκ τούτων τῶν περιόδων ἔδιδε διδακτικὸν μάθημα εἰς τοὺς ἐπιζήσαντας κεφαλαιούχους. Οὗτοι ἐδιδάχθησαν ὅτι ὁ συναγωνισμὸς δὲν ἦτο ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ κεφαλαιοκρατικοῦ ἐμπορίου, ἀλλὰ λίαν θανατηφόρος διὰ τὸ ἐμπόριον καὶ οὕτως ἔπρεπε νὰ θεραπευθῇ. Οὗτοι, ἔχοντες τὴν πικρὰν πεῖραν τοῦ παρελθόντος, ἀπεφάσισαν νὰ ἀπομακρύνουν τὸν συναγωνισμὸν ὅσον τὸ δυνατόν. Καὶ ἡμεῖς βλέπομεν ὅτι κατόπιν τοιούτων περιόδων τὸ νέον καὶ ἰσχυρότερον σχῆμα τοῦ πλουτοκρατισμοῦ νὰ καθίσταται ἱκανὸν κατόπιν ἀναδιοργανώσεων καὶ συμβιβασμῶν νὰ ἐξουδετερῇ τὰ ἐμπόδια ἀπὸ τυχαίαν περίοδον τῆς συσσωρευμένης ἀγορᾶς, ἥτις συσσώρευσις θὰ ἐξακολουθῇ νὰ εἶναι πλεονάζουσα ἀξία ἐφ' ὅσον αὕτη προέρχεται ἀπὸ τὸν κόπον τῆς ἐμμίσθου ἐργατικῆς τάξεως. Ἀκόμη καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ σχήματα τῶν κεφαλαιούχων ἠδύναντο νὰ κερδίζουν πλεονεκτήματα ἀπὸ τὰς δυστυχίας τῶν ἀδυνάτων κεφαλαιούχων ἐν ταῖς κρισίμοις περιστάσεσιν.

Καὶ καθὼς τὰ σχήματα τῶν ἰδιοκτησιῶν ηὐξάνοντο κατὰ ποσὸν καὶ μέγεθος, οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι εὗρον λογικὸν νὰ διαιρέσουν τὸ σύστημα τῆς διαχειρίσεως. Τότε ἱδρύθησαν διάφορα τμήματα πρὸς διαχείρισιν τῶν στενῶς σχετιζομένων λειτουργιῶν, ὡς ἓν τμῆμα νὰ ἐπιβλέπῃ τὴν κίνησιν τοῦ παγκοσμίου ἐμπορίου καὶ νὰ συλλέγῃ πληροφορίας, αἵτινες θὰ ἐξυπηρέτουν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν οὕτως ὥστε ἡ παραγωγὴ τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων νὰ εἶναι κατὰ προσέγγισιν ἀνάλογος τῆς ζητήσεως. Τοῦτο ἦτο μία δοκιμὴ νὰ ἐξισώσῃ τὴν παραγωγὴν μὲ τὴν ζήτησιν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν.

Αὐτὴ ἡ κίνησις ἐκ μέρους τῶν μεγάλων κεφαλαιούχων διεδόθη καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ τοιαύτη ὑπηρεσία διὰ τοὺς περισσοτέρους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἦτο πολυδάπανος διὰ τὴν ἀτομικὴν διεκπεραίωσιν, οὗτοι ἐξουσιοδότησαν τὸ ἐθνικόν των ὄργανον — τὴν κυβέρνησιν — καὶ τοιουτοτρόπως ἐγεννήθη ἡ ὕπαρξις τῆς προξενικῆς ὑπηρεσίας τῶν Ἡν. Πολιτειῶν.

ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ ΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑΣ

Μέσον τῆς προξενικῆς ὑπηρεσίας τῆς Κυβερνήσεως οἱ ἐργοστασιάρχαι μας ἐφοδιάζονται μὲ τὰς πληροφορίας, ὡς εἰς ποῖον μέρος τοῦ κόσμου χρειάζεται τοῦτο, ἐκεῖνο, ἢ τὸ ἄλλο ἐμπόρευμα, καὶ πόσον περίπου.

Οὗτοι ἐπίσης καθίστανται ἐνήμεροι τοῦ τὶ πράττουσιν οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι ἄλλων χωρῶν, σχετικῶς μετὰ τὰ ξένης καὶ ἰδίας των ἀγορᾶς καὶ ἑπομένως εἶναι εἰς πλέον εὐνοϊκὴν θέσιν νὰ συμμετάσχωσιν εἰς τὸ παγκόσμιον ἐμπόριον ἀπὸ τοὺς κεφαλαιούχους τῶν παλαιῶν χρόνων. Οἱ ἐργοστασιάρχαι τῆς σήμερον εἶναι καλύτερον ἐξωπλισμένοι νὰ ἐκτιμῶσι τὴν χωριτικότητα τῆς ἀγορᾶς καὶ νὰ κανονίζωσι τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς παραγωγῆς μὲ τὴν ζήτησιν· ὡς ἐπίσης νὰ πωλῶσι τὰ ἐμπορεύματά των εἰς τὴν πραγματικὴν ἀξίαν ἢ κατὰ προσέγγισιν. Ἐὰν ἡ θέλησις τῆς Στάνδαρ Ὄϊλ ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς κεφαλαιούχου ἠδύνατο νὰ ὑπερβῇ τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἡ ἀγορὰ θὰ κατεστρέφετο αὐτομάτως — δὲν θὰ ὑπῆρχε πλέον ἀγορὰ — καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ γεγονὸς θὰ ἐπέφερε τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. Δὲν θὰ ὑπῆρχεν οὐδεμία διέξοδος, διότι θὰ ὑπῆρχε μία δύναμις, ἧς ἡ δύναμις δὲν ἦτο ὑποτελὴς εἰς οὐδὲν ἐμπόδιον ἢ περιστολήν. Ἡ αὐτεξουσιότης, τὴν ὁποίαν ὁ πλουτοκρατισμὸς ἐποφθαλμιᾷ, θὰ ἦτο τελείως προαγματοποιημένη. Καὶ ὄχι μόνον δὲν ἔχει οὕτως, ἀλλὰ προώρισται νὰ μὴ γίνῃ ποτέ. Διότι ὑπάρχει κοινωνικὸς νόμος, τοῦ ὁποίου τὰ βουλεύματα εἶναι σταθερὰ καὶ θὰ ἐνεργήσῃ διὰ τὴν μὴ πραγματοποίησιν αὐτῆς τῆς βδελυρότητος.

ΕΙΣ ΚΑΝΟΝΙΣΤΗΣ

Ἀλλὰ ὑποτεθείσθω, ὅτι ὁ Τζὰν Δ. ἐσκέφθη νὰ ὑψώσῃ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἐλαίων αὐτοβούλως. Δύναται νὰ πράξῃ τοῦτο; Ὁ Τζὰν Δ. ἐμπορεύεται διὰ τὸ κέρδος. Τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ κέρδους του ἐξαρτᾶται κατὰ μέγα μέρος ἐκ τοῦ ὄγκου τῆς πωλήσεως. Ἐὰν οὗτος ὑψώσῃ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἐλαίων ἢ τῆς γαζολίνης ὑπεράνω τῆς ἀξίας των, ἡ πώλησις θὰ καταπέσῃ. Ὅταν τὸ λάδι εἶναι εὐθηνό, οἱ μεταχειριζόμενοι πετρέλαιον θὰ ἀνάψουν φωτιὰν κατὰ τὴν πρωΐαν ἢ καὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν μὲ μικρὰν ποσότητα ἐλαίου, ὡς ἐπίσης δὲν τοὺς μέλει ἐὰν καίωσι τὸν λυχνίαν μίαν ἢ καὶ περισσοτέρας ὥρας κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν. Ἀλλὰ ὅταν ὑψωθῇ ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ ἐλαίου, τότε ἐλαττώνουν τὴν χρῆσίν του.

Ὅταν λάβωμεν ὑπ' ὄψιν τὸν μέγαν ἀριθμὸν τῶν μεταχειριζομένων ἔλαιον, θὰ ἴδωμεν ὅτι μία μικρὰ οἰκονομία ἐκ μέρους ὅλων τούτων θὰ ἐλαττώσῃ ἀρκούντως τὰς πωλήσεις τοῦ Τζὰν Δ.

Ἐὰν ὁ Τζὰν Δ. ἐσφαλμένως ἤθελεν ἀκόμη περισσότερον ὑψώσει τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου, οἱ χρησιμοποιοῦντες αὐτὸ θὰ παύσωσιν ἐντελῶς τὴν ἀγοράν του καὶ θὰ μεταχειρισθῶσιν εὐθηνότερόν τι πρὸς φωτισμόν, π.χ. λαμπάδας. Ὁ Τζὰν Δ. γνωρίζει ὅτι δὲν κερδίζει ἐλαττώνων τοὺς πελάτας του, ἀλλ' αὐξάνων αὐτούς. Ἐὰν οὗτος αὐξήσῃ τὴν τιμὴν τῆς γαζολίνης, πολλοὶ οἵτινες ἔχουν αὐτοκίνητα, θὰ τὰ χρησιμοποιοῦν ὀλιγώτερον, καὶ ἐὰν ἡ τιμὴ ἀνέλθῃ πολύ, οὗτοι θὰ ἐγκαταλείψωσιν ἐντελῶς αὐτὰ καὶ θὰ μεταχειρίζωνται τοὺς τροχιοδρόμους ἢ θὰ περιπατοῦν.

Τοιοῦτοι βιασμοὶ δὲν εἶναι ἐπωφελεῖς εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον καὶ λάθος ἀσυγχώρητον διὰ τὸν καλὸν ἔμπορον καὶ ὁ Τζὰν Δ., ὡς καλὸς ἐπιχειρηματίας, οὐδέποτε θὰ τὸ ἔπραττεν.

Ἐκτὸς τούτου, πάντοτε ὑπάρχει διαθέσιμον κεφάλαιον, τὸ ὁποῖον ζητεῖ κατάθεσιν. Καὶ ὅταν τῷ δοθῇ εὐκαιρία εἶναι ἕτοιμον νὰ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς συναγωνισμὸν μὲ κατατεθέντα κεφάλαια, καὶ οὕτως ἐξυπηρετεῖ ὡς κώλυμα καὶ ἐνδυναμώνει τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατὰ τῶν ἀπειθαρ-

χούντων. Τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ δὲν ἐμπνέεται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐλατηρίου νὰ ἐπιβάλλῃ πειθαρχίαν εἰς τοὺς νόμους τούτους, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ζητεῖ εὐκαιρίαν διὰ κερδοσκοπικὴν κατάθεσιν.

ΤΟ ΜΑΘΗΜΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΡΓΑΤΩΝ

Ἐκεῖνο, διὰ τὸ ὁποῖον ἡμεῖς ἡ ἐργατικὴ τάξις πρέπει ἀποκλειστικῶς νὰ ἐνδιαφερώμεθα ἀπὸ αὐτὰς τὰς μετοχικὰς ἑταιρείας, εἶναι αἱ ἀλλαγαί, τὰς ὁποίας ἔχουσι κάμει εἰς τὰς βιομηχανίας καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ὀργανώσεως, τὴν ὁποίαν αὐταὶ αἱ ἀλλαγαὶ μᾶς ὑποδεικνύουν, πρὸς προφύλαξιν τῶν συμφερόντων μας ὡς ἐργατῶν.

Οὗτοι, τοιουτοτρόπως, ἔχουσι διευθετήσει τὴν βιομηχανίαν ὥστε νὰ παράγωνται πράγματα ἀντὶ ἐλαχίστης δαπάνης ἀνθρωπίνης ἐνεργείας. Ἡ γενομένη πρόοδος εἰς τὴν παραγωγικὴν βιομηχανίαν, μέσον τῶν μεθοδικῶν βελτιώσεων, φαίνεται εἰς ἡμᾶς ὀλεθρία, διότι δὲν ἔχομεν ὀργανωθῆ κατὰ τρόπον, ὥστε νὰ ἐπωφελώμεθά τι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῆς προόδου ταύτης. Ὅσον ὀλιγωτέρα ἐνέργεια ἀπαιτεῖται διὰ τὴν παραγωγήν, τόσον ἡ ζήτησις ἐργατῶν ἐλαττοῦται, διότι ἄνευ ὀργανώσεως εἶναι ἐντελῶς ἀδύνατον εἰς ἡμᾶς νὰ ζητήσωμεν συμμετοχὴν εἰς τὰ πλεονεκτήματα ταῦτα τῆς προόδου, ἥτις δὲν θὰ ὑπῆρχεν ἄνευ ἡμῶν. Τὸ ἀποτέλεσμα τῆς τελειοποιήσεως τῶν ἐργαλείων καὶ ἐλαττώσεως τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως διὰ τὴν παραγωγὴν εἶναι ὅλα πρὸς ὄφελος τῶν ἐργοδοτῶν καὶ ὅσον περισσότερον αὐξάνει ἡ ὠφέλεια αὐτῶν, τόσον περισσότερον αὐξάνει τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐλεεινότητος ἡμῶν.

Ἀντὶ νὰ ὀργανωθῶμεν διὰ νὰ δρέψωμεν τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀπὸ τὰ μηχανήματα, ἔχομεν μείνει ἀνοργάνωτοι, καὶ ἀντὶ νὰ ἐργαζώμεθα ὀλιγωτέρας ὥρας καὶ νὰ ζῶμεν ὡς λογικὰ ὄντα, ἡμεῖς ἐργαζόμεθα πέρισσοτέρας ὥρας ὅταν ἐργοζόμεθα ἢ ὅταν μέρος ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐργάζεται καὶ οὕτως αὐξάνεται ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀέργων καὶ τῶν ἐπαιτῶν.

ΒΡΑΧΕΙΑ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗ ΗΜΕΡΑ

Ἡ πρώτη καὶ ἡ πρωτίστη ἀνάγκη τῶν ἐργατῶν εἶναι νὰ ἐλαττώσουν τὰς ὥρας τῆς ἡμερησίας ἐργασίας, μὲ σκοπὸν νὰ σώσουν τὰ ἑκατομμύρια τῶν διαρκῶς ἀέργων ἀπὸ τὴν ἀπεχθῆ ἀργίαν καὶ δώσουν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ προμηθευθοῦν τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαῖα. Πρέπει νὰ γίνῃ ἕν ἐθνικὸν κίνημα ὑφ' ὅλων τῶν ἐργατῶν νὰ ἐξασφαλίσουν μίαν παγκόσμιον ὀκτάωρον ἐργατικὴν ἡμέραν.

Ἐὰν ἡ ὀκτάωρος ἐργασία δὲν θὰ εἶναι ἐπαρκὴς νὰ ἐπιφέρῃ ἀσφάλειαν εἰς τοὺς ἐργάτας, πρέπει νὰ ἀγωνισθῶμεν διὰ βραχυτέραν ἡμέραν. Δὲν εἴμεθα ὑποχρεωμένοι νὰ ἀπολογούμεθα πρὸ τῶν κεφαλαιούχων ἢ πρὸ ὁποιουδήποτε ἄλλου διὰ τὴν ἐπιμονήν μας, ὅτι τὸ πρώτιστον καθῆκον τῆς βιομηχανίας εἶναι νὰ φροντίσῃ διὰ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἐκείνου, ὅστις εἶναι ἀπαραίτητος διὰ τὴν λειτουργίαν της.

ΤΟ I. W. W.

Τὸ πλουτοκρατικὸν σύστημα πρέπει νὰ ἀντικατασταθῇ διὰ συστήματος, τὸ ὁποῖον θὰ διίδῃ ἐν τῇ βιομηχανίᾳ τὰ μέσα διὰ τῶν ὁποίων προμηθεύονται αἱ κοινωνικαὶ ἀνάγκαι καὶ τὰ ἀγαθά. Ἡ ἐκπλήρωσις ἀκρι-

βῶς τοῦ τοιούτου εἶναι ἡ ἀποστολὴ τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως. Αὐτὴ ἡ ἰδέα ὑπεκίνησε μίαν συγάθροισιν τῶν Ἀμερικανῶν ἐργατῶν ἐν Σικάγῳ κατὰ τὸ 1905. Οὗτοι, ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, δὲν ἦσαν μόνον ἐργάται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδασταὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ κόπου. Οὗτοι υἱοθέτησαν μίαν δήλωσιν ἀρχῶν καὶ ἐθεμελίωσαν μίαν ὀργάνωσιν, σκοπὸς τῆς ὁποίας ἦτο νὰ φέρῃ εἰς ὕπαρξιν ἕν κοινωνικὸν σύσημα, εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον οἱ ἐργάται θὰ διευθύνουν τὰς κοινωνικὰς ὑποθέσεις. Ἡ ὀργάνωσις τὴν ὁποίαν ἐμπέδωσαν συμμορφοῦται πρὸς τὴν κεφαλαιοκρατικὴν διευθέτησιν ἐν τῇ βιομηχανίᾳ καὶ ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς αὐτὴν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως.

Αὐτὴ ἡ ὀργάνωσις εἶναι οἱ Βιομηχανικοὶ Ἐργάται τοῦ Κόσμου. Αὕτη προσείλκυσε τὴν προσοχὴν τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ προὐκάλεσε τὴν ἔχθραν τῶν κεφαλαιούχων καὶ ἑκάστου θεράποντος καὶ παρασίτου τοῦ φέροντος τὴν στολὴν τῆς πλουτοκρατικῆς ὑπηρεσίας, ἀπὸ τὸν δικαστὴν Γκαίρη μέχρι τοῦ ἀσημοτέρου ἀξιωματούχου τῶν ἐπαγγελματικῶν ἑνώσεων τοῦ φέροντος τὸ σῆμα τοῦ ἐργάτου μόνον διὰ νὰ προδίδῃ αὐτόν.

Χιλιάδες ἐκ τῶν μελῶν τοῦ I. W. W. ἔχουσι φυλακισθῆ καὶ δικασθῆ εἰς θάνατον, νομίμως καὶ παρανόμως, διὰ τὴν κήρυξιν τῆς ἀρχῆς περὶ τῆς ἐργατικῆς σωτηρίας. Αὕτη ἡ ὀργάνωσις εἶναι ἡ πλέον ἐπίφοβος καὶ μισητὴ ἕνωσις εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Ἀλλὰ αὐτὴ εἶναι ἡ ὑψηλοτέρα σύστασίς της πρὸς τοὺς ἐργάτας τῶν Ἡνωμένων Πολιτειῶν.

Ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέλη, τὰ ὁποῖα δὲν φοβοῦνται τὰς καταδιώξεις, εἰς τὰς ὁποίας ὑπόκειται τὸ I. W. W., διαφημίζουσι τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς τοὺς συναδέλφους των ἐργάτας διὰ τὴν συνηγορίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑψηλῆς ἰδέας καὶ πῶς ἡ φιλοσοφία αὐτῆς τοὺς ἐνθαρρύνει νὰ ὑπομένωσι τὸ πᾶν πρὸς πραγματοποίησιν αὐτῆς.

ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑ Η ΔΗΛΩΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΩΝ ..

«Ἡ ἐργατικὴ τάξις καὶ ἡ ἐργοδότρια δὲν ἔχουσιν οὐδὲν τὸ κοινόν. Εἶναι ἀδύνατον νὰ ὑπάρχῃ εἰρήνη ἐνόσῳ ἡ πεῖνα καὶ ἡ ἀνάγκη μαστίζει ὁλόκληρα ἑκατομμύρια ἐργατικοῦ λαοῦ καὶ οἱ ὀλίγοι, οἵτινες ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν ἐργοδότριαν τάξιν, ἔχουν ὅλα τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῆς ζωῆς.

Μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τῶν τάξεων πρέπει νὰ ἐξακολουθῇ ὁ ἀγὼν ἕως ὅτου οἱ ἐργάται ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, ἀφοῦ ὀργανωθοῦν ὡς μία τάξις, καταλάβουν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ μηχανήματα τῆς παραγωγῆς καὶ καταργήσωσι τὸ σύστημα τοῦ μισθοῦ.

Βλέπομεν ὅτι ἡ συγκέντρωσις τῆς διαχειρήσεως τῆς βιομηχανίας, ἀπὸ ὀλίγας εἰς ὀλιγωτέρας χεῖρας, ἀφαιρεῖ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν συντεχνικῶν ἑνώσεων τοῦ νὰ ἀντεπεξέρχωνται κατὰ τῆς ὁσημέραι αὐξανούσης δυνάμεως τῆς ἐργοδοτρίας τάξεως. Αἱ συντεχνικαὶ ἑνώσεις παρουσιάζουν μίαν τοιαύτην κατάστασιν πραγμάτων, ἥτις ἐπιτρέπει εἰς μίαν τάξιν ἐργατῶν νὰ ἀνιττάσσηται ἐναντίον ἄλλης τάξεως ἐργατῶν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν βιομηχανίαν, προκαλοῦσα τοιουτοτρόπως τὴν ἥτταν ἀμφοτέρων κατὰ τὸν περὶ μισθοῦ πόλεμον. Ἐπὶ πλέον, αἱ συντεχνικαὶ ἑνώσεις βοηθοῦν τὴν ἐργοδότριαν τάξιν νὰ ἀποπλανήσουν τοὺς ἐργάτας μὲ τὴν δοξασίαν, ὅτι οὗτοι ἔχουσι κοινὰ συμφέροντα μὲ τοὺς ἐργοδότας.

Αὐταὶ αἱ καταστάσεις δύνανται νὰ ἀλλάξουν καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῶν ἐργατῶν νὰ ὑποστηριχθοῦν μόνον ὑπὸ μιᾶς ὀργανώσεως ἱδρυθείσης κατὰ

τρόπον, ὥστε ὅλα τὰ μέλη της, εἰς ὁποιανδήποτε βιομηχανίαν ἢ εἰς ὅλας τὰς βιομηχανίας ἐὰν εἶναι ἀνάγκη, νὰ παύουν τὴν ἐργασίαν ὁπουδήποτε εἶναι ἀπεργία, προξενοῦντες βλάβην εἰς ἕνα καὶ ὅλους.

Ἀντὶ τοῦ συντηρητικοῦ ἀξιώματος «ἱκανοποιητικὸς μισθὸς ἀντὶ μιᾶς ἡμερησίας ἐργασίας» ἡμεῖς πρέπει νὰ ἐπιγράψωμεν εἰς τὴν σημαίαν μας τὸ ἐπαναστατικὸν σύνθημα «κατάργησις τοῦ συστήματος τοῦ μισθοῦ».

Ἡ ἱστορικὴ ἀποστολὴ τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως εἶναι νὰ ἐξαφανίσῃ τὸν πλουτοκρατισμόν. Ὁ στρατὸς τῆς παραγωγῆς πρέπει νὰ ὀργανωθῇ ὄχι μόνον διὰ τὸν καθημερινὸν ἀγῶνα μετὰ τῶν κεφαλαιούχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ νὰ διαχειρισθῇ τὴν παραγωγὴν μετὰ τὴν ἐκθρόνισιν τῶν κεφαλαιούχων. Ὀργανούμενοι βιομηχανικῶς, ἱδρύομεν τὸ οἰκοδόμημα τῆς νέας κοινωνίαν ἐντὸς τοῦ κελύφους τῆς παλαιᾶς.»

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ

1ον. Δύναται ἡ Στάνδαρ Ὄϊλ νὰ κυβερνᾷ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ ἐλαίου;

2ον. Τὶ ἐπήρειαν ἔχουν αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν ἐμπορευμάτων ἐν τῇ ὑπερπληρωμένῃ ἀγορᾷ;

3ον. Τὶ ἐδιδάχθησαν οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι ἀπὸ τὰς κρισίμους περιστάσεις;

4νο. Ποία εἶναι ἡ σχέσις τῆς κυβερνητικῆς προξενικῆς ὑπηρεσίας πρὸς τὴν βιομηχανίαν;

5ον. Διατὶ ἡ ἀγορὰ θὰ κατεστρέφετο ἐὰν ἡ θέλησις τῶν κεφαλαιούχων καθώριζε τὰς τιμάς;

6ον. Ποία θὰ εἶναι ἡ ἐπήρεια τῆς τιμῆς, ἐὰν ἀρνηθῶμεν νὰ ἀγοράζωμεν ἢ νὰ ἀγοράζωμεν ὡς καὶ πρότερον; Διατί;

8ον. Κατὰ ποῖον τρόπον τὸ ἀργοῦν κεφάλαιον ἐπιδρᾷ ἐπὶ τῶν τιμῶν;

1ον. Δύναται ἡ Στάνδαρ Ὄϊλ νὰ κυβερνᾷ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου;

11ον. Ποῖαι εἶναι αἱ ἀρχαὶ τοῦ I. W. W.;

12ον. Διατὶ τὸ I. W. W. μισεῖται;

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ

ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑ

Εἰς τὴν βραχεῖαν μελέτην μας τοῦ κυρίου χαρακτῆρος τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ προβλήματος τῶν ἐργατῶν προσεπαθήσαμεν νὰ ἀποδείξωμεν ὅσον ἠδυνήθημεν σαφῶς, ὅτι ὁ ἀγὼν μεταξὺ τῆς πλουτοκρατικῆς τάξεως καὶ τῆς ἐργατικῆς τοιαύτης λαμβάνει χώραν εἰς τὴν παραγωγὴν καὶ εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο μέρος, δηλαδὴ διὰ τὴν πλεονάζουσαν ἀξίαν καὶ μόνον· καὶ ὅτι τὸ συμφέρον τῶν κεφαλαιούχων εἶναι νὰ κρατοῦν καὶ νὰ αὐξάνουν τὸ ποσὸν τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας, καὶ τὸ συμφέρον τῶν ἐργατῶν εἶναι νὰ προσπαθῶσι διὰ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν τῆς πλεοναζούσης ἀξίας ἕως ὅτου τὴν ἐξαφανίσουν ἐντελῶς. Ἐν ἄλλαις λέξεσιν, ὁ ἀγὼν ἐκ μέρους τῶν κεφαλαιούχων εἶναι ἡ συνέχεια τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως ὡς ἐμπορεύματος καὶ ἐκ μέρους τῶν ἐργατῶν εἶναι νὰ καταστρέψῃ τὸν ἐμπορευματικὸν χαρακτῆρα τῆς ἐργατικῆς δυνάμεως. Ὁ κεφαλαιοῦχος θέλει νὰ ἐξακολουθῇ τὸ σύστημα τοῦ μισθοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἐργάτης πρέπει νὰ καταργήσῃ αὐτό.

Λέγεται ὅτι ὁ Φραγκλῖνος κἄποτε εἶπεν: «Ἡ ἱστορία θὰ εἶχε συγγραφῇ ὀρθότερον ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων τοῦ ἐργαλείου παρὰ ὅσον ἐπὶ ὁ,τιδήποτε ἄλλου.» Εἴτε ἐλέχθη τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Φραγκλίνου εἴτε ὄχι, εἶναι ἀληθές. Μόνον ἐὰν εἶπε ταῦτα, ὁ Φραγκλῖνος εἶχε προλάβει κατὰ δεκάδα ἐτῶν τὸν Μὰρξ διὰ τὴν ἀνακάλυψιν τῆς ὑλιστικῆς συλλήψεως τῆς ἱστορίας. Ἐὰν δὲν ἀνεκάλυπτε τὰ ἐργαλεῖα ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φυλή, ἦτο ἀδύνατον νὰ ἐπιζήσῃ. Ἡ ἐπίζησις καὶ πρόοδος τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φυλῆς ὀφείλονται εἰς τὴν χρησιμοποίησιν τῶν ἐργαλείων· καὶ σαφέστερον εἰς τοὺς χρησιμοποιοῦντας τὰ ἐργαλεῖα — ἤτοι εἰς τοὺς ἐργάτας.

ΤΟ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ

Τόρα τὰ νέα μέσα τῆς παραγωγῆς (ἐργαλεῖα) ὑπολογίζονται ὡς κεφάλαιον, τοῦθ' ὅπερ Η ΚΑΤΟΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΠΑΡΕΧΕΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΟΧΟΝ ΤΑ ΜΕΣΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΚΜΕΤΑΛΛΕΥΣΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΓΑΤΟΥ. ΤΑΥΤΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΑΡΧΙΚΑ, ΟΥΣΙΩΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΤΕ ΤΑ ΜΕΣΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΗΣ. Τοῦτο εἶναι ὁ συμφυὴς των χαρακτήρ. Ο ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΙΔΕΙ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥ ΕΙΤΕ ΩΣ ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΣ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡ. Ἂς λάβωμεν ἕν βιομηχανικὸν ἵδρυμα, τοῦ ὁποίου ὅταν ἐκτεθῇ τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ κεφαλαίου του σημαίνει ὅτι τὸ κεφάλαιον παρέχει τὸ μέσον νὰ ἐκμεταλλεύωνται οἱ ἐργάται διὰ νὰ προέλθῃ κέρδος, τὸ ὁποῖον πραγματοποιεῖται εἰς κεφάλαιον. Ἐὰν δέν ὑπῆρχον ἔμμισθοι ἐργάται μιᾶς ἑταιρείας μὲ κεφάλαιον ἑνὸς ἑκατομμυρίου δὲν θὰ ἤξιζεν αὕτη οὔτε δέκα σέντσια καὶ ἐὰν ἠγοράζετο εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν τιμὴν, ὁ ἀγοραστὴς θὰ ἔχανε μόνον δέκα σέντσια. Ὁπωσδήποτε σήμερον οἱ ἐργάται ἐν τῇ πλουτοκρατικῇ βιομηχανίᾳ καὶ ἐμπορίῳ ἐφ' ὅσον εἶναι ἐν συνδιαλλαγῇ νὰ παράγωσι πλεοναζούσας ἀξίας, ὁ σκοπὸς τῶν κεφαλαιούχων νὰ κρατῶσι τὸν ἐργάτην νὰ παράγῃ πλεοναζούσας ἀξίας κραταιοῦται.

Οἱ ἐπωφελούμενοι εἰς ἕκαστον κοινωνικὸν σύστημα ἔχουν πράξει τὸ πᾶν νὰ παραστήσουν ὅτι αὕτη εἶναι ἡ κορυφαία ἀνθρωπίνη πρόοδος. Οὗτοι προσπαθοῦν πάντοτε, ὅπως παρασταθοῦν ὡς τὰ πλέον ἀναγκαῖα στοιχεῖα.

Ἀπὸ τὰ πλέον εὐνοϊκὰ διὰ τοὺς κεφαλαιούχους ρητὰ εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἑξῆς: «Ὁ κόπος χρειάζεται κεφάλαιον καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον κόπον.». Ἀλλὰ δὲν ἔχει οὕτω, καθότι ἐν τοιαύτῃ περιπτώσει τὸ κεφάλαιον σημαίνει μεταμφίεσιν τοῦ κεφαλαιούχου. Ὁ κόπος δὲν χρειάζεται τὸ κεφάλαιον. Ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον χρειάζεται ὁ κόπος καὶ τὸ ὁποῖον εἰς τὸ τέλος θὰ ἀποκτήσῃ, εἶναι ΤΑ ΜΕΣΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΗΣ, ΤΑ ΕΡΓΑΛΕΙΑ, ΑΝΕΥ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΩΣ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΥ. Αὐτὸς ὁ χαρακτὴρ ὅστις εἶναι χαρακτὴρ ἐπιβεβλημένος ἐπὶ τῶν μέσων τῆς παραγωγῆς, θὰ καταρριφθῇ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐργατῶν, χωρὶς νὰ βλάψωσι τὰ ἐργαλεῖα. Τὰ ἐργαλεῖα ἄνευ τῆς πλουτοκρατικῆς των κατοχῆς εἶναι ἀναγκαῖα διὰ τὸν κόπον.

Ο ΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΡΓΑΤΟΥ

Αὐτὸς ἀκριβῶς ὑπῆρξεν ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ ἐργατικοῦ κινήματος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς του, ἀπὸ τοῦ πλουτοκρατισμοῦ. Ἡ πρώτη καὶ πρωτίστη ἕνωσις ἦτο μία δοκιμὴ τῶν ἐργατῶν διὰ νὰ πολεμήσουν τὴν αὐθαιρεσίαν τῶν ἐργοδοτῶν, ἥτις προηγουμένως ἐπεκράτει. Μολονότι οὐχὶ ἐν ἐπιγνώσει αὕτη ἡ δοκιμὴ ἦτο τὸ πρῶτον βῆμα πρὸς ἐπαναστατικὴν κατεύθυνσιν. Διότι προκαλῶν τὸν ἔλεγχον τοῦ προϊσταμένου καὶ ἀπαρνούμενος αὐτὸν εἶναι μία καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἀρχή, ἡ διαφορὰ εἶναι ζήτημα βαθμοῦ. Αἱ συντεχνικαὶ ἑνώσεις προσεπάθησαν νὰ ἀποκτήσουν διὰ τοὺς ἐργάτας μεγαλυτέραν μερίδα ἐκ τῶν ὠφελειῶν τοῦ κόπου των καὶ ἀναπαυτικωτέραν ζωὴν ἐντὸς τῶν ὁρίων τοῦ πλουτοκρατικοῦ συστήματος. Αἱ ἀπαιτήσεις των, ἡ ζέσις μὲ τὴν ὁποίαν ἠγωνίσθησαν διὰ ταύτας παρουσιάζουν ἓν πνεῦμα προερχόμενον ἐκ τῆς ἀπεριορίστου θλίψεως. Αἱ ἐπιβληθεῖσαι ταλαιπωρίαι, αἱ γενόμεναι θυσίαι, ἡ μετάβασις εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς εὐθύμως, ἡ ψυχραιμία μὲ τὴν ὁποία" ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες συνήντησαν τὸν θάνατον διὰ σφαιρῶν, λογχῶν, ἀγχόνης καὶ ἠλεκτρικῶν καθισμάτων μαρτυροῦν εὐγλώττως πολὺ μεγαλυτέραν ἔμπνευσιν ἀπὸ ἐκείνην τῆς περὶ αὐξήσεως μισθοῦ κατὰ ἕν εὐτελὲς σέντ.

Αἱ ἀπώλειαί των εἰς μισθοὺς ἦσαν μεγαλύτεραι ἀπὸ τὴν ποσότητα, τὴν ὁποίαν ἐζήτησαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁποίαν ἐπαλέμησαν, ἐὰν ἡ οἰκονομικὴ ἀνόρθωσις ἦτο ἡ ἔμπνευσις τῶν ἡρωϊκῶν των θυσιῶν. Ἀλλὰ δὲν ἔχει οὕτως. Οὗτοι ἐπολέμησαν καὶ ἐθυσίασαν τὴν ζωήν των, χάριν τοῦ δικαίου, τὸ ὁποῖον παρεβιάσθη διὰ τῆς ἀπορρίψεως τῶν δικαίων αἰτημάτων των.

Αἱ δραστήριαι διαμαρτυρίαι των ἦσαν ἀποτέλεσμα τῶν κοινωνικῶν ὠθήσεων καὶ οὐδέποτε τῶν προσωπικῶν. Τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές των πνεῦμα ἦτο προσωρινῶς ἀνίκανον νὰ ὁδηγήσῃ τὰς ὠθήσεις ταύτας εἰς νίκην, διότι οὗτοι ἐπολέμων μὲ οἰκονομικὰ μέσα, τὰ ὁποῖα ἦσαν ἐντελῶς ἐφθαρμένα καὶ ἀνάξια. Ἡ ἀνάπτυξις τῆς πλουτοκρατικῆς βιομηχανίας ἀνεχαίτισε μέχρι τινὸς τὰς ἐνεργείας των καὶ αἱ ἀπώλειαι ἐκ τῶν ἡττῶν ἦσαν ἀνώτεραι τῶν ὠφελειῶν ἀπὸ τὰς νίκας. Ἐν τούτοις ὅμως, εἴτε νικοῦν ἢ νικῶνται, εἶναι σταθεροὶ καὶ αἰσιόδοξοι διὰ τὴν ἀποτίναξιν τοῦ βαρέως ζυγοῦ τῆς κεφαλαιοκρατίας.

Η ΕΝΩΤΙΚΟΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗΣ ΤΑΞΕΩΣ

Εἶναι καθῆκον πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτόν μας καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον νὰ ἐπωφεληθῶμεν ἀπὸ τὴν πεῖραν τῶν προκατόχων μας καὶ τὴν ἰδικήν μας. Ἡμεῖς πρέπει νὰ συστήσωμεν μίαν ὀργάνωσιν περιεκτικὴν καθὼς ἡ ἐργατικὴ τάξις, διευθετουμένην καταλλήλως, ὥστε νὰ ἀνταποκρίνηται πρὸς τὰς βιομηχανικὰς ἀνάγκας, ἀρκούντως ἐλαστικήν, ὥστε νὰ ἀνταποκρίνεται καὶ συμμορφώνηται πρὸς τὰς ποικίλας καὶ διαφόρους ἀνάγκας ἑκάστης καὶ ὅλων τῶν ἐργατικῶν ὁμάδων ἐν τῇ βιομηχανίας, καὶ ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς ὁποίας ἑνώσεως νὰ εἶναι τόσον στενὸς καὶ ἁπλοῦς, ὅσον τὸ συμφέρον τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως. Ἡ δύναμις τῆς παραγωγῆς τῶν ἐργατῶν εἶναι ἡ ζωὴ καὶ ὁ θάνατος τῆς κοινωνίας. Αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις δύναται νὰ χρησιμοποιηθῇ μόνον διὰ νὰ ὑπηρετήσῃ τὴν κοινωνίαν δι' ὀργανώσεως ὅλων τῶν ἐργατῶν εἰς ὅλα τὰ ἐργατικὰ μέρη. Οἱ κεφαλαιοῦχοι χρησιμοποιοῦν τὴν ἐξουσίαν των ἐπὶ τῆς βιομηχανίας διὰ νὰ καταστρέψουν τὴν κοινωνίαν μὲ πολέμους, μὲ ἀεργίας καὶ μὲ ἀνεπαρκεῖς τρόπους τοῦ ζῆν. Ἡ βιομηχανία πρέπει νὰ χρησιμοποιῆται πρὸς ἐξυπηρέτησιν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς ὄφελος ὀλίγων. Ἡ ἀποστολὴ ἀκριβῶς τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως εἶναι νὰ πραγματοποιηθῇ τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ τὸ I. W. W. εἶναι ἡ μάστιξ τῶν ἐργατῶν πρὸς ἐκπλήρωσιν αὐτοῦ.

Ἀπὸ ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν ἐδῶ καὶ ἐκεῖ εἰς τὴν γραμμὴν τῆς μάχης τοῦ κόπου ἀκροβολισμοὶ καὶ ἀψιμαχίαι λαμβάνουν μέρος μεταξὺ τῶν δυνάμεων τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῶν πλουτοκρατικῶν ὑποστηρικτῶν. Τὰ ἀποτελέσματα ἐξαρτῶνται ἀπὸ τὴν ἱκανότητα τοῦ νὰ θέσωσιν εἰς ἀμηχανίαν ἐπιτυχῶς τοὺς ἰδιαιτέρους ἐργοδότας μετὰ τῶν ὁποίων ἀγωνίζονατι ,ἀναγκάζοντες αὐτοὺς ὅπως παραχωρήσωσι μέρος τῆς πλεοναζούσης αὐτῶν ἀξίας. Ἀλλ' ἡ πρόοδος τῶν ἐργατῶν εἰς βιομηχανίαν τινὰ εἰς βάρος κεφαλαιούχου τινὸς ἐνθαρρύνει μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους ἐργάτας νὰ προβῶσιν εἰς παρομοίαν δοκιμήν, ἐξασθενεῖ ὅμως τὸ κεφαλαιοκρατικὸν βασίλειον καὶ κλονίζει τὰς πλεοναζούσας ἀξίας ἄλλων κεφαλαιούχων, οἵτινες εἶναι ἕτοιμοι νὰ βοηθήσωσι τοὺς πιεζομένους συναδέλφους των. Καὶ οἱ ἐργάται ἐπίσης διδάσκονται νὰ ὑποβοηθῶσι τοὺς συναδέλφους των ἐργάτας εἰς τοὺς βιομηχανικοὺς ἀγῶνας. Πράττοντες τοῦτο κατανοοῦν τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς ὑπερπηδήσεως κάθε φραγμοῦ καὶ κωλύματος διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς τάξεως. Ἡ ἰδέα τῶν ἐπαγγελματικῶν ἑνώσεων ἔχει ἀναγνωρισθῇ πλέον ὡς σαθρὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ πραγματικότητι διαιρετική, ἀντὶ ἑνωτικὴ δύναμις.

Η ΒΙΟΜΗΧΑΝΙΑ ΩΣ ΩΡΓΑΝΩΜΕΝΗ ΜΟΝΑΣ

Οἱ ἐργάται πρέπει νὰ προβλέψουν, ὅπως αἱ οἰκονομικαί των ὀργανώσεις ἀνταποκριθοῦν πρὸς τὴν διευθέτησιν ἐν τῇ βιομηχανίᾳ. Καὶ ἡ βιομηχανία νὰ εἶναι ἡ μονὰς τῆς ὀργανώσεως, προσφέρουσα προσδοκίας τινὰς ἐπιτυχίας εἰς τὰς καθημερινὰς μάχας τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως. Ἀλλὰ αὐξανομένου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν, οἱ ἐργάται ἀναγνωρίζουν τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς ἑνώσεως ἓλων τῶν ἐργατῶν εἰς μίαν τάξιν ἡνωμένην μὲ ἕν ἡνωμένον μέτωπον παρατεταμένον. Πρέπει νὰ ὑπάρξῃ μία ἕνωσις ἐνεργοῦσα ἐπὶ ἀγνῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἐννοίας.

Μία τοιαύτη ὀργάνωσις εἶναι ἡ τῶν Βιομηχανικῶν Ἐργατῶν τοῦ

Κόσμου. Οἱ ἀναγνώσαντες τὴν μικρὰν αὐτὴν βίβλον παροτρύνονται νὰ γνωρισθῶσι μὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς, τὸ οἰκοδόμημα, τὰς μεθόδους καὶ τὸν σκοπὸν τοῦ I. W. W. Πληροφορίαι καὶ ἔντυπα δύνανται νὰ ἐξασφαλισθοῦν ἀπὸ τὸ Γενικὸν Ἀρχηγεῖον τοῦ I. W. W., 1001 WEST MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

ΤΕΛΟΣ

[illegible]

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ΤΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟ *I.W.W.*

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ΑΙ ΜΕΘΟΔΟΙ ΤΟΥ

ΤΙΜΗ ΔΕΚΑ ΣΕΝΤΣ

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ΤΙ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟ I. W. W.

ΜΙΑ ΕΙΛΙΚΡΙΝΗΣ ΔΗΛΩΣΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΩΝ ΤΟΥ. ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΙΚΩΝ ΣΚΟΠΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘΟΔΩΝ

Σχεδὸν κάθε κάτοικος τῆς Ἀμερικῆς ἔχει ἀκούσει ἢ ἀναγνώσει περὶ τοῦ ὀργανισμοῦ τῶν Βιομηχανικῶν Ἐργατῶν τοῦ Κόσμου, τοῦ γνωστοῦ ὑπὸ τὸ ὄνομα I. W. W., ἀλλὰ πολὺ ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι γνωρίζουν τὶ ἀκριβῶς εἶναι καὶ τὶ ζητᾶ νὰ ἐπιτύχῃ. Πέριξ τοῦ ὀνόματος I. W. W. ἔχει δημιουργηθεῖ ἕνας ὁλόκληρος κόσμος ἐσφαλμένων ἀντιλήψεων. Ὁ τύπος τῆς χώρας ἔχει παρουσιάσει εἰς τὴν κοινὴν γνώμην τὸ I. W. W. ὑπὸ μορφὴν ἡ ὁποία πολὺ ὀλίγον ἀνταποκρίνεται πρὸς τὰ πράγματα. Δι' αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον εἴμεθα βέβαιοι ὅτι θὰ ἔχετε τὸ ἐνδιαφέρον νὰ μάθετε αὐθεντικῶς περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἀντικειμενικῶν σκοπῶν καὶ μεθόδων τοῦ ὀργανισμοῦ τούτου ὡς καὶ μερικῶν ἄλλων σχετικῶν πραγμάτων.

ΜΕΡΙΚΑΙ ΕΣΦΑΛΜΕΝΑΙ ΑΝΤΙΛΗΨΕΙΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ I. W. W.

Ἡ ἐπικρατοῦσα γνώμη παρὰ τῷ λαῷ εἶναι ὅτι τὸ I. W. W. εἶναι μυστικὴ ὀργάνωσις καὶ ὅτι ἀπαρτίζεται κυρίως ἀπὸ ξένους. Ὅτι εἶναι μία ὀργάνωσις ἡ ὁποία ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ σχεδιάζει ταραχὰς καὶ αἱματοχυσίας, τὴν καταστροφὴν ζωῆς καὶ περιουσίας, καὶ τέλος, τὴν ἀνατροπὴν τῆς Κυβερνήσεως τῶν Ἡνωμένων Πολιτειῶν. Ὑπάρχουν ἐνταῦθα μεγάλοι καὶ ἰσχυροὶ ὀργανισμοὶ οἱ ὁποῖοι ἀπασχολοῦνται πῶς νὰ δημιουργοῦν τοιαύτας ἐσφαλμένας ἀντιλήψεις περὶ τοῦ I. W. W.

Τὸ I. W. W. οὐδεμίαν ἀπολύτως ἔχει σχέσιν μὲ πολιτικὰς ἐπαναστάσεις ἢ πολιτικὰς ἐνεργείας οἱασδήποτε φύσεως ὡς θέλετε ἴδει κατωτέρω. Οὐδόλως ἐνδιαφερόμεθα περὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν φρονημάτων ἑκάστου ὅπως δὲν ἐνδιαφερόμεθα περὶ τῶν θρησκευτικῶν του πεποιθήσεων, ἢ τοῦ χρώματος τοῦ προσώπου του. Αὐτὸ δὲν μᾶς ἀπασχολεῖ ποσῶς. Τόσον δὲ ἀποφεύγομεν, ὡς ὀργάνωσις, ὥστε ἀπαγορεύομεν πᾶσαν συζήτησιν ἢ προπαγάνδαν ἐντὸς τῆς ὀργανώσεως περὶ θρησκευτικῶν ἢ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς

ἀποσπόντων τὴν φροντίδα μας τοῦ ἀντικειμενικοῦ σκοποῦ καὶ συντρέχουσαν εἰς φιλονικίας καὶ διάσπασιν τῶν δυνάμεών μας.

Ἡμεῖς συγκεντρώνομεν τὴν προσοχήν μας ἐπὶ ἑνὸς ζητήματος τὸ ὁποῖον ἐνδιαφέρει ὅλους ἐξ ἴσου, δηλαδὴ τοῦ οἰκονομικοῦ ζητήματος, προσέχοντες ἄλλα ζητήματα μόνον ὅταν διασταυροῦνται μὲ τὰ ἰδικά μας καὶ ἐμποδίζουν τὸ ἔργον μας, ἢ διὰ καθαρῶς ἐκπαιδευτικοὺς σκοπούς, ἀλλὰ οὐδέποτε πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν προπαγανδίσεως περὶ ἑνὸς κόμματος, πίστεως ἢ φυλῆς ὡς προτιμητέων παντὸς ἄλλου.

ΤΟ I. W. W. ΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΙΚΗ ΕΡΓΑΤΙΚΗ ΕΝΩΣΙΣ

Ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ σχηματισμοῦ τοῦ I. W. W. ἐγένετο εἰς τὸ 1905, ἀλλὰ ὁ σχηματισμὸς τῆς νέας ἐργατικῆς ἑνώσεως ἐπετεύχθη κατόπιν ἑνὸς μεγάλου συνεδρίου τὸ 1906, ὁπότε ἐτέθησαν καὶ ἐπεκυρώθησαν αἱ ἀρχαί, ὁ σκοπός, αἱ μέθοδοι καὶ τὸ οἰκοδόμημα τῆς ὀργανώσεως, ἅτινα παρέμειναν οὐσιωδῶς τὰ αὐτὰ μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. Τὸ I. W. W. ἐγένετο ἐργατικὴ ἕνωσις τότε καὶ ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ παραμένῃ τοιαύτη μέχρι τῆς σήμερον. Οἱοσδήποτε προσπαθεῖ νὰ σοῦ τὸ παραστήσει διαφοροτρόπως σοῦ τὸ παριστάνει ψευδῶς. Τὰ μέλη τῆς οἰκονομικῆς αὐτῆς ὀργανώσεως δὲν ἔχουν καρφώσει τὰ μάτια των εἰς τὰ κυβερνητικὰ κτίρια, ὅπως τὰ πολιτικὰ κόμματα, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργοστασίων, τῶν μύλων, ἐργαστηρίων καὶ ἄλλων μερῶν παραγωγῆς. Οὐδεμίαν κάμνομεν διάκρισιν μεταξὺ τοῦ ψηφοφόρου Ἀμερικανοῦ καὶ τοῦ μὴ τοιούτου ξένου. Οἱοσδήποτε ἐργαζόμενος ἀντὶ μισθοῦ, εἴτε ἄνδρας, γυναίκα ἢ παιδίον δύναται νὰ γίνῃ μέλος καὶ ἔχει τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ ἐκλέγειν καὶ ἐκλέγεσθαι.

ΤΟ I W. W. ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟΣ ΕΝΩΣΙΣ

Οἱ ἱδρυταὶ τῆς ἐργατικῆς αὐτῆς ἑνώσεως ἔδωκαν τὸ ὄνομα, Οἱ Βιομηχανικοὶ Ἐργάται τοῦ Κόσμου, φανερώνοντες τοιουτοτρόπως τὸν σκοπὸν τῆς ὀργανώσεως ὡς ἐπιδιώκουσαν τὴν βιομηχανικὴν ἕνωσιν τῶν ἐργατῶν τοῦ κόσμου εἰς ἕνα σῶμα. Ὁ σκοπὸς αὐτὸς ἀκόμη δὲν ἐπετεύχθη, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὅρια τῆς ἐπιρροῆς του ηὐρύνθησαν. Διαχειρίσεις ἔχουν σχηματισθεῖ ἐν Ἀγγλίᾳ, Αὐστραλίᾳ, Νοτίῳ Ἀμερικῇ, ἐν Μεξικῷ, Ἀργεντινῇ καὶ Χιλῇ, εἰς τὰς Σκανδιναυικὰς χώρας καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ. Ὁ δυνατώτερος ὅμως ἰσχυρισμὸς τοῦ I. W. W., ὅτι εἶναι παγκόσμιος ἕνωσις ἔγγυται, εἰς τὸ ὅτι ἐνήσκησε μεγίστην ἐπιρροὴν ἐπὶ ἄλλων ἐργατικῶν ἑνώσεων ἐξαναγκάσαν αὐτὰς ὅπως ἐφαρμόσουν τὸ προγραμμά του κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ κατὰ τὸ γράμμα.

Καίτοι ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν μελῶν εἶναι μόνον 100,000, ἐν τούτοις ὅμως εἴμεθα παγκόσμιος δύναμις. Πλέον τοῦ ἑνὸς ἑκατομμυρί-

ου κάρτες ἐγγραφῆς ἔχουν ἐκδοθεῖ καὶ τὰ μέλη μας εἶναι διασκορπισμένα εἰς κάθε χώραν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον. Τὰ εὑρίσκεις εἰς τὰ ἀνθρακωρυχεῖα πλησίον τοῦ Βορείου Πόλου. Τὰ εὑρίσκεις πλησίον τοῦ Νοτίου Πόλου ὅπου θηρεύουσι ἰχθῦς Τὰ εὑρίσκεις εἰς κάθε πλοῖον ποῦ πλέει τοὺς ὠκεανοὺς φέροντα μαζύ των καὶ σπείροντα τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς προπαγάνδας μας εἰς κάθε λιμένα ἀπομεμακρυσμένων ἀκτῶν. Εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ἐποχὴν, ὁπότε ὅλαι αἱ ἄλλαι κοινωνικαὶ θεωρίαι καὶ κινήματα ἀπέτυχον, καὶ δὲν ὑπόσχονται τίποτε διὰ τὸ μέλλον, τὸ I. W. W. ἵσταται μόνο του, εἰς τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἐργατῶν ἀνὰ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον ὡς ὁ κύριος τῆς καταστάσεως. Ἀπὸ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀπόψεως, τὸ μεγάλο ἰδεῶδες τῶν θεμελιωτῶν ἐπραγματοποιήθη. Τώρα ἐναπομένει ἡ μεταφύτευσις τῆς ἰδέας ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου τοῦ ἐργάτου εἰς τὴν βιομηχανικὴν ζωήν, καὶ τότε ἡ ἰδέα τῶν θεμελιωτῶν θὰ εἶναι πλήρης ἐπιτυχία. Μὲ τὴν βοήθειαν τῶν παρομοίων συνδικαλιστικῶν κινημάτων εἰς ἄλλας χώρας, ἐλπίζομεν νὰ πραγματοποιήσωμεν τὸ σχέδιον τοῦτο εἰς τὸ λίαν προσεχὲς μέλλον, διὰ τῆς ἱδρύσεως μιᾶς Διεθνοῦς Βιομηχανικῆς.

Η ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΟΥ I. W. W. ΕΙΝΑΙ ΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΗ ΜΕ ΑΙΜΑ

Εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν τὸ I. W. W. ἀπηρτίζετο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ ἀνθρακωρύχους τῶν Δυτικῶν Πολιτειῶν τῆς Ἀμερικῆς, ἀπὸ μεταλλουργοὺς,, σιδηροδρομικοὺς καὶ κινητοὺς ἐργάτας.. Μὲ τὴν παρέλευσιν τῶν ἐτῶν ἐξήπλωσε τὰς ἐνεργείας του εἰς μεγαλείτερον ἀριθμὸν βιομηχανιῶν, καὶ ἔχει πρὸς τὸ παρὸν 29 Βιομηχανικὰς Ἑνώσεις διασκορπισμένας ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν χώραν. Περὶ τούτων θὰ ὁμιλήσωμεν κατωτέρω. Μέγα μέρος ἐκ τῶν μελῶν σύγκειται ἀπὸ μεταβατικοὺς ἐργάτας, καὶ αἱ ἰσχυρότεραι ἑνώσεις εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρακωρύχων, ἐργατῶν ξυλείας, γεωργίας, οἰκοδομῶν, φορτωτῶν πλοίων, μεταλλουργῶν, ὑφαντῶν καὶ σιδηροδρομικῶν.

Ἡ ὀργάνωσις διηύθυνε πολλὰς μεγάλας ἀπεργίας μὲ σχετικὴν ἐπιτυχίαν εἰς πολλὰς βιομηχανίας. Ἰδιαιτέρως τὸ I. W. W. ἐκαλλιτέρευσεν τὴν τύχην των μεταβατικῶν ἐργατῶν, εἰς τοὺς ἀγροὺς, ἀνθρακωρυχεῖα καὶ ἀποθήκας ξυλείας, ἐπίσης οἱ φορτωταὶ πλοίων καὶ ὑφαναὶ ἐκέρδησαν μεγάλα πλεονεκτήματα ὑπὸ τὴν σημαίαν τοῦ I. W. W. Πρὶν τῆς ἐμφανίσεως τοῦ I. W. W. καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ ἡ τύχη τῶν μεταβατικῶν ἐργατῶν, οἱ ὁποῖοι ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν μὲ τὴν κουβέρταν ἐπ' ὤμου, ἦτο ἀπελπιστική.. Ἄπαξ κανεὶς κατήρχετο εἰς τὰς τάξεις των ὀλίγη ἐλπὶς ἔμενε διὰ τοῦτον νὰ δυνηθῇ νὰ σταθῇ πλέον κοινωνικῶς. Τότε κατήντα κοινωνικὸν ναυάγιο. Σήμερον τὰ πράγματα, χάρις εἰς τὸ

I. W. W. εἶναι τελείως διάφορα. Εἰς τὰς βραχείας ταύτας δηλώσεις μας δὲν δυνάμεθα νὰ εἰσέλθωμεν εἰς λεπτομερείας.

Πολὺ φυσικά, αἱ κυριώτεραι ἐνέργειαι τῆς ὀργανώσεως μέχρι σήμερον εἶχον ἐκπαιδευτικὸν χαρακτῆρα. Εἰς τὴν ἐπιτέλεσιν τοῦ σκοποῦ τούτου, ἡ ὀργάνωσις εἶχεν ἔλθει εἰς πολλὰς περιπτώσεις εἰς σύγκρουσιν μετὰ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ λόγου, ἐλευθερίας τοῦ τύπου, καὶ ἐλευθερίας συγκεντρώσεων.

Ἐὰν τὰ ὀνόματα ὅλων τῶν μελῶν τοῦ I. W. W., ἅτινα ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔχουν φυλακισθεῖ, ἐδημοσιεύοντο, θὰ ἀπετελεῖτο ἕνα πολὺ μεγάλο βιβλίο. Πλέον τῶν 1000 μελῶν ἐφυλακίσθησαν κατὰ τὴν ἐποχὴν τῶν ἀγώνων πρὸς ἐπικράτησιν τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ λόγου, ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν Ἀμερικήν. Περὶ τὰ 900 μέλη συνελήφθησαν κατὰ τὴν ἀπεργίαν τῶν ὑφαντουργῶν ἐν Lawrence τῆς Μασαχουσέτης τὸ 1912. Περὶ τὰ 100 μέλη ὀλίγον ἀργότερον εἰς τὸ Little Falls, N. Y. 1800 μέλη διαρκούσης τῆς ἀπεργίας τῶν ὑφαντουργῶν ἐν Patterson τῆς Νέας Ὑερσέης. 1164 μέλη ἀπήχθησαν καὶ βιαίως ἀπηλάθησαν ἀπὸ τὸ Bisbee τῆς Ἀριζόνας κατὰ τὸ 1918. Χιλιάδες μέλη τῆς Δυτικῆς Ἑνώσεως τῶν Ἀνθρακωρύχων ἐρρίφθησαν εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς, καθ' ἣν ἐποχὴν ἡ Ἕνωσις ἦτο προσκολλημένη εἰς τὸ I. W. W. Εἰς τὸ 1920 κατηρτίσθη μερικὸς κατάλογος τῶν μελῶν τὰ ὁποῖα ἐρρίφθησαν εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῦ μεγάλου πολέμου. Ὁ κατάλογος αὐτὸς περιλάμβανε 1327 ὀνόματα. Ἔκτοτε ἐκ τῶν μελῶν μας ἐξακολουθοῦν νὰ φυλακίζωνται, καὶ τώρα ὑπάρχουν περὶ τὰ 200 μέλη εἰς τὰς φυλακάς., μὲ ποινὰς ἀπὸ πέντε ἔτη καὶ ἄνω καὶ ὅλα ἐξ αἰτίας τῶν ἐνεργειῶν των ὡς μέλη τοῦ I. W. W. Ὁ ὁλικὸς ἀριθμὸς τῶν φυλακισθέντων μελῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ 1905 ἀνέρχεται εἰς 10,000 Οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐδολοφονήθησαν ἀπὸ τὰ ὄργανα τῆς κυριαρχούσης τάξεως.

Πολλὰ ἄλλα ἐγκλήματα εἰς μικροτέραν κλίμακα ἐγένοντο ἐναντίον τῶν μελῶν μας, εἴτε ἐξ' ὀνόματος τοῦ νόμου ἢ καὶ ἄνευ ἐπισήμου συγκαταθέσεως.

Μέλη τοῦ I. W. W. ἠλοίφθησαν μὲ πίσσαν, ἀπηλάθησαν, ἐδάρησαν, ἀφηρέθησαν τὰ πολιτικὰ των δικαιώματα, ἐξωρίσθησαν, κατεπατήθησαν τὰ σπίτια των, ἡρπάσθησαν αἱ περιουσίαι των, ἐστερήθησαν τοῦ δικαιώματος τῆς ὑπερασπίσεως, ἐτέθησαν ὑπὸ μεγάλας ἐγγυήσεις, ὑπεχρεώθησαν εἰς ἀκούσιον ὑπηρεσίαν, ἀπήχθησαν, ὑπεβλήθησαν εἰς ἀσυνήθεις καὶ σκληρὰς τιμωρίας, ἐτιμωρήθησαν διὰ προστίμου μεγάλου, ἀπέθανον εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς ἀναμένοντες τὴν δίκην των, ἔπαθον τὰς φρένας ἐξ αἰτίας βασανιστηρίων, ἐστε-

ρήθησαν τῆς χρησιμοποιήσεως τῶν ταχυδρομείων, τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ λόγου συγκεντρώσεων καὶ κάθε ἄλλου προνομίου ἠγγυημένου ὑπὸ τοῦ συντάγματος..

Μέλη τοῦ I. W. W. ἐστερήθησαν τῶν ἐνυπαρχόντων δικαιωμάτων, ἅτινα ἐπροκηρύχθησαν εἰς τὴν Προκήρυξιν τῆς Ἀνεξαρτησίας—ζωή, ἐλευθερία καὶ ἐπιδίωξις τῆς εὐτυχίας.

Αἴθουσαι καὶ γραφεῖα τοῦ I. W. W. ἐλεηλατήθησαν ἄνευ ἐνταλμάτων, σύμφωνα μὲ τὸν νόμον. Περιουσίαι, βιβλία, φυλλάδια, γραμματόσημα καὶ ἔπιπλα ἡρπάσθησαν ἢ κατεστράφησαν.

Εἶναι εὔκολον νὰ ἀντιληφθῇ κανεὶς ὅτι μόνον ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες θάρρους καὶ πεποιθήσεων, ἑκουσίως, γίνονται μέλη μιᾶς τοιαύτης ὀργανώσεως. Ἀλλ' οἱ περισσότεροι δὲν προσέρχονται ἑκουσίως. Ἐκεῖνο ποῦ τοὺς φέρει εἶναι ἡ πεῖνα, τὰ βάσανα, ἡ πενία, ἡ ἀθλιότης καὶ ἡ ἀπόγνωσις, ὅπως αἱ ὄχθαι τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρασύρονται ἀπὸ τὸν ταραχώδη ποταμὸν καὶ φέρονται πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν. Ὁ ταραχώδης ποταμὸς τοῦ καταρρέοντος κεφαλαιοκρατικοῦ συστήματος προμηθεύει τὰ μέλη τοῦ I. W. W.

Καὶ τοιουτοτρόπως ἡ φοβερὰ καταδίωξις, ὅπως ἐξαλειφθῇ καὶ καταπνιγῇ τὸ I. W. W. ἀπέτυχε. Ἀπ' ἐναντίας τὰ διδάγματά μας ἁπλώνονται παντοῦ σᾶν πυρκαϊά, καὶ οὔτε τὸ αἷμα οὐδὲ αἱ καταδιώξεις δύνανται νὰ τὰ σαρώσουν. Διὰ κάθε ἑκατὸν μέλη ποῦ ρίπτονται εἰς τὰς φυλακὰς δεκάδες χιλιάδων προβάλλουν καὶ ἑνοῦνται, ζητοκραυγάζοντα ἐκείνους οἱ ὁποῖοι μάχονται τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλόν.

Τὸ γεγονὸς αὐτὸ εἶναι ἀρκετὸν νὰ ἀποδείξῃ εἰς τὸν ἔξω κόσμον ὅτι ὑπάρχει μία μεγάλη φυσικὴ δύναμις ὄπισθεν τοῦ κινήματος, καὶ εἶναι τόσον παράλογον νὰ μᾶς καταδιώκουν, ὅσον ἦτο καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις τοῦ Ξέρξου, βασιλέως τῆς Περσίας, διατάσσοντος τοὺς στρατιώτας του νὰ ραβδώσουν καὶ ἁλυσσοδέσουν τὰ κύματα τοῦ Βοσπόρου, διὰ νὰ δυνηθῇ νὰ περάσῃ τὰ στρατεύματά του. Ἡ φυσικὴ αὕτη δύναμις—οἰκονομικὴ ἀνάγκη—δίδει εἰς τὸ κίνημά μας πνευματικὴν καὶ ἠθικὴν δύναμιν ποῦ οὔτε ἡ ἀγχόνη οὐδὲ αἱ φυλακίσεις δύνανται νὰ πνίξουν. Καὶ οἱ φανατικώτεροι τῶν ἀντιπάλων μας πρέπει νὰ ἀντιλαμβάνωνται, ὅτι μία ὀργάνωσις ἡ ὁποία ἐπέζησε κατόπιν ὅλων τῶν πιέσεων, πρέπει νὰ ἔχῃ ὄπισθέν της μίαν θεμελιώδη ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἀντὶ νὰ καταδιώκεται πρέπει νὰ ἐρευνᾶται. Ὁ λαός, παρ' ὅλον τὸν προσωπικὸν κίνδυνον ποῦ διατρέχει, ἀποδέχεται τὰς ἀρχάς μας, ὡς εὐαγγέλιον σωτηρίας. Αἱ θαυμάσιαι αὗται ἀρχαὶ ἀναφέρονται εἰς τὸν πρόλογον τοῦ καταστατικοῦ μας.

ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ
ΤΩΝ ΒΙΟΜΗΧΑΝΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΓΑΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ

Ἡ ἐργατικὴ τάξις καὶ ἡ ἐργοδότρια τάξις δὲν ἔχουν τίποτε τὸ κοινόν. Δὲν

εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ὑπάρξῃ εἰρήνη ἐφ' ὅσον ἡ πεῖνα καὶ ἡ στέρησις εὑρίσκονται μεταξὺ ἑκατομμυρίων ἐργαζομένων ἀνθρώπων, ἐνῶ ὀλίγοι, οἱ ἀποτελοῦντες τὴν ἐργοδότριαν τάξιν, ἔχουν ὅλα τὰ καλὰ τῆς ζωῆς.

Ἡ πάλη μεταξὺ τῶν δύο αὐτῶν τάξεων πρέπει νὰ ἐξακολουθήσῃ μέχρις ὅτου οἱ ἐργάται ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου ὀργανωθῶσιν ὡς τάξεις, καταλάβουν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰ μέσα τῆς παραγωγῆς καὶ ἐξαλείψουν τὸ μισθωτικὸν σύστημα.

Εὑρίσκομεν πῶς ἡ συγκέντρωσις τῶν βιομηχανιῶν ἀπὸ ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν, περιερχομένη εἰς ὀλιγωτέρας χείρας, καθιστᾷ τὰς ἐργατικὰς ἑνώσεις ἀνικάνους νὰ παραταχθῶσι εἰς τὴν καθημερινῶς αὐξάνουσαν ἰσχὺν τῆς ἐργοδοτρίας τάξεως. Αἱ ἐργατικαὶ ἑνώσεις ὑποστηρίζουν μίαν κατάστασιν πραγμάτων ἡ ὁποία ἐπιτρέπει τὸ ἀλληλοφάγωμα μεταξὺ τῶν ἐργατῶν τῆς ἰδίας βιομηχανίας Ἐπιπροσθέτως αἱ ἐργατικαὶ ἑνώσεις ἐπιβοηθοῦν τὴν ἐργοδότριαν τάξιν παραπλανοῦντες τοὺς ἐργάτας μὲ τὴν δοξασίαν, ὅτι ἡ ἐργατικὴ τάξις ἔχει κοινὰ τὰ συμφέροντα μετὰ τῆς ἐργοδοτρίας.

Ἡ κατάστασις αὐτὴ δύναται νὰ ἀλλάξῃ καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως ὑποστηριχθῶσι διὰ μιᾶς ὀργανώσεως σχηματιζομένης κατὰ τρόπον ποῦ ὅλα της τὰ μέλη εἰς μίαν βιομηχανίαν, ἢ εἰς ὅλας τὰς βιομηχανίας, ἐὰν εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον, παύσουν νὰ ἐργάζωνται ὁσάκις ἔχει κηρυχθεῖ ἀπεργία ἢ ἔχουν ἀποκλεισθεῖ εἰς ὁρισμένον κλάδον, ὁπότε ἡ ζημία τοῦ ἑνὸς εἶναι ζημία ὅλων.
Ἀντὶ τοῦ γνωστοῦ συντηρητικοῦ ρητοῦ, «Ἕνας καλὸς ἡμερήσιος μισθὸς εἰς ἀντάλλαγμα μιᾶς ἐργασίμου ἡμέρας,» εἰς τὴν ἐπαναστατικήν μας σημαίαν πρέπει νὰ ἀναγράψωμεν, «Κατάργησις τοῦ μισθωτικοῦ συστήματος.»

Εἶναι ἡ ἱστορικὴ ἀποστολὴ τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως νὰ καταργήσῃ τὸν κεφαλαιοκρατισμόν.

Ο ΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΤΟΥ I. W. W.

Σύμφωνα πρὸς τὴν προκήρυξιν αὐτὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν μας τὸ I. W. W. προτείνει τὴν ὀργάνωσιν ὅλων τῶν παραγωγικῶν ἀνθρωπίνων δυνάμεων εἰς τὴν χώραν ταύτην καὶ σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ εἰς ἄλλας χώρας, δηλαδή, ὅλων τῶν ἐργατῶν τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος, βιομηχανικῶς, εἰς Βιομηχανικὰς Ἑνώσεις, Κλάδους Βιομηχανικῶν Ἑνώσεων εἰς τὰ ἐργοστάσια, καὶ Βιομηχανικὰ Συμβούλια. Ἀργότερον θὰ ἀπαριθμήσωμεν τὰς κεντρικὰς διαιρέσεις τῆς νέας κοινωνίας, τὴν ὁποίαν προτείνομεν νὰ ὀργανώσωμεν.

Ἡ ἰδέα τῆς βιομηχανικῆς ὀργανώσεως ἐγεννήθη ὡς ἄρνησις καὶ ὡς ἀντίδρασις ἐναντίον τοῦ παλαιοῦ συστήματος ὀργανώσεως κατ' ἐπαγγέλματα. Ὁ σχηματισμὸς ἐπαγγελματικῶν ὀργανώσεων σημαίνει τὴν ὀργάνωσιν μονάδων ἐξ ἐκείνων ποῦ χρησιμοποιοῦν τὰ ἴδια ἐργαλεῖα, ξυλουργούς, χρωματιστάς, μηχανικοὺς κλπ. Καὶ οὕτως ἔχεις τόσα εἴδη ἑνώσεων ὅσα ἔχεις εἴδη ἐργαλείων. Ὁ τρόπος αὐτὸς τῆς ἑνώσεως χωρίζει τοὺς ἐργάτας εἰς μίαν βιομηχανίαν εἰς τόσας ἑνώσεις ὅσα εἶναι τὰ ἐπαγγέλματα καὶ

τοιουτοτρόπως κτίζει φράκτας μεταξὺ τῶν ἐργατῶν ποῦ ἐργάζονται εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν βιομηχανίαν, ἐνῶ ἔπρεπε νὰ τοὺς ἑνώνει.

Ἂς λάβωμεν ὡς παράδειγμα ἕνα Ἀμερικανικὸν Ναυπηγεῖον. Εἰς ναυπηγεῖον ὅπου κατασκευάζουν σιδηρᾶ πλοῖα, ὑπάρχουν περὶ τὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἐπαγγέλματα ποῦ ἀπασχολοῦνται.. Θὰ σᾶς ἀπαριθμήσωμεν μερικὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν. Ὑπάρχουν οἱ λεβητοποιοί, οἱ μηχανικοί, οἱ ἠλεκτρολόγοι, οἱ ὑδραυλικοί, οἱ ξυλουργοί, οἱ χρωματισταὶ καὶ οὕτω καθ' ἑξῆς. Σύμφωνα πρὸς τὸ ἐπαγγελματικὸν σχέδιον τῶν Ἑνώσεων θὰ ὑπάρχῃ χωριστὴ διεθνὴς ἕνωσις διὰ κάθε ἐπάγγελμα, οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσα σχέσιν μὲ τὰς ἄλλας. Μερικὰ ἀπὸ αὐτὰ τὰ ἐπαγγέλματα συνησπίσθησαν εἰς μίαν «Διεθνῆ», ἀλλὰ κατὰ κανόνα κάθε ναυπηγεῖον ἐν Ἀμερικῇ ἀριθμεῖ μεγάλον ἀριθμὸν τοιούτων ἐπαγγελματικῶν ἑνώσεων. Πολλάκις αἱ ἐπαγγελματικαὶ αὗται ἑνώσεις εἰς τὰ ναυπηγεῖα εὑρίσκονται εἰς διάστασιν μεταξύ των καὶ ὅταν αἱ δυσαρέσκειαι πληθυνθοῦν δὲν εἶναι ἀσύνηθες ἡ ἀπεργία ἑνὸς ἐπαγγέλματος, ὁπότε ἡ μία ἕνωσις γίνεται θῦμα τῶν ἄλλων ποῦ δὲν εὑρίσκονται ἐν ἀπεργίᾳ, ὡς ἀνεφέραμεν εἰς τὸν πρόλογόν μας. Ὅλοι ὅσοι ἔχουν ἐργασθεῖ εἰς Ἀμερικανικὰ ναυπηγεῖα δύνανται νὰ ὁμολογήσουν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν γραφομένων μας. Ὅτι συμβαίνει εἰς τὰ ναυπηγεῖα συμβαίνει εἰς ὅλας τὰς ἄλλας βιομηχανίας, ὀργανωμένας ἐπαγγελματικῶς: Αὐτὸ ἐγκαταλείπει τοὺς ἐργάτας εἰς τὴν εὐσπλαχνίαν τῶν ἐργοδοτῶν Ἐκεῖνο ἀκριβῶς ποῦ ζητεῖ ὁ ἐργοδότης εἶναι οἱ ἐπαγγελματικοὶ αὐτοὶ φράκτες, οἱ ὁποῖοι χωρίζουν εἰς πολλὰς ὁμάδας, ἀλληλοϋποπτευομένας, καὶ κρατοῦν τοὺς μισθοὺς χαμηλά, τὴν ἐργάσιμον ἡμέραν μακράν, καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ἀθλίας. Ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος δὲν θὰ εἰσέλθωμεν εἰς ἄλλα ἐλαττώματα τῆς ὀργανώσεως κατ' ἐπαγγέλματα. Ἀρκεῖ μόνον νὰ εἴπωμεν ὅτι τὸ I. W. W. ἐξεπήδησεν εἰς τὴν κονίστραν ὡς μία διαμαρτυρία κατὰ τῶν ἀνυποφόρων καὶ ἀκαταλογίστων αὐτῶν συνθηκῶν.

Ἐὰν προσθέσετε εἰς τοῦτο τὴν παντελῆ ἔλλειψιν ἰδεαλισμοῦ ποῦ χαρακτηρίζει τὰς ἐπαγγελματικὰς ἑνώσεις εἰς ὅλας τὰς χώρας, τὴν ἀποδοχήν των τοῦ κεφαλαιοκρατικοῦ συστήματος ὡς τὴν τελευταίαν λέξιν τῆς ἐξελίξεως, οὐδεμίαν παρέχουσαι ἐλπίδα διὰ τὸ μέλλον εἰς τοὺς ἐργάτας, τὴν τάσιν ποῦ ἔχουν νὰ δημιουργοῦν ἐργατικὰ τρῶστ ἀποκλείοντες μεγάλην μερίδα ἐργατῶν, καὶ τότε ἀντιλαμβάνεσθε τὸν σκοπὸν ποῦ ἐγράφη ὁ πρόλογος τοῦ καταστατικοῦ τῶν I. W. W.

Ὁ τρόπος μὲ τὸν ὁποῖον τὸ νέον αὐτὸ ἐργατικὸν κίνημα προτίθεται νὰ διορθώσῃ τὴν κατάστασιν εἶναι ἡ βιομηχανικὴ ὀργάνωσις, ὡς ἀνεφέρθη ἀνωτέρω.

Ἂς ἐπανέλθωμεν εἰς τὰ ναυπηγεῖα ὅπως ἀποδείξωμεν πῶς θὰ λειτουργῇ ἡ βιομηχανικὴ ὀργάνωσις. Τὸ πρῶτον πρᾶγμα ποῦ κάμνει τὸ I. W. W. ὅταν τοῦ δοθῇ εὐκαιρία, εἶναι νὰ κρημνίσῃ τοὺς ἐπαγγελματικοὺς φράκτας ποῦ χωρίζουν τὰ διάφορα ἐπαγγέλματα. Ἀφαιρεῖ τὴς κάρτες τῆς ἑνώσεως ἀπὸ τοὺς λεβητοποιούς, μηχανικούς, ὑδραυλικούς, ξυλουργούς, χρωματιστὰς κλπ. καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς. «Ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς δὲν θὰ εἶσθε χωρισμένοι εἰς λεβητοποιούς, μηχανικούς, ὑδραυλικούς, ξυλουργούς καὶ χρωματιστάς. Ἀπὸ τοῦδε θὰ εἶσθε ἡνωμένοι ὡς ἐργάται τῶν ναυπηγείων, ὅλοι, κάθε ἕνας ποῦ ἐργάζεται εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ναυπηγεῖον ἢ εἰς οἱονδήποτε ἄλλον. Ἀντὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν εἴκοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα ἑνώσεις εἰς αὐτὸ καὶ εἰς ἄλλα ναυπηγεῖα ἀπὸ τοῦδε καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς θὰ ἔχωμεν μίαν ἕνωσιν, «Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις τῶν Ναυπηγείων.» Ἕκαστον ναυπηγεῖον ἀποτελεῖ τμῆμα τῆς ἑνώσεως αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς τὸ τμῆμα τῆς ἑνώσεως αὐτῆς θὰ ἔχωμεν συμβούλια καὶ ἐπιτροπὰς ὅπως ἐπιτυγχάνουν τὴν συνεργασίαν μεταξὺ τῶν ἐργατῶν τῶν διαφόρων διαμερισμάτων τῶν ναυπηγείων.» Κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον ὅλοι οἱ ἐργάται τοῦ ναυπηγείου θὰ ἀποτελῶσι ἕνα σῶμα ἡνωμένον. Ὅλα τὰ ναυπηγεῖα τῆς χώρας, καὶ ἐν καιρῷ, τοῦ κόσμου, θὰ ἀποτελῶσι μίαν Βιομηχανικὴν Ἕνωσιν, καὶ οἱ ἐργάται τῆς βιομηχανίας ταύτης θὰ εἶναι ἡνωμένοι εἰς κοινὴν ἐνέργειαν. Θὰ ὑπάρχουν ἐπίσης Βιομηχανικὰ Συμβούλια δι' ἕκαστον ναυπηγιακὸν κέντρον. Κατόπιν τούτων δὲν θὰ συμβαίνῃ πλέον ὥστε μέρος τῶν ἐργατῶν νὰ παραμένῃ εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν, ἐνῶ ἄλλο εὑρίσκεται εἰς ἀπεργίαν. Ὅταν ἀπεργήσουν θὰ ἀπεργήσουν ὅλοι μαζὺ καὶ θὰ νικήσουν. Τοιαῦτα ἐπιχειρήματα προβάλλουν οἱ ὀπαδοὶ τῆς βιομηχανικῆς ἑνώσεως οἱ ὁποῖοι εἰς τὴν βιομηχανικὴν ἕνωσιν βλέπουν ἕνα μέσον πρὸς καταπολέμησιν τοῦ ἐργοδότου.

Ἀλλ' ὁ σκοπὸς τῆς Βιομηχανικῆς Ἑνώσεως εἶναι διπλοῦς

Ὁ πρῶτος σκοπὸς τῆς Βιομηχανικῆς Ἑνώσεως πρὸς τὸ παρὸν εἶναι ἡ ἐξυπηρέτησις τοῦ ἀγῶνος κατὰ τῆς κυριαρχούσης τάξεως πρὸς ἐξασφάλισιν μεγαλειτέρων μισθῶν, ὀλιγωτέρων ὡρῶν καὶ καλλιτέρων συνθηκῶν. Περισσότεραι ἐξηγήσεις δὲν ἀπαιτοῦνται ἐκτὸς ὁ ἰσχυρισμός μας ὅτι ἡ Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις ἐνώνουσα ὅλους τοὺς κλάδους εἰς ἕνα σῶμα εἶναι πολὺ καλλιτέρα δύναμις διὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχίαν τοῦ σκοποῦ ἀπὸ ὅτι αἱ ἐπαγγελματικαὶ ἑνώσεις δύνανται νὰ εἶναι, ἀφοῦ αὗται περιλαμβάνουν τὰ μέλη ἑνὸς ἐπαγγέλματος.

Ὁ δεύτερός μας σκοπὸς εἶναι ὅπως ἡ Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις χρησιμοποιηθῇ ὡς μέσον καταλήψεως τῶν βιομηχανιῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ λειτουργεῖ ὡς παραγωγικὸν καὶ διανεμικὸν ὄργανον

«ὅταν τὸ κεφαλαιοκρατικὸν σύστημα πέσει,» ἢ παύσει νὰ λειτουργῇ κανονικῶς, δηλαδὴ καταρρεύσει. Χαὶ ἀφοῦ ἡ κατάρρευσις ἐπίκειται ὁ δεύτερος σκοπὸς ἐπισκιάζει τὸν πρῶτον.

Η ΚΑΤΑΡΡΕΥΣΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΚΡΑΤΙΣΜΟΥ

Ἡμεῖς ἰσχυριζόμεθα ὅτι τὸ κεφαλαιοκρατικὸν σύστημα παραγωγῆς καὶ διανομῆς εὑρίσκεται εἰς τὸ σημεῖον τῆς καταρρεύσεως, εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, συμπεριλαμβανομένης καὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, καὶ ἀμφιβάλλομεν ἐὰν τὸ σύστημα θὰ κατορθώσῃ νὰ ὀρθοποδήσῃ ὡς ἔκαμε εἰς κάθε προηγουμένην κρίσιν. Τὰ παλαιὰ ὄργανα δὲν λειτουργοῦν. Ὁ κόσμος εὑρίσκεται εἰς κατάστασιν πτωχεύσεως. Φαίνεται πῶς δισεκατομμύρια δολλαρίων θὰ διαγραφῶσι σύντομα ἀπὸ τὰ βιβλία τοῦ κεφαλαιοκρατικῆς τάξεως τοῦ κόσμου ὡς ζημία καὶ γνωρίζομεν τὶ αὐτὸ σημαίνει εἰς ἐκείνους οἱ ὁποῖοι δὲν ἔχουν τί ποτε ἄλλον παρὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν των πρὸς πώλησιν.

Τὰ παλαιὰ ὄργανα τῆς παραγωγῆς, δηλαδή, ὁ ἰδιοκτήτης μὲ τὸ μικρόν του κατάστημα, ἡ μετοχικὴ ἑταιρεία, τὰ τρώστς,, οἱ συνδυασμοὶ τῶν τρώστς φαίνεται ὅτι δὲν εἶναι πλέον εἰς θέσιν νὰ ἐξυπηρετοῦν τὰς ἀνάγκας τοῦ κόσμου. Ἑκατοντάδες ἑκατομμυρίων ἀνθρώπων, εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, στεροῦνται καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν πρώτων ἀναγκῶν, διότι δὲν τοὺς δίδεται ἡ εὐκαιρία νὰ ἐκμεταλλευθοῦν τὴν γῆν ἢ τὰ ἐργοστάσια. Ἀπόγνωσις καταλαμβάνει μεγαλείτερον μέρος τῶν ἐργατῶν ἀπὸ ἡμέρας εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ ἀπειλοῦν τυφλὴν συντριβὴν τοῦ συστήματος. Εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον καὶ κυρίως εἰς τὴν Ἀμερικὴν ἔχομεν καθημερινῶς στάσεις, ταραχάς, φυλετικοὺς πολέμους, λίντσινγς, τρομοκρατίαν, μεγάλας ἀπεργίας κλπ. Ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀνέργων ὀγκοῦται. Ἡ πενία καὶ δυστυχία ὁδηγοῦν τὸν κόσμον εἰς τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν.

Ὅλα αὐτὰ τὰ κοινωνικὰ φαινόμενα εἶναι συμπτώματα τῆς ταχείας καταρρεύσεως τοῦ κεφαλαιοκρατισμοῦ. Ἡ πεποίθησις ἐπικρατεῖ, ὅτι ἐπίκειται ἡ τελικὴ πτῶσις, ὅταν διασαλευθοῦν αἱ πιστώσεις ἀνὰ τὸν κόσμον καὶ αἱ βιομηχανίαι συνεπῶς σταματήσουν. Αἱ τρομεραὶ αὐταὶ πιθανότητες δὲν ἀποκλείονται καὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ἀστικὸν ἀκόμη τύπον.

Ἡ οἰκονομικὴ αὐτὴ ἀβεβαιότης καὶ ἡ ἀνησυχία διὰ τὸ παρὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ μέλλον καθιστῶσι τὴν ζωὴν, εἰς ἑκατομμύρια ὁλόκληρα, ἀνυπόφερτον. Αἰσθάνονται ὅτι ἔχουν ὑποδουλωθεῖ, χωρὶς καμίαν ἐλπίδα διὰ τὸ μέλλον. Ἀὸ τὴν κατάστασιν αὐτὴν προκύπτει μία ἀνησυχία ἡ ὁποία κάμνει τοὺς ἐργοδότας νὰ χρησιμοποιοῦν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὅπως καταστέλουν τὰς διαμαρτυρίας. Εἰς πολλὰ μέρη ἡ παραγωγὴ γίνεται διὰ τῆς βίας, διὰ τῆς ἀπειλῆς τῶν πολυβόλων, δὲν ἀποκρύπτει δὲ ὁ ἡμερήσιος τύπος, ὅτι εἰς τὸ λίαν προσεχὲς μέλλον

βόμβαι ἀπὸ γκὰζ θὰ ἐξαποστέλωνται κατὰ ἐπαναστατησάσης πόλεως. Τὸ σύστημα δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ σταθῇ πλέον. Τὴν ζωήν του θὰ διατηρήσῃ μόνον διὰ τῆς βίας καὶ τῆς ἀπειλῆς.

Ὑπὸ τοιαύτας συνθήκας ἑκατομμύρια ἐργατῶν, βραδέως, ἀλλ' ἀσφαλῶς χάνονται, καὶ οἱ ὑπόλοιποι ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀπειλούμεθα μὲ τὴν ἰδίαν τύχην, ἐκτὸς ἂν ἐνεργήσωμεν συντόμως. Δὲν εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ ἀντέχωμεν εἰς τόσας δυστυχίας, κινδυνεύομεν δέ, ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ ἡ κατάρρευσις, νὰ εὑρεθῶμεν ἐκτεθειμένοι εἰς ἀνεκδιηγήτους κακουχίας. Χάος, διάλυσις, ἐμφύλιος σπαραγμός, τρομοκρατία, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἀπειλοῦν τὸν κόσμον. Τὶς δύναται νὰ μᾶς διαβεβαιώσῃ, ὅτι ἡ Ἀμερικὴ θὰ ἀποφύγῃ μίαν τοιαύτην κατάστασιν; Ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἡ κτηνωδία τῆς κεφαλαιοκρατικῆς τάξεως, ὁ μεγάλος ἀριθμὸς φυλῶν καὶ θρησκευμάτων, ἡ ἔχθρα κατὰ τῶν ξένων καὶ μαύρων, αἱ σατανικαὶ ἐνέργειαι τῶν ὑπερπατριωτῶν ὡς τὸ Ku-Klux Klan καὶ ἄλλαι παρόμοιαι ὀργανώσεις σπείρουν τὸν σπόρον τῆς διαλύσεως. Εἶναι καιρὸς ὅπως τὰ προβλεπτικὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως λάβουν τὰ μέτρα των διὰ νὰ ἀποσοβήσουν μίαν τοιαύτην κατάστασιν.

Ὑπὸ τοιαύτας συνθήκας τὸ I. W. W. δοκιμασθὲν καὶ καταδιωχθέν, παρουσιάζεται εἰς τὴν πρώτην γραμμὴν μὲ ἕνα πρόγραμμα παγκοσμίου σωτηρίας, τὸ μόνον πρόγραμμα ποῦ συνέλαβε ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς διὰ νὰ λύσῃ τὸ κοινωνικὸν πρόβλημα καὶ μᾶς ὁδηγήσῃ εἰς τὸν ἀσφαλῆ λιμένα τῆς εἰρήνης, εὐτυχίας καὶ εὐδαιμονίας.

Διὰ τῶν Βιομηχανικῶν μας Ἑνώσεων, προτείνομεν τὴν δημιουργίαν ἑνὸς συστήματος λογικοῦ, τὸ ὁποῖον νὰ παράγῃ καὶ διανέμῃ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῆς ζωῆς χωρὶς ἐκμετάλλευσιν μεταξὺ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Διατεινόμεθα, ὅτι μόνον ἐργατικαὶ ἑνώσεις εἰς κάθε ἵδρυμα εἶναι εἰς θέσιν νὰ κυβερνήσωσι τὸ ἵδρυμα. Μὲ ἄλλας λέξεις, θὰ ἀναπληρώσωμεν τὴν ἰδιοκτησίαν καὶ κατοχὴν μὲ κοινοκτημοσύνην, ἀντικαθιστῶντες τὸν κεφαλαιοκρατισμὸν διὰ τοῦ Βιομηχανικοῦ Κομμουνισμοῦ.

ΑΙ ΜΕΘΟΔΟΙ ΤΟΥ I. W. W.

Εἰς τὸ ζήτημα τῶν μεθόδων του τὸ I. W. W. ἔχει παρεννοηθεῖ καὶ δυσφημισθεῖ περισσότερον ἀπὸ ὅ,τιδήποτε ἄλλο. Ἡμεῖς προτιμῶμεν νὰ χαρακτηρίζωμεν τὰς μεθόδους μας ὡς Ἄμεσος Οἰκονομικὴ Δρᾶσις. Τὶ εἶναι;

Ὑπάρχει πολιτικὴ ἢ ἔμμεσος ἐνέργεια καὶ οἰκονομικὴ ἢ ἄμεσος ἐνέργεια.

Πολιτικὴ ἢ ἔμμεσος ἐνέργεια εἶναι ὁ τρόπος διὰ τοῦ ὁποίου οἱ ἐργάται προσπαθοῦν νὰ καταλάβουν τὰ κυβερνητικὰ ἡνία. Τοιαύτη ἐνέργεια δύναται νὰ συνίσταται ἀπὸ τὴν ψῆφον, πολιτικοπλοκίας καὶ πολιτικὴν ἐπανάστασιν. Αὐτοὶ εἶναι ὅλοι τρόποι πολι-

τικῆς δράσεως. Τὸ I. W. W. ἀπορρίπτει ὅλα αὐτὰ τὰ μέσα πρὸς ἐπίτευξιν τῶν ἀναφερθέντων σκοπῶν του.

Οἰκονομικὴ ἢ ἄμεσος δρᾶσις εἶναι ἡ ἐνέργεια ἐκείνη τὴν ὁποίαν χρησιμοποιοῦν οἱ ἐργάται ὁπότε ζητοῦν νὰ ἐπιτύχουν τοῦ σκοποῦ των καταλαμβάνοντες τὰ μέρη τῆς ἐργασίας των, τὰ ἐργοστάσια, τοὺς μύλους τὸ κατάστημα.

Ἄμεσος δρᾶσις εἶναι ἡ ἐνέργεια ἐκείνη ποῦ χρησιμοποιῆται παρὰ τῶν ἐργατῶν εἰς τὸ βιομηχανικὸν πεδίον.

Ἔμμεσος δρᾶσις εἶναι ἡ ἐνέργεια ποῦ χρησιμοποιῆται εἰς τὴν ἐκλογὴν ἀντιπροσώπων νὰ καλλιτερεύσουν τὴν θέσιν των.

Ὑπάρχουν ὁρισμένοι «ἐπαναστατικοὶ» πολιτικοί,—Δραστικοὶ Πολιτικοὶ—οἱ ὁποῖοι θέλουν νὰ χρησιμοποιήσουν τὰ οἰκονομικὰ ὄργανα, τὰς ἑνώσεις, ὡς ὅπλον διὰ νὰ ἀνοίξουν τὸν δρόμον τους πρὸς κατάληψιν τῶν κυβερνητικῶν κτιρίων. Τὸ I. W. W. οὐδὲν θέλει νὰ ἔχῃ τὸ κοινὸν εἰς τοια ας συναλλαγάς.

Ἡ διαφορὰ μεταξὺ ἀποτελεσματικῆς καὶ μὴ ἀποτελεσματικῆς οἰκονομικῆς ἀμέσου δράσεως ζωγραφίζεται καταλλήλως συγκρίνοντες τὸ I. W. W. μὲ τὰς ἐπαγγελματικὰς ἑνώσεις, ἐπὶ παραδείγματι εἰς τὸ Σικάγον. Οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ τοῦ I. W. W. σύμφωνα μὲ τὸ προγραμμά τους καὶ τὰς ὁδηγίας των, συνεχῶς καὶ συστηματικῶς ἐκφορτώνουν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ εὐθύνην, αἱ ὁποῖαι ἔχουν τὴν φυσικὴν ροπὴν νὰ πίπτουν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν, καὶ τὴν ρίπτουν μεταξὺ τῶν μελῶν ὥστε ἡ Ἄμεσος Δρᾶσις νὰ προέλθῃ ἐκ μέρους αὐτῶν. Οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ ὅμως τῶν ἐπαγγελματικῶν ἑνώσεων τοῦ Σικάγου, ἐξ ἄλλου, ὑποσκελίζουν τὴν γνώμην τῶν μελῶν καὶ εἰς πολλὰς περιπτώσεις γίνονται τσάροι τῶν ἑνώσεων των περιτριγυριζόμενοι ἀπὸ μάγγουροφόρους καὶ ὁπλοφόρους οἱ ὁποῖοι τρομοκρατοῦν τὰ μέλη. Ὅταν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἑνώσεων ζητοῦν νὰ ἐπιτύχουν τοῦ σκοποῦ των διὰ τοιούτων μεθόδων δὲν χρησιμοποιοῦν καταλλήλως τὴν ἄμεσον δρᾶσιν. Τὰ μέλη μένουν εἰς τὰ σπίτια τους, πληρώνοντα τοὺς τσάρους καὶ τὰ ὄργανά των τόσον κατὰ μήνα ὅπως ἐνεργοῦν δι' αὐτούς. Δυνατὸν νὰ ὑπάρχουν μερικαὶ ἐπαγγελματικαὶ ἑνώσεις εἰς τὰς ὁποίας νὰ μὴ ἐφαρμόζεται ἡ περιγραφὴ αὕτη, ἀλλὰ ὅλοι γνωρίζουν ὅτι ἐφαρμόζεται εἰς μεγάλον ἀριθμὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν.

Καὶ ὅταν ἀκόμη οἱ ἐπαγγελματικοὶ ἑνωτικοὶ ἀπεργοῦν—καὶ ἡ ἀπεργία εἶναι ἀναντιρρήτως μέσον ἀμέσου δράσεως—ἀκολουθοῦν ἁπλῶς ὁδηγίας. Ὅλοι ἔχουν ἀκούσει πῶς οἱ ἐργάται καλοῦνται νὰ «σταματήσουν» καὶ πῶς διατάσσονται νὰ «ἐπανέλθουν.» Ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ὁποῖοι διατάσσουν τοὺς ἐργάτας πότε νὰ ἀπεργοῦν καὶ πότε νὰ ἐπανέρχωνται εἶναι οἱ τσάροι, οἱ ροπαλοφόροι καὶ οἱ μπράβοι. Καὶ ὅταν ἀκόμη τὰ μέλη ψηφίζουν εὑρίσκονται ὑπὸ ἐπίβλεψιν. Οἱ ἀπεργοὶ εἶναι τὰ ὄργανα τῶν τσάρων.

Ὡς ἄρνησις καὶ ἀντίρρησις ἐναντίον τῶν μεθόδων τούτων τὸ I. W. W. διδάσκει τὸν ἰδικόν του τρόπον οἰκονομικῆς ἀμέσου ἐνεργείας. Ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ὅπως προτρέψωμεν τοὺς ἐργάτας εἰς προσωπικὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ συμμετοχὴν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα διὰ μίαν νέαν κοινωνίαν. Θέλομεν ὅπως οὗτοι κρατοῦν τὰ πράγματα εἰς τὰ χέρια τους καὶ εἶναι κυβερνῆται τῶν ζητημάτων των. Ἐὰν πράξουν τοῦτο τότε δὲν ἠμποροῦν νὰ σφάλλουν πολύ. Ἀλλὰ ἐὰν παραχωρήσητε τὴν τύχην σας εἰς τὰ χέρια ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, τότε εἶναι πολὺ πιθανὸν τὰ συμφέροντά σας νὰ προδοθῶσιν. Οἱ κρατοῦντες τὰς θέσεις πρέπει νὰ εἶναι ὑπάλληλοί των καὶ ὄχι κύριοί των.

Ἡ μέθοδός μας τῆς ἀμέσου δράσεως ρίπτει τὴν κυρίαν ἐνεργητικώτητα τῆς ἑνώσεως, ἐπὶ τῆς ἐργασίας, καὶ τοιουτοτρόπως ἑτοιμάζει τοὺς ἐργάτας διὰ τὸ ἔργον τῆς καταλήψεως τῶν βιομηχανιῶν. Ὁ ἐπαγγελματικὸς ἑνωτισμὸς ρίπτει τὴν ἐνεργητικότητα τῆς ἑνώσεως εἰς τὰ Γραφεῖα τῆς Ἑνώσεως.

Πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἄμεσος δρᾶσις εἰς τὸ I. W. W. ἔχει χαρακτῆρα ἐργατικῆς δράσεως καὶ στερεοποιήσεως. Ὅπουδήποτε ἐργάζονται μέλη τοῦ I. W. W. ὠργανώνουν πάντοτε ἕναν ἢ καὶ πλείονα ἐργατικοὺς ἀντιπροσώπους καὶ ἐργατικὴν ἐπιτροπήν. Κανονίζοντες οὕτω τὰ πράγματά των ἀρχίζουν νὰ ἐξασκοῦν ἐπιρροὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐργατῶν καὶ τῶν ἐργοδοτῶν των κατὰ χιλίους διαφόρους τρόπους ποῦ εἶναι ἀνοικτοὶ εἰς τὸν ἐργάτην ὁ ὁποῖος εἰλικρινῶς ποθεῖ τὴν καλλιτέρευσιν τῆς ἐργατικῆς τάξεως. Διὰ κοινῆς ἐνεργείας κατορθώνουν νὰ ἐλαττώνουν τὸ φορτίον τῶν ἐργατῶν καθιστῶντες τὴν ζωήν των ὑποφερτήν. Πρὶν τῆς ἐμφανίσεως τοῦ I. W. W. ἦτο σύνηθες οἱ πλανώδιοι ἐργάται νὰ ἐργάζωνται σύμφωνα μὲ τὰς ὀρέξεις τοῦ ἀφεντικοῦ. Τὸ I. W. W. ἠλάττωσε τὰς ἐργασίμους ὥρας εἰς τὴν γεωργίαν, ξυλείαν, μεταλεῖα καὶ ἄλλας βιομηχανίας. Διὰ τοῦ τρόπου αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀμέσου δράσεως, μὲ τὴν ὁποίαν οἱ ἀρχηγοὶ τοῦ I. W. W. δὲν ἔχουν τίποτε νὰ κάνουν, τὰ μέλη ἔχουν διαφυλάξει τὴν ζωήν των καὶ ἐκέρδισαν τὸ πρῶτον βῆμα ποῦ ὁδηγεῖ πρὸς τὴν δημιουργίαν μιᾶς νέας κοινωνίας.

Τὸ I. W. W. ἐξασκεῖ ἐπίσης ἐκεῖνο τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἀμέσου δράσεως γνωστὸν ὡς ἀπεργία καὶ μποϊκώτ, ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνοι ποῦ κηρύττουν τὴν ἀπεργίαν ἢ τὸν τερματισμὸν αὐτῆς εἶναι οἱ ἐργάται καὶ ὄχι οἱ ἀρχηγοί. Τὸ I. W. W. προτιμᾷ τὴν ἀπεργίαν ἐντὸς τῆς ἐργασίας ἀντὶ τῆς ἀπεργίας εὑρισκομένων τῶν ἐργατῶν ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐργασίας. Ἡ ἀπεργία ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐργασίας σύγκειται εἰς τὴν ἐλάττωσιν τῆς παραγωγῆς ὥστε νὰ ὑποχρεοῦται ὁ ἐργοδότης νὰ κάμῃ παραχωρήσεις. Τὰ μέλη τοῦ I. W. W. καταννοοῦν ὅτι ἡ ἀπεργία ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐργασίας καταλήγει, εἰς τὰς περισσοτέρας περιπτώσεις, εἰς μακροχρόνιον νηστείαν., ἐνῷ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ὁ ἐργοδότης συμπληρώνει τὰς ἐργασίας μὲ ἀνταπεργούς.

Αἱ βασικαὶ ἀρχαὶ τῆς ὀργανώσεως καθοδηγοῦν τοὺς ἐργάτας ὅπως προσπαθοῦν καὶ μένουν εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν των παρὰ νὰ τὴν ἐγκαταλείπουν. Αὐτὸ εἶναι σύμφωνον πρὸς τὸν τελικὸν σκοπὸν τοῦ I. W. W. ὁ ὁποῖος εἶναι ἡ ὀργάνωσις ἐντὸς τῆς ἐργασίας, ἡ κατάληψις τῶν μέσων τῆς παραγωγῆς καὶ χρησιμοποίησις τῆς ὀργανώσεως ὡς μέσου παραγωγῆς καὶ διανομῆς, ὅταν ἡ κεφαλαιοκρατικὴ μέθοδος ἔχει φθάσει εἰς τὸ ἀπροχώρητον. Καὶ ὅταν ἡ τελευταία ἀπεργία λάβει χώραν καὶ κερδισθεῖ τότε θὰ μείνωμεν εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν διὰ παντός.

ΒΙΟΜΗΧΑΝΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΧΕΙΡΗΣΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΧΕΙΡΗΣΙΣ

Αἱ σπουδαῖαι ἀλλαγαὶ εἰς τὸ οἰκονομικὸν κατασκεύασμα τῆς κοινωνίας, αἱ ὁποῖαι μᾶς ἐπιβάλλονται ὑπὸ τῆς κοινωνικῆς ἐξελίξεως ταχύτερον δυνάμεθα νὰ εἴπωμεν ἀπὸ ὅτι ἡμεῖς δυνάμεθα νὰ ἀποσύρωμεν τὸν ἑαυτόν μας ἀπὸ τὰ ἐρείπια τῆς παλαιᾶς κοινωνίας, φέρουν μαζύ των καὶ ἄλλας σπουδαίας ἀλλαγὰς εἰς τὸν κοινωνικὸν ὀργανισμόν.

Ἡμεῖς ἰσχυριζόμεθα ὅτι ἐν τῇ φύσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡ οἰκονομικὴ πτῶσις τοῦ κεφαλαιοκρατισμοῦ θὰ συνεπιφέρῃ καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν τοιαύτην. Αὐτὸ εἶναι σύμφωνον πρὸς τὴν ὑλιστικὴν θεωρίαν τῆς ἱστορίας, σύμφωνα πρὸς τὴν ὁποίαν ὅλα τὰ κοινωνικὰ ἰδρύματα ἔχουν τὴν ἀρχήν των εἰς τὸ οἰκονομικὸν κατασκεύασμα τῆς κοινωνίας.

Μόλις τὸ οἰκονομικὸν κατασκεύασμα πέσει θὰ πέσουν ἀναμφιβόλως καὶ αἱ κυβερνήσεις. Ἐὰν οἱ πολιτικο-διαχειρισταὶ δὲν προσαρμοσθοῦν πρὸς τὴν ἐπερχομένην οἰκονομικὴν μεταβολὴν τότε ἀναμφιβόλως θὰ πέσουν.

Ἡ πολιτικὴ πτῶσις θὰ ὀφείλεται ἐν μέρει εἰς τὴν ἔλλειψιν προσόδων. Ὅταν ἡ παραγωγὴ καὶ ἡ διανομὴ παύσουν, αἱ πρόσοδοι τῆς κυβερνήσεως ἀπὸ φόρους θὰ ἐλαττωθοῦν ἐπαισθητῶς. Καὶ εἰς μίαν κοινωνίαν ἀτομικῆς ἰδιοκτησίας ἡ κυβέρνησις χρειάζεται ταμεῖον ὅπως οἱαδήποτε ἄλλη βιομηχανικὴ ἢ ἐμπορικὴ ἐπιχείρησις. Ἐὰν δὲν ὑπάρχουν χρήματα τότε οἱ πολιτικοὶ καὶ κυβερνητικοὶ ὑπάλληλοι θὰ ὑποχρεωθοῦν νὰ κλείσουν τὰ διάφορα γραφεῖα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἂν ἀκόμη εἶχε μεγάλας ποσότητας χρυσοῦ, οὐδεμία κυβέρνησις στηριζομένη ἐπὶ τῆς ἀτομικῆς ἰδιοκτησίας δύναται νὰ σταθῇ ἐκεῖ ποῦ ἡ παραγωγὴ καὶ διανομὴ ὑπὸ τὸ σύστημα αὐτὸ κατέπεσε.

Ἔχοντες αὐτὴν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν δὲν ἀσχολούμεθα, ὡς ἐκ τούτου, εἰς ἐπιθέσεις κατὰ τῶν κυβερνήσεων αἱ ὁποῖαι ἐκλέγονται καλῇ τῇ

πίστει διὰ καθολικῆς ψηφοφορίας, ἀδιακρίτως πόσον μᾶς πιέζει. Ὁ σκγκάνει τὸ ὑλο ηνὰ ἔχουνὲ τὸ ὁποῖον τὸν κτυποῦν. Οἱ ἐργάται θη σις εἶναι τὸ ξύλοἀερισσοτέραν φρόνησιν τοῦ σκύλλου. Ἡ κυβέχώρας. Ἄφησε τὸ εἰς τὰ χέρια τῶν οἰκονομικῶν κυριάρχων κάθεν ὅπως ζητεῖ τὸ I. ξύλον καὶ στρέψου ἐναντίον τῶν κυριάρχων, ὑλοξας ΓπρεπεμαW. W. Οἱ ἐργάται τῆς Ρωσσίας, Σουηδίας καὶ ἕ δπνερίας ἔχουν στρίψει τὸ κυβερνητικὸν ξύλο καὶ δοκιμάζουν σοσιαλιστικὰς κυβερνήσεις. Ἀλλὰ τὸ σοσιαλιστικὸν ξύλο εἶναι τόσον κακὸ ὅσον καὶ τὸ κεφαλαιοκρατικό.

Ἡ κυβέρνησις εἶναι ἁπλῶς ἡ σκιὰ τοῦ ἐπικρατοῦντος οἰκονομικοῦ συστήματος καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲν κυνηγᾶμε τὴν σκιάν. Εἴμεθα εἰς ἀναζήτησιν τῆς οὐσίας ποῦ ρίπτει τὴν σκιὰν. Ὅταν ἡ οὐσία ζαρώσει καὶ σμικρυνθεῖ τότε καὶ ἡ σκιὰ θὰ ἐξαλειφθῇ.

Ἡ φιλοσοφία μας αὕτη δὲν ἀποκλείει τὰ μέλη τοῦ I. W. W. τοῦ δικαιώματος νὰ ψηφίζουν καὶ πολιτικῶς. Ἔχομεν τελείαν πολιτικὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀλλὰ δὲν πρέπει νὰ ἐπιζητοῦν νὰ ἀναμίξουν καὶ τὴν ὀργάνωσιν μας εἰς οἱανδήποτε πολιτικὴν μερίδα.

Ὡς ἀνεφέρομεν, ὅταν ἡ οἰκονομικὴ κατάπτωσις φθάσει εἰς τὸ σημεῖον ποῦ τὰ βάσανα τοῦ κόσμου θὰ εἶναι ἀνυπόφερτα, ὁ κόσμος τότε πρέπει νὰ ἔχῃ νέα ὄργανα μὲ τὰ ὁποῖα νὰ παράγῃ τροφήν, ἐνδυμασίαν καὶ στέγην, ἢ δ' ἄλλως θὰ ἐξαφανισθῇ. Ὅλος τότε ὁ κόσμος τῶν ἐπωφελῶς ἐργαζομένων ἀνθρώπων θὰ συνταχθῇ βιομηχανικῶς ἵνα ἡνωμένως ἐπαναφέρῃ τὴν τάξιν ἐκ τοῦ χάους καὶ σώσῃ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἀπὸ τὴν καταστροφήν. Τότε θὰ εἶναι ἀδύνατον νὰ συζητῶμεν διὰ τὴν ἐπαναφορὰν τοῦ κεφαλαιοκρατισμοῦ.

Ὁ κόσμος θὰ μάθῃ τότε ὅτι ὁ παλαιὸς τρόπος τῆς διαχειρήσεως τῶν πραγμάτων δὲν δύναται νὰ λειτουργήσῃ καὶ ὅτι θὰ εἶναι ἀνάγκη νὰ διαχειρισθῶμεν τὰ πράγματα βιομηχανικῶς καὶ ὄχι πολιτικῶς.

Δὲν ἐπιθυμοῦμεν πλέον νὰ κυβερνώμεθα ἀπὸ ἕνα μίγμα δικηγόρων καὶ δημοκοπικῶν ρητόρων. Οἱ πολῖται μιᾶς βιομηχανικῆς πολιτείας θέλουν νὰ ἐκλέγουν τὰς διαχειρήσεις μέσα ἀπὸ τὸ ἐργαστήριον τῆς βιομηχανίας., ἀπὸ τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐργασίας των, τὸ ἐπάγγελμά των, ὅ,τιδήποτε καὶ ἂν εἶναι. Ὅλοι θέλουν νὰ στείλουν τοὺς καλλιτέρους καὶ πλέον πεπειραμένους ἀνθρώπους των νὰ σχηματίσουν τὴν διαχείρησιν.. Κάθε κλάδος ἀνθρωπίνης ἐνεργείας θὰ ἀντιπροσωπεύεται εἰς τὴν διαχείρησιν ταύτην, ἐνῷ ἡ διαχείρησις τῶν πολιτικῶν κομμάτων σύγκειται ἀπὸ ἀκαταλλήλους ἀνθρώπους.. Εἶναι γεγονὸς πῶς οἱ περισσότεροι τῶν πολιτικῶν δὲν γνωρίζουν καμμίαν χρήσιμον ἐργασίαν.

Διὰ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ Βιομηχανικοῦ Προνομίου, τὸ ὁποῖον χορηγεῖ τὴν ψῆφον εἰς ὅλους τοὺς ἐπωφελεῖς ἐργάτας, διὰ τοῦ τρόπου

τῆς Βιομηχανικῆς Ἀντιπροσωπεύσεως, ἡ ὁποία μᾶς χορηγεῖ πεπειραμένους δημοσίους ὑπαλλήλους ἀπὸ κάθε κλάδον ἀνθρωπίνης ἐνεργείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ἀπορρεούσης Βιομηχανικῆς Διαχειρήσεως προσπαθοῦμεν νὰ συγκεντρώσωμεν ὅλας μας τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὰς μάζας τοῦ ἐργαζομένου λαοῦ, αἱ ὁποῖαι παράγουν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τῆς ζωῆς εἴτε διὰ τῆς χειρὸς εἴτε διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἵνα οὕτως μὴ καταστῇ δυνατὸν εἰς τὸ μέλλον νὰ περιπέσῃ πάλιν τὸ νέον σύστημα εἰς τὰς χείρας τῆς κυβερνώσης τάξεως.

Αὐτὸ εἶναι ἀκριβῶς ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον ἐννοοῦμεν ὅταν ὁμιλοῦμεν περὶ Βιομηχανικῆς Δημοκρατίας καὶ Βιομηχανικοῦ Κομμουνισμοῦ.

Τὸ Κατασκεύασμα τοῦ I. W. W.

Ὡς ἀνεφέραμεν ἄνωθι τὸ I. W. W. ἔχει πρὸς τὸ παρὸν 29 Βιομηχανικὰς Ἑνώσεις ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ. Μερικαὶ ἀπὸ τὰς Βιομηχανικὰς Ἑνώσεις εἶναι μικραὶ καὶ πρέπει νὰ λογίζωνται ὡς ἡ ἀπαρχή.

Παραθέτομεν τὸν κατάλογον τῶν Βιομηχανικῶν Ἑνώσεων.

ΤΜΗΜΑ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΣ—100

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Γεωργικῶν Ἐργατῶν Ἀριθ. 110
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Ξυλείας Ἀριθ. 120
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἁλιέων Ἀριθ. 130

ΤΜΗΜΑ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΕΙΩΝ—200

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Μεταλείων Ἀριθ. 210
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Γιανθρακωρύχων Ἀριθ. 220
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Πετρελαίων, Γκαζολίνης, κλπ. Ἀριθ. 230

ΤΜΗΜΑ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗΤΙΚΟΝ—300

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Γεφυροποιῶν, Σιδηροδρομικῶν Σηράγγων κλπ. Ἀριθ. 310.
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ναυπηγῶν Ἀριθ. 320
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Οἰκοδομῶν Ἀριθ. 330.

ΤΜΗΜΑ ΕΡΓΟΣΤΑΣΙΩΝ—400

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ὑφαντουργῶν καὶ Ραπτῶν Ἀριθ. 410.
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ξυλεργατῶν Ἀριθ.420.
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Χημικο-εργατῶν Ἀριθ. 430.
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Μηχανεργατῶν Ἀριθ. 440.
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Τυπογράφων Ἀριθ. 450.
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Συσκευαστῶν Τροφίμων Ἀριθ. 460.
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Δερματεργατῶν, Ἀριθ. 470.
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ὑλοεργατῶν, Ἀριθ. 480.

ΤΜΗΜΑ ΣΥΓΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ—500

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐκφωρτωτῶν Πλοίων, Ἀριθ. 510.
Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Σιδηροδραμικῶν, Ἀριθ. 520.

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Τηλεφώνου Τηλεγράφου καὶ Ἀσυρμάτου, Ἀριθ. 530.

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Συγκοινωνίας Δημοτικῶν Ἐπιχειρήσεων, Ἀριθ. 540.

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Ἀεροπλοΐας, Ἀριθ. 550

ΤΜΗΜΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΝ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΩΝ—600

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Ὑγιονομικοῦ Τμήματος, Ἀριθ. 610.

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Πάρκων καὶ Δημοσίων Ὁδῶν, Ἀριθ.620.

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Ἐκπαιδεύσεως, Ἀριθ. 630.

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Γενικῆς Διανομῆς, Ἀριθ. 640.

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Δημοτικῶν Ἔργων, Ἀριθ. 650

Βιομηχανικὴ Ἕνωσις Ἐργατῶν Διασκεδαστικῶν Κέντρων, Ἀριθ. 660.

Ὡς ἀνεφέραμεν ἄνωθι, αἱ Βιομηχανικαὶ αὗται Ἑνώσεις σύγκεινται ἀπὸ ἐργατικοὺς κλάδους. Ὅταν παρουσιασθῇ ἡ ἀνάγκη διαχειρήσεως πολλῶν βιομηχανικῶν ἑνώσεων θὰ ληφθῶσι τὰ δέοντα μέτρα. Τὰ «Νομοθετικὰ» σώματα τοῦ I. W. W. εἶναι, τὸ Γενικὸν Συνέδριον, τὸ Συνέδριον τῆς Βιομηχανικῆς Ἑνώσεως, τὸ Συνέδριον τῆς Βιομηχανικῆς Περιφερείας κλπ. Ἐὰν παρουσιάζεται ἀνάγκη καὶ ἄλλων νομοθετικῶν σωμάτων ταῦτα θέλουσι συσταθεῖ.

Τὸ Ἐκτελεστικὸν Σῶμα τοῦ I. W. W. εἶναι τὸ Γενικὸν Διοικητικὸν Συμβούλιον καὶ εἷς Γενικὸς Ταμίας-Γραμματεύς. Αἱ Βιομηχανικαὶ Ἑνώσεις ἔχουν ἕναν Ταμίαν-Γραμματέα καὶ Γενικὴν Ὀργανωτικὴν Ἐπιτροπήν.

Αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ σκελετὸς τῆς παραγωγικῆς καὶ διανεμητικῆς μηχανῆς τῆς νέας κοινωνίας ὡς ἐννοεῖται ἀπὸ τὸ I. W. W. καὶ τὴν μηχανὴν αὐτὴν ἐλπίζομεν νὰ καταστήσωμεν τὴν βιομηχανικὴν διαχείρησιν τοῦ μέλλοντος.

Ἐπιπροσθέτως ὑπάρχει ἀνάγκη διαχειριστῶν ὀργάνων γεωγραφικοῦ χαρακτῆρος, ὅπως ἀναλάβουν τὰ καθήκοντα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοπικῶν διαχειρήσεων ὁπότε αὗται θὰ παύσουν νὰ λειτουργοῦν ἱκανοποιητικῶς διὰ τὴν πλειονότητα τοῦ λαοῦ. Τὰ ὄργανα αὐτὰ θὰ ἐκλέγονται ἐπίσης διὰ τῆς βιομηχανικῆς ψήφου. Θὰ εἶναι βιομηχανικοῦ καὶ ὄχι πολιτικοῦ χαρακτῆρος. Τὰ βιομηχανικὰ αὐτὰ Συμβούλια θὰ εἶναι ἀνάλογα πρὸς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα Ἐργατικὰ Συμβούλια, τὰ Ρωσσικὰ Σοβιέτ, τὸ Γαλλικὸν Bureau du Travail, τὸ Ἰταλικὸν Camera di Lavoro, τὸ Σκανδιναβικὸν Lokal Samerganization.

Κατ' ἀρχὴν ἐννοεῖται τὸ I. W. W. ἀποφεύγει νὰ θέτῃ κανόνας τοὺς ὁποίους νὰ εἶναι ὑποχρεωμέναι αἱ ἐρχόμεναι γενεαὶ νὰ ἀκο-

λουθῶσιν. Προτιμῶμεν νὰ κάμνωμεν τὰ ὄργανα καθὼς προχωροῦμεν, συμμορφούμενοι μὲ τὴν οἰκονομικὴν πίεσιν παρὰ συμφωνοῦντες μὲ κανένα δόγμα ἢ αὐθεντικὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ὡς ὁ Σοσιαλισμός, Μπολσεβισμός, ἢ ἀναρχισμός. Τὸ I. W. W. περιλαμβάνει πολλὰ μέλη τὰ ὁποῖα ἀποκαλοῦν τὸν ἑαυτόν τους, σοσιαλιιστάς, μπολσεβίκους ἢ ἀναρχικούς, ἀλλὰ οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν δύναται νὰ καλέσῃ τὴν ὀργάνωσιν τέκνον του ἢ ὑπηρέτην του. Τὸ I. W. W. χαράσει δρόμον ἰδικόν του.

Συγγενεύομεν πρὸς τοὺς Εὐρωπαίους Συνδικαλιστάς, ὅσον ἐπιτρέπουν αἱ διάφοροι οἰκονομικαὶ συνθῆκαι, ἀλλὰ ἐὰν πρόκειται νὰ μᾶς δοθῇ ἕνα βραχὺ ὄνομα, καλέσατέ μας Βιομηχανικοὺς Κομμουνιστάς. Εἴμεθα προϊὸν τῶν οἰκονομικῶν συνθηκῶς τῆς τελειότερον βιομηχανικῶς προηγμένης χώρας τοῦ κόσμου, ἡ ὅλη μας ζωὴ εἶναι συνυφαμένη μὲ τὰς βιομηχανικὰς αὐτὰς ἐνεργείας, σκεπτόμεθα καὶ ἐνεργοῦμεν μὲ βιομηχανικοὺς ὅρους, ζητοῦμεν σωτηρίαν διὰ βιομηχανικῆς ὀργανώσεως. Εἴμεθα Κομμουνισταὶ Βιομήχανοι. Τὴν φιλοσοφίαν μας, τὰς ἀρχάς μας, τοὺς ἀντικειμενικούς μας σκοποὺς τὰς μεθόδους μας καὶ αὐτὸ ἀκόμη τὸ ὄνομά μας ἀρχίζουν νὰ ἀσπάζωνται σοσιαλισταί, μπολσεβῖκοι καὶ ἀναρχικοί. Ἐπὶ τῇ βάσει τῶν ἀρχῶν τούτων ἁπλώνομεν τὰς χείρας μας πέραν τῶν θαλασσῶν ἕτοιμοι νὰ ἑνωθῶμεν μὲ τοὺς συνδικαλιστὰς καὶ ἄλλας οἰκονομικὰς ὀργανώσεις εἰς μίαν ΔΙΕΘΝΗ ΒΙΟΜΗΧΑΝΙΚΗΝ, ἡ ὁποία θὰ εἶναι ἡ πραγματοποίησις τοῦ ὀνείρου τῶν ἱδρυτῶν τὸ ὁποῖον τοὺς ἔκαμε νὰ ἐκλέξωσι τὸ ὄνομα«Βιομηχανικοὶ Ἐργάται τοῦ Κόσμου.»

ΤΟ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΟΝ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥ I. W. W.

Ὅσον σπουδαῖα καὶ ἂν εἶναι τὰ κατορθώματα τοῦ I. W. W. εἰς τὸ βιομηχανικὸν πεδίον ἡ κυρίως ἐργασία του ὑπῆρξεν ἐκπαιδευτική. Αἱ προσπάθειαι αὗται ἀνέδειξαν τὸ I. W. W. εἰς διεθνὲς κίνημα. Ἀτυχῶς τὸ I. W. W. πρὸς τὸ παρὸν εὑρίσκεται εἰς θέσιν νὰ χορηγῇ τὴν στοιχειώδη βιομηχανικὴν ἐκπαίδευσιν Ἡ ἀνάγκη εἶναι διὰ γενικὴν καλλιτέραν ἐκπαίδευσιν. Ἡ στατιστικὴ δεικνύει ὅτι οἱ ἀγράμματοι ἐν Ἀμερικῇ ἀποτελοῦν πολὺ μεγάλον ἀριθμόν. Οἱ ἀγράμματοι δὲν παρουσιάζονται μόνον μεταξὺ τῶν μαύρων καὶ τῶν ξένων ἀλλὰ καὶ μεταξὺ τῶν ἰθαγενῶν λευκῶν. Ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀγραμμάτων λευκῶν εἰς μερικὰς περιφερείας εἶναι ἀνώτερος ἀπὸ ὅ,τι ὑποτίθεται. Καὶ οἱ ἀγράμματοι οὗτοι εὑρίσκονται μεταξὺ τῶν ἐργατῶν μόνον.. Ἀμέσως κατόπιν τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἀγραμμάτων ἔρχεται μία μεγάλη τάξις ποῦ ἔχει μόνον τὰ πρῶτα στοιχεῖα τῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως, ἀδυνατοῦσα νὰ ἀνέλθῃ τὴν οἰ-

κονομικὴν κλίμακα. Μόλις 10 ἑκατομμύρια ἀπὸ τὰ σαράντα ἑκατομμύρια ἐργατῶν κατορθώνει νὰ φθάνῃ ὁ γραπτὸς λόγος. Οἱ ὑπόλοιποι εἶναι ἀδιάφοροι ἢ ἀπρόσιτοι, λόγῳ τῆς ἀμαθείας των καὶ ἀγραμματωσύνης.

Εἰς πόσον ἀθλίαν κατάστασιν εὑρίσκονται τὰ ἐκπαιδευτικὰ πράγματα ἀποδεικνύεται ἀπὸ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν τοῦ πολέμου. Οἱ ψυχολόγοι ποῦ ἐξήτασαν 1.7000,000 στρατιώτας ἀπεφάνθησαν ἐπισήμως, ὅτι ὁ μέσος ὅρος τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀναπτύξεως τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἦτο παιδὸς δεκατριῶν ἐτῶν. Ὀλιγώτερον τοῦ ἑνὸς τρίτου εἶναι ὑπεράνω αὐτῆς τῆς ἀναλογίας καὶ μόλις 4 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑκατὸν εἶναι ἀνωτέρας πνευματικῆς ἀναπτύξεως.

Αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀριθμοὶ εἶναι ἕνα γεναῖον κτύπημα δι' ἐκείνους ποῦ ὁμιλοῦν περὶ τῆς «Δικτατορίας τοῦ Προλεταριάτου.» Ἕνας ἀπὸ τοὺς λόχους ποῦ ἡ ὀργάνωσίς μας μετὰ δυσκολίας ἀνοίγει τὸν δρόμον εἶναι ἡ ἀθλία αὐτὴ κατάστασις τῶν πραγμάτων. Αἱ ἐπαγγελματικαὶ ἑνώσεις εἶναι πολλάκις μία σπεῖρα, μὲ ἐπικεφαλῆς ἕναν τσάρον ποῦ τὰ ξέρει ὅλα, ἐνῷ τὰ μέλη δὲν ἔχουν νὰ γνωρίζουν τίποτε ἄλλο παρὰ νὰ πληρώνουν τὰς συνδρομάς των. Μὲ τὸ I. W. W. τὰ πράγματα ἔχουν διαφορετικά. Διὰ νὰ συλλάβῃ κανεὶς τὴν σπουδαιότητα του καὶ παγκόσμιον ἀκτίνα του, ἀπαιτεῖται νὰ ἔχῃ καλλιεργημένον τὸν νοῦν, μὲ διανοητικότητα ἀνωτέραν τῆς τῶν δέκα τριῶν ἐτῶν στατιστικῆς. Συνεπῶς ἡ ἄγνοια εἶναι τὸ μεγαλείτερον ἐμπόδιον τὸ ὁποῖον ἔχομεν νὰ ὑπερπηδήσωμεν, περισσότερον καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν διώξεων τοῦ κεφαλαιοκρατισμοῦ. Οἱ κεφαλαιοκράται γνωρίζουν τὶ πράττουν, ὅταν ἀρνοῦνται νὰ οἰκοδομήσουν σχολεῖα.

Ὁ ἀγράμματος ἐργάτης εἶναι τόσον ἐπικίνδυνος εἰς τὰς βλέψεις τῶν ἐργατῶν κατὰ τὰς δοκιμαστικὰς αὐτὰς στιγμὰς ὅσον εἶναι ἕνας πάσχων ἀπὸ εὐλογίαν ἢ βουβονικὴν πανώλην. Δι'αὐτὸν τὸν λόγον συνιστῶμεν εἰς τοὺς ἀγραμμάτους ἐργάτας νὰ διδάξωσι ἄνθρωπον εἶναι ἀδύνατον νὰ παρουσιάσῃς οἱανδήποτε σαφῆ δήλωσιν ἐπὶ οἱουδήποτε θέματος, αἱ δὲ γνῶμαι του ἐπὶ τῶν μεγάλων ζητημάτων εἶναι παντελῶς ἄχρηστοι. Δὲν γνωρίζει τίποτε περισσότερον ἀπὸ ὅ,τι ἔρχεται εἰς ἐπικοινωνίαν. Πνευματικῶς εἶναι τυφλός, πλὴν ὅμως ἐξακολουθεῖ νὰ εἶναι ὁμοιοπαθής. Ὅ,τι εἴπομεν διὰ τὸν ἀγράμματον ἐφαρμόζεται καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἡμιμαθεῖς, τοὺς δυναμένους νὰ ἀναγινώσκουν ἀλλὰ ἀνικάνους νὰ χωνέψουν τίποτε ἀνώτερον ἀπὸ τὰ σκάνδαλα τοῦ κιτρίνου τύπου.

Ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τῆς συλλήψεώς του τὸ I. W. W. ἔχει θέσει ὑπεράνω τῆς ἐπικεφαλίδος τοῦ ἐπισήμου του ὀργάνου τὰς λέξεις, «ἐκπαίδευσις, ὀργάνωσις, ἀπολύτρωσις.» Πρὶν ἀπολυτρωθῶμεν πρέπει πρωτίστως νὰ ἐκπαιδευθῶμεν καὶ ὀργανωθῶμεν.

Ἐὰν ὁ κόσμος θέλει εἰρηνικὴν τὴν ἐξέλιξιν τότε πρέπει νὰ οἰκοδομηθῶσι καὶ ἄλλα σχολεῖα. Ἐὰν ζητοῦν καταστροφὴν τότε πρέπει νὰ κλείσουν τὴς πόρτες τῶν σχολείων. Ἀντὶ νὰ καταστέλλεται τὸ ἐργατικὸν κίνημα διὰ φυλακίσεων καὶ μυδραλλιοβόλων, ἐκπαιδεύσατέ τους ὥστε νὰ δυνηθοῦν νὰ λύσουν τὸ κοινωνικὸν πρόβλημα εἰρηνικῶς. Ἐκτὸς ἐὰν οἱ ἐργάται μας ἔχουσιν ἀποκτήσει γενικὴν ἐκπαίδευσιν, μέγα μέρος τῆς βιομηχανικῆς μας ἐκπαιδεύσεως πίπτει ἐπὶ ἀγόνου ἐδάφους., ἢ θὰ εἶναι τοιαύτης φύσεως ὥστε νὰ ἐπιβοηθῇ ὀλίγον εἰς τὴν καταννόησιν τῶν μεγάλων προβλημάτων τῆς ἡμέρας, προβλήματα τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι πολύπλοκα καὶ διὰ ἀνθρώπους ἀνωτέρας μορφώσεως. Ἐν τούτοις, ὑπάρχει ὀλίγη ἐλπὶς διὰ καλλιτέρευσιν. εἰς τὰ ἐκπαιδευτικὰ μέσα, ἐκτὸς ἐὰν οἱ διδάσκαλοι ὀργανωθῶσιν εἰς μίαν μεγάλην ἕνωσιν καὶ θέσουν τὴν δύναμίν των ὄπισθεν ἑνὸς γενικοῦ προγράμματος, μὲ εἰδικὴν κατεύθυνσιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱστορίας, οἰκονομικῶν καὶ ἐξελίξεως εἰς τὰς διαφόρους αὐτῶν φάσεις. Τὰ μέλη τοῦ I. W. W. κατὰ τὰ παρελθόντα ἔτη ἔχουν δώσει χιλιάδας διαλέξεων καὶ διένειμον δεκάδας ἑκατομμυρίων προγραμμάτων, βιβλίων, βιβλιαρίων, ἐφημερίδων καί ἄλλων ἔργων Μέχρι τοῦδε ἡ ὀργάνωσις δὲν κατώρθωσε νὰ εἰδικεύσῃ τὴν ἐκπαίδευσιν ἐπὶ ἀνωτέρας βιομηχανικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως, εὑρίσκονται ὅμως ἐπί τινα χρόνον διάφορα σχέδια ὑπὸ μελέτην διὰ τὴν ἵδρυσιν μονίμου «Bureau Βιομηχανικῆς Ἐρεύνης» διὰ νὰ πραγματεύεται τὴν μελέτην μιᾶς ἑκάστης βιομηχανίας καὶ προβαίνει εἰς τὴν ἐκτύπωσιν Βιομηχανικῶν Ἐγχειριδίων καλυπτόντων ὅλον τὸ βιομηχανικὸν ἔδαφος. Μία τοιαύτη σειρὰ βιβλίων θὰ καταρτίσῃ τοὺς ἐργάτας ὥστε νὰ εἶναι εἰς θέσιν, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ χρόνος, νὰ καταλάβουν καὶ διευθύνουν ἐπιτυχῶς τὰς διαφόρους βιομηχανίας. Τὸ σχέδιον αὐτὸ θὰ πραγματοποιηθῇ εἰς τὸ μέλλον. Ὁ ἀναγνώστης δύναται νὰ ἀποταθῇ διὰ κατάλογον βιβλίων ἐὰν ἐπιθυμῇ νὰ ἔχῃ περισσοτέρας πληροφορίας.

Τὸ I. W. W. ἐκδίδει πλέον τῶν δώδεκα ἐφημερίδων καὶ περιοδικῶν καὶ ἕκαστος δύναται νὰ γράψῃ εἰς τὸν Γραμματέα τῆς Ἑνώσεως καὶ λάβει τά βιβλία ποῦ ἐπιθυμεῖ.

ΤΟ ΗΘΙΚΟΝ ΜΕΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ I. W. W.

Ὁ πρόλογος τοῦ I. W. W. εἶναι φαινομενικῶς οἰκονομικὸν ἔγγραφον, ἀλλὰ ἐὰν σκεφθῆτε πρὸς στιγμὴν θὰ παραδεχθῆτε πῶς εἶναι ἕνα ἔγγραφον «ἐλπίδος, πίστεως καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης,» μία ἐλπὶς διὰ τελικὴν δικαιοσύνην, πίστιν εἰς τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα καὶ ἀμοιβαίαν ἐλεημοσύνην. «Κάθε κακὸν προσγινόμενον εἰς ἕναν, εἶναι κακὸν δι' ὅλους,» λέγει ἡ προκήρυξις τῶν ἀρχῶν μας καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι ὁ μόνος χρυσοῦς αἰὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργατικῆς ἀπόψεως. Ἡ μα-

γικὴ δύναμις τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μας δὲν ἔγκειται εἰς τὰ ὑλικὰ πλεονεκτήματα ποῦ δίδει τὸ πρόγραμμά μας. Χιλιάδες ἀνθρώπων δὲν θὰ ἐφυλακίζοντο χάριν ὀλίγων δολλαρίων. Τὸ γεγονὸς εἶναι ὅτι ἡ Προκήρυξις τῶν ἀρχῶν μας εἶναι ἕνα ἀπὸ τὰ δυνατώτερα ἠθικὰ ἔγγραφα τῶν αἰώνων. Μάλιστα, εἰς πολλοὺς τὸ I. W. W. εἶναι θρησκεία. Τοὺς προσέφερε «σωτηρίαν,» πνευματικὴν γαλήνην καὶ ἐλπίδα διὰ τὸ μέλλον.

Ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖον μᾶς κρατεῖ ἡνωμένους ὑπὸ τὴν φοβερὰν αὐτὴν πίεσιν δὲν εἶναι ἡ οἰκονομικὴ ἀνάγκη τῆς ὑπάρξεως τῆς ἑνώσεως, ἀλλὰ ἡ ἐλπὶς καὶ ἡ ἔμπνευσις ἡ ὁποία ἀπορρέει ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἑνότητος καὶ παγκοσμίου ἀδελφότητος, τὰ ὁποῖα εἶναι ἡ βάσις τῶν ἀρχῶν μας. Ὁ σημερινὸς κόσμος ἔχει ἐξαντληθεῖ πνευματικῶς καὶ ψυχικῶς εἰς τὴν κόλασιν αὐτὴν τῆς σημερινῆς κοινωνίας.Θέλουν νὰ βλέπουν κάτι καλλίτερον διὰ τὸ μέλλον, ἂν ὄχι διὰ τὸν ἑαυτόν τους, τοὐλάχιστον διὰ τὰς ἐπερχομένας γενεάς. Ζητοῦν πνευματικὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν, ἢ σωτηρίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς καλεῖται, ἀπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτωλὸν, ἀκά αρτον καὶ ἄδικον ζωὴν τῆς κεφαλαιοκρατικῆς κοινωνίας. Ζητο ν εἰρήνην, ἀγνότητα, δικαιοσύνην, ἀγάπην καὶ εὐτυχίαν, καὶ αἰσθάνονται πῶς ηὗραν τὸν κατάλληλον τρόπον ὅταν γίνωνται μέλη τοῦ I. W. W. Τὰ αἰσθήματα, αἱ ἰδέαι αἱ ἠθικαὶ ἀρχαί εὐκόλως διακρινόμεναι μέσῳ τῶν γραμμῶν τοῦ Προλόγου τοῦ I. W. W. ἔχουν γίνει ἡ ἄθικτος θρησκεία τῶν πτωχῶν, καὶ τοὺς συγκρατεῖ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ μεγάλων περιπετειῶν, χωρὶς νὰ ἀποβάλλουν ἐλπίδα. Ἡ θρησκεία αὕτη τοὺς ἐνισχύει νὰ διάγωσι καλὴν ζωήν τοὺς καθιστᾶ ἰσχυροὺς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἰσχυρῶν καὶ συμπαθητικοὺς πρὸς τοὺς ἀδυνάτους καὶ ἀνυπερασπίστους. Εἶναι τὸ εὐεργετικὸς φῶς ποῦ τοὺς ὁδηγεῖ διὰ μέσου τῆς ζωῆς.

ΟΙ ΑΝΕΡΓΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ I. W. W.

Χιλιάδες ἀνέργων θὰ ἀναγνώσουν τὴν δήλωσιν αὐτὴν τῶν ἀρχῶν. ἀντικειμενικῶν σκοπῶν καὶ μεθόδων τοῦ I. W. W. Ἡ ὑπερχειλίζουσα σκέψις εἰς τὸν νοῦν σας, τὸ φάσμα ποῦ σὲ καταδιώκει ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα καὶ προηγεῖται πάσης ἄλλης σκέψεως εἶναι ἡ ἐξεύρεσις ἐργασίας, ὥστε νὰ ἐξασφαλίζεται ἡ τορφή, ὕπνος καὶ ἐνδυμασία, χωρὶς νὰ καταφεύγῃς εἰς τὴν ἀστυνομίαν ἢ φιλανθρωπικὰ σωματεῖα. Εἶναι πολὺ πιθανὸν νὰ παραβλέψῃς τὴν δήλωσιν αὐτὴν λέγων:«Αὐτὸ δὲν εἶναι διάγγελμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀνέργους, ὁμιλεῖ μόνον δι' ἐκείνους οἵτινες ἐργάζονται. Βιομηχανικὴ ὀργάνωσις δὲν μὲ ἐνδιαφέρει, ἐκτὸς ἐὰν ὁ κόσμος μοῦ δώσει ἐργασίαν, καὶ ἡ δήλωσις αὐτὴ δὲν λέγει πῶς. Ἡ θρησκεία τοῦ I. W. W. δὲν εἶναι καλλιτέρα διὰ κενὸν στόμαχον ἀπὸ ὅ,τι εἶναι αἱ ἄλλαι θρησκεῖαι.

Ἐκείνη ποῦ θὰ μοῦ περισώσῃ τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν ἀ-

ξίζει περισσότερον ἀπὸ ἐκείνην ποῦ μοῦ ὑπόσχεται τὸν οὐράνιον παράδεισον.»

Ἀπηλπισμένε ἐργάτα! Πολὺ πιθανὸν αἱ προηγηθεῖσαι γραμμαὶ νὰ σὲ ἐβοήθησαν νὰ ἀναμετρήσῃς τὴν σοβαρότητα τῆς καταστάσεως, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς κακοτυχίας σου. Πιθανὸν νὰ σοῦ ἔδωσαν μίαν νέαν ὄψιν τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡ ὁποία σὲ ἐνεδυνάμωσε ἀτομικῶς εἰς τοιοῦτον βαθμὸν, ὥστε νὰ ἔχῃς νέον θάρρος πρὸς τὴν ζωήν. Πιθανὸν ἡ ἐπισκόπησις αὐτὴ τῆς παγκοσμίου καταστάσεως νὰ σὲ κατέστησε ἱκανὸν ἀτομικῶς νὰ εὕρῃς ἐργασίαν. Ἐλπίζομεν ὅτι θὰ κάμῃς μίαν ἀκόμη γιγαντιαίαν προσπάθειαν νὰ εὕρῃς τὴν ἐργασίαν ποῦ σοῦ ταιριάζει διὰ νὰ ζῇς χωρὶς νὰ ζητιανεύῃς, κλέπτῃς ἢ ἀπευθύνεσαι εἰς τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν. Ἡ ἀνεργία ἔχει χτυπήσει τὸ I. W. W. περισσότερον πάσης ἄλλης ἐργατικῆς ὁμάδος. Οἱ δρόμοι τῶν πόλεών μας εἶναι γεμάτοι ἀπὸ ἀνέργους, πένητας καὶ νηστικοὺς ἐργάτας μὲ κάρτες τοῦ I. W. W. εἰς τὴν τσέπην τους, τοὺς ὁποίους δὲν δυνάμεθα νὰ βοηθήσωμεν. Τὸ I.W.W.δὲν ἔχει ἀποταμιευματα ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὰ χρήματα ποῦ ἐλάμβανε ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐργάτας αὐτοὺς ὅταν ἠργάζοντο, ἢ ἀπὸ τὰ ἤδη ἐργαζόμενα μέλη καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτὰ χρησιμοποιοῦνται κατόπιν ἀποφάσεως τούτων, δι' ἐκπαίδευσιν καὶ ὀργάνωσιν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνακούφισιν ἑκατοντάδων φυλακισμένων.

Τὸ γεγονὸς εἶναι πῶς τὸ I• W. W. ὁμολογεῖ εἰλικρινῶς ὅτι δὲν γνωρίζει κανέναν τρόπον πρὸς ἀνακούφισιν τῶν ἀνέρ ;ων ἐκτὸς τῆς πλήρους ἐφαρμογῆς τοῦ προγράμματος τῶν I. W. W. Αὐτὸ θὰ ἐξαλείψῃ τὴν ἀνεργίαν διὰ παντός. Ὄχι μόνον θὰ δώσῃ ἐργασίαν εἰς τοὺς ἀνέργους, ἀλλὰ θὰ βάλῃ εἰς ἐργασίαν καὶ ἐκείνους ποῦ εἶναι ἀφορμὴ τῆς σημερινῆς του κακοδαιμονίας.

Δὲν ἔχομεν συνεπῶς νὰ κάμωμεν καμίαν ἀπολογίαν εἰς τοὺς ἀνέργους. Θὰ σᾶς εἴπωμεν τὴν καθαρὰν ἀλήθειαν. Εἶσθε θῦμα τοῦ καταρρέοντος κεφαλαιοκρατισμοῦ. Σᾶς προβάλλεται τὸ μεγάλο ἐρώτημα: Ὁ καιφαλαιοκρατισμὸς εὑρισκόμενος κατὰ γῆς καὶ ἀσθμαίνων θὰ ἀναζήσῃ, ἢ θὰ ἐξακολουθήσῃ νὰ καταρρέῃ; Ἐὰν ἡ ἐργασίες καλλιτερεύσουν προσωρινῶς θὰ ἔχῃς τὴν εὐκαιρίαν νὰ εὕρῃς ἐργασίαν καὶ τότε ἐλπίζομεν ὅτι δὲν θὰ παραλείψῃς νὰ ἐγγραφῇς εἰς τὸ I. W. W. διὰ νὰ ἐξαφανισθῇ ἡ ἀνεργία.

Ὁ σκοπὸς τοῦ κεφαλαιοκρατισμοῦ εἶναι νὰ σύρῃ τὴν κουρτίνα πέριξ τῆς δυστυχίας σου διὰ νὰ μὴ ἐπικοινωνῇς μὲ τοὺς ἀνέργους συντρόφους σου Ἐὰν τὰ ἑκατομμύρια ἐργατῶν συνήρχοντο καὶ συνεννοοῦντο ποτὲ δὲν θὰ ἐπέτρεπον εἰς τὸν ἑαυτόν τους νὰ εἶναι διαρκῶς πενόμενοι. Θὰ ἀπεφάσιζον νὰ ἀπαιτήσουν ἀπὸ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἐργασίαν καὶ ζωὴν μὲ τοιοῦτον τόνον ὥστε κἄποια ἀνακούφισις θὰ ἐπετυγχάνετο. Διότι ὑπάρχουν ἀρκετὰ κεφάλαια νὰ δη-

μιουργηθοῦν ἐργασίαι. Πολὺ σύντομα θὰ συγκεντρώσωμεν ὅλον τὸν χρυσὸν τοῦ κόσμου ἐδῶ. Τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ βίου ὑπάρχουν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ ἐὰν διενέμοντο καταλλήλως.

Ἐπὶ σειρὰν ἐτῶν τὸ I. W. W. ἔχει εἰς τὸ προγραμμά του τὴν ἐλάττωσιν τῆς ἐργασίμου ἡμέρας ὡς θεραπείαν κατὰ τῆς ἀνεργίας, ἀλλὰ ἡ φωνή μας δὲν εἰσηκούσθη. Οἱ ἐπαγγελματικοὶ ἐργάται ἐργάζονται σκληρότερον διὰ νὰ διατηρήσουν τὰς ἐργασίας των, ἀδιαφοροῦντες διὰ τοὺς ἀνέργους. Οἱ ἐργοδόται δὲν αἰσθάνονται τὰς δυστυχίας σας. Ἀπ' ἐναντίας εὐχαριστοῦνται, διότι τοιουτοτρόπως στραγγαλίζουν ἐκείνους τῶν ἐργατῶν ποῦμ ισθώνουν. Κανεὶς δὲν ἐνδιαφέρεται γιὰ σένα. Πολλοὶ ὁμιλοῦν περὶ θεραπείας τῆς καταστάσεως ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ γίνεται πρὸς χαροποίησιν τῶν ἀνέργων καὶ διὰ νὰ κερδίζουν χρόνον.

Ἐπαναλαμβάνομεν ὅτι εὑρίσκεσθε εἰς στενόχωρον θέσιν. Τὸ I. W. W. δὲν ἠδυνήθη νὰ ἐπιβληθῇ εἰς τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν ἀρχὴν νὰ ἐλαττώσουν τὴν ἐργάσιμον ἡμέραν ὡς καὶ ἀκόμη δὲν ἠμποροῦμεν νὰ ἐφαρμώσουμε τὸ προγραμμά μας. Ἔξω ἀπὸ τὰς φάλαγγάς μας δὲν ὑπάρχουν εἰλικρινεῖς φίλοι σας. Κανεὶς δὲν δύναται νὰ σὲ σώσῃ ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὸν ἑαυτόν σου.

Οἱ ἄνεργοι πρέπει νὰ συνέλθουν καὶ δημιουργήσουν τόσον θόρυβον εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὥστε νὰ προκαλέσουν τὴν προσοχὴν τοῦ κόσμου. Μόνον ὅταν δημιουργήσουν δημόσιον ζήτημα εἰς κάθε πόλιν θὰ σπάσουν τὴν σιγὴν τοῦ τύπου καὶ προκαλέσουν ἐνδιαφέρον. Μόνον ὁ φόβος κοινωνικῆς ἀνατροπῆς θὰ ἐξαναγκάσῃ τοὺς ἐργοδότας ἰδιώτας ἢ κυβερνητικοὺς, νὰ συναθροισθῶσι καὶ ἐξεύρουν τὰ μέσα καὶ τοὺς τρόπους.

Ἐὰν ἀκόμη δύνασθε νὰ στέκεσθε στὰ πόδια σας, κάμετε συναθροίσεις καὶ ἐπιδείξεις, χωρὶς νὰ συγκρούεσθε μὲ τὸν «νόμον καὶ τὴν τάξιν.» Οὐδεμία σταγὼν αἵματος πρέπει νὰ ἐπιτραπῇ νὰ χυθῇ. Τοιαῦτα παρατολμήματα δύνανται νὰ ἀποσοβηθοῦν, ἐὰν ἐκδιώκετε τοὺς προβοκατέρς. Ἀναμφιβόλως οἱ ἐργοδόται θὰ ἔχουν τοὺς μισθωτούς των μεταξύ σας δημιουργοῦντας ταραχὰς καὶ παραβλάπτοντας τὸν σκοπόν σας, ἀλλὰ ὑποσκελίσατέ τους. Παρουσιασατέ τους ὀνομαστικῶς εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὸν τύπον. Ὅλα αὐτὰ θὰ ἀπαιτήσουν χρόνον καὶ χρήματα. Χρόνον ἔχετε περισσόν. Χρήματα θὰ λάβετε ἀπὸ τοὺς ἐργοδότας ἐὰν τοὺς ἀποδείξετε ὅτι εἶσθε ἀποφασισμένοι.

Μὴ ἀποκρύπτεις τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι εἶσε ἄνευ ἐργασίας. Ἀπ' ἐναντίας, θὰ ἦτο καλὸν διὰ τοὺς ἀνέργους νὰ φέρουν πινακίδας ἐπὶ τῆς ὠμοπλάτης των μὲ τὰς λέξεις, «ΠΡΟΣ ΜΙΣΘΩΣΙΝ». Ἐὰν οἱ δρόμοι εἶχον πλημμυρίσῃ μὲ τοιαύτας πινακίδας θὰ ἐπροκαλεῖτο ἡ προσοχὴ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον θὰ ἦτο εὔκολον

νὰ διακρίνετε τοὺς ἀνέργους καὶ συσσωματώνεσθε διὰ κοινὴν ἐνέργειαν. Τοιαῦτα μέτρα δυνατὸν νὰ μὴ ἐπιφέρουν ἀνακούφισιν ἐντὸς 24 ὡρῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντως θὰ φέρουν ἀποτελέσματα.

Ἀλλὰ πάλιν, ὅταν πάρῃς ἐργασίαν, τότε σοῦ δίδετε ἡ εὐκαιρία νὰ λάβῃς τὰ μέτρα σου ὥστε νὰ μὴ συμβῇ πάλιν. Ὀργανωθῆτε βιομηχανικῶς εἰς τέτοιους μεγάλους ἀριθμοὺς ὥστε νὰ εἶσθε ἱκανοί, μὲ τὴν ὀργανωμένην σας δύναμιν, νὰ ἐλαττώσετε τὴν ἐργάσιμον ἡμέραν εἰς τόσας ὥρας ὥστε νὰ χορηγηθῇ ἐργασία εἰς ὅλους τοὺς ἀνέργους. Αὐτὸ θὰ μᾶς ἀνακουφίσῃ κἄπως μέχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ποῦ θὰ καταλάβωμεν τὰς ἐργασίας καὶ θέσωμεν τέρμα εἰς τὴν ἀνεργίαν.

Κυττάξατε ὥστε οἱ ἄνεργοι νὰ λαμβάνουν τόσην δημοσιότητα ὅσον εἶναι δυνατὸν νὰ δημιουργηθῇ, ἀλλὰ μακρὰν ἀπὸ τὰς φυλακὰς καὶ τὰ νοσοκομεῖα.

Αὐτὴ εἶναι ἡ καλλιτέρα συμβουλὴ ποῦ δυνάμεθα νὰ σᾶς σώδωμεν. Καὶ μὴ λησμονῆτε νὰ ἐγγραφῆτε εἰς τὸ I. W. W. μὲ τὴν πρώτην εὐκαιρίαν.

Διὰ περισσοτέρας πληροφορίας περὶ τοῦ I. W. W. καὶ βιβλίων ἢ ἐφημερίδων, γράψατε:

General Secretary Treasurer, I. W. W.
1001 W. Madison Street
Chicago, Illinois



10c

ÁLTALÁNOS SZTRÁJK

AZ IPARI SZABADSÁGÉRT

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A magán tulajdon megszüntetéséért, az Ipari Demokrácia megvalósitásáért folyó harcában a munkásosztály legbiztosabb fegyvere az ÁLTALÁNOS SZTRÁJK. Használta és használja a munkásság a munkabeszüntetés eszközét sérelmeinek orvoslására. Eredménye a benne résztvevők összetartásától függ. Az IWW Egy Nagy Szervezete ezt a megértést tanitja, gyüjtő helye a munkások gazdasági felszabadulási törekvésének, hogy az ÁLTALÁNOS SZTRÁJKkal a világ munkássága megszüntesse a bérrendszert.

E füzet célja a munkások szervezetlen tömegeit is megnyerni a szervezkedés szükségessége gondolatának, hogy az ÁLTALÁNOS SZTRÁJK igénybevételével megvivhassuk utolsó harcunkat a rendszer megváltoztatására.

A "Bérmunkás" lapbizottsága.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

Általános Sztrájk

Ezer meg ezer gondolkodó és osztálytudatos munkás vallja már hosszu évek óta azon meggyőződést, hogy az Általános Sztrájk a legalkalmasabb eszköz a bérrabszolgaság megszüntetésére. Bátran állitjuk, hogy az események meggyőző ereje folytán, nézetük szilárdabb mint valaha. S amint halad az idő, az évek során mind jobban szélesedik a tábor, mely rendithetetlen bizalommal és szilárd meggyőződéssel, egyedül és kizárólag vallja, hogy a kapitalizmus által az emberiségre zuditott kinszenvedéstől és megaláztatástól, csak Általános Sztrájkkal szabadulhatunk és vethetünk véget a háborunak, valamint a nyomukban járó borzalmaknak és embertelen elnyomatásnak.

Az Általános Sztrájk, a munkásmozgalom szülöttje. A munkások ösztönszerü ellentállásának megnyilatkozása a társadalommal szemben, melynek alapja, a termelő eszközök magántulajdon rendszerén nyugszik. A munkásság végső elhatározása az osztályharc megtestesitésére, de egyszersmind válasz adás a munkásosztály részéről a gazdasági összeomlás problémájának megoldására.

Másszóval, az Általános Sztrájk, széles e világon a népmilliók csatakiáltása, harci riadója, logikus állásfoglalása mindazoknak akik inkább megmenteni szeretnék a modern és magasan fejlett ipari társadalmat a helyett, hogy tétlenül nézzék, amint kháoszba sülyedve, vissza esni készül primitiv állapotába, ahonnan évezredek óta, csak lassan fejlődött fel.

Az Általános Sztrájk gondolata, nem muló tünemény: maradandó, mert a géptermelési rendszer tökéletesedő folyamata: A koncentrált iparizálódás szülte és fejlesztette Mint ilyen, a kapitalizmus állandó vetélytársaként közöttünk marad mindaddig, amig a termelés menete profiton alapszik.

Miért Az Álatlános Sztrájk?

Ma már, minden értelmes embernek felismernie kell, hogy társadalmi rendszerünkben melyben élünk, alapos

mélyen szántó bajok vannak. Mindenki el is ismeri: kivéve azokat, akik e rendszernek haszonélvezői, akiknek kivételével, nagy általánosságban mindenki, megegyezik abban, hogy tenni kellene valamit. Az ám a legnagyobb baj, hogy a bajokat elismerő népek — amint látszik — a közös program és az általános cselekvés mikéntjében nem tudnak megállapodni. Némelyek belenyugodnak a boldogtalanságba és olyan lemondóan, olyan szeliden türik, mintha csak egy nemesebb ügyért viselnék a szenvedés keresztjét, mások meg elmélkednek, minden eredmény nélkül vitatkoznak, de vajmi keveset csinálnak; és vannak olyanok, akik a keserüség hangján tiltakozva, vakon cselekszenek. Csaknem valamennyien egy irányban törtetve, egymást tiporva próbálnak kimenekülni anélkül, hogy törekvésük biztos célját tisztán látnák, avagy ismernék. Ha tekintetbe vesszük a sajtót és mindazon eszközöket, melyekkel a jelen rendszer urai mételyezik és félrevezetik a népet, ugy a jelen állapotokon alligha csodálkozhatunk.

Tartsunk tehát egy rövid szemlét és dióhéjban állapitsuk meg, hogy mit mondanak és milyen álláspontra helyezkednek a népek a tarthatalan helyzetben, melybe a társadalom sodorta őket. Az egyik csoport imigy okoskodik: "Legyünk csak türelemmel és várjuk be amig a közvélemény nyomása alatt bekövetkezik a változás, vagy legalábbis a viszonyok valamelyes javulása". A másik csoport meg imigyen beszél: "Mivel általános választói joggal rendelkezünk politikai szavazás utján teremtsük meg a szükséges változást. Van még egy másik csoport akik meg azt állitják, hogy: "Már nem várhatunk tovább. Csak a forradalom..... fegyveres felkelés segithet".

Ezen csoportok, a különböző nézeteikre való tekintet nélkül, olyan emberekből — férfiak és nőkből — valók, akik valamelyes formában gondolkoztak a kérdések felett. Éppen ezért elismerést érdemelnek, amiért kivezető utat keresnek és megoldani próbálják a problémát. Nem fontos tehát ez esetben, hogy mennyire tévednek, hanem inkább azt kell mérlegelnünk, hogy mégis csak kiutat keresnek és törekvésük oda irányul, hogy a világot olyanná tegyék, melyben érdemes embernek élni. Elég sajnos az, hogy a széles néprétegek még idáig sem jutottak el. A nagytöbbség bambán bámul és szenved, mintha képtelen volna megérteni és felfogni, ami vele és körülötte történik. Csak ugy, mint évszá-

zadokon keresztül: élnek mint rabszolgák, vagy pusztulnak, mint ketrecbe zárt barmok anélkül, hogy szervezkedni mernének és elseperni próbálnák a rendszert, mely összeroppantja. összemorzsolja őket. És ami még mindettől roszszabb, a szó szoros értelmében, hagyják magukat félrevezetni olyannyira, hogy ők képezik e rendszer támaszát.

Gazdasági Betegség — Gazdasági Orvoslás.

Van egy másik az előbb emlitett csoportoknál is fontosabb csoport, mely az osztály-tudatra ébredt munkásosztály álláspontját képviseli. E csoportnak a jelen rendszerrel szembeni álláspontja változhatatlan, módszereiben és célkitüzéseiben, nem osztja nézetét a többiekkel. E csoport a bérrendszeren felépült, profit-termelési rend züllő folyamatának közepette, minden más véleménnyel szemben azt valja, hogy: a közvélemény, a politikai szavazás és a fegyveres felkelés, igen jámbor: bizonytalan és tulságosan tudománytalan eszközök s mint ilyenek, e roppant nagy teljesitmény végrehajtásához alkalmatlanok. Ezen csoport, az előbbiektől eltérően azt hirdeti, hogy a világ termelő hadseregének, valamint az iparokban alkalmazott irányitó (vezető) erőknek Átalános Sztrájkjával lehet és kell véget vetni a kapitalista rendszernek, hogy azt a tudományos indusztrializmus alapján felépitett ipari demokráciával helyettesitsék.

Az Általános Sztrájk mellett érvelők csökönyös, de egyben nagyon is ésszerü osztály-álláspontja, azon meggyőződésen alapszik, hogy: az uralkodó osztály, az ő hatalmáról, nálánál gyöngébb erő előtt lemondani soha sem fog és igy bárgyuság volna csak gondolni is arra, hogy a közvéleménynek, a politikai szavazásnak, vagy akár a fegyveres felkelésnek olyan szabad folyást engedjen, mely hatalmi pozicióját érdemlegesen veszélyeztetheti. Továbbá, szilárd meggyőződéssel vallják, hogy kizárólag és csak egyedül a Munkásság hivatott és képes a kháoszban vergődő világ megmentésére az átalakulás korszakában. Mert: ha a jelen rendszerben az árutermelés müvelete a fegyelmezett termelő osztály szolidaritásától függ — és ez kétségbe vonhatatlan — akkor világos, hogy e szolidaritással lehet a termelést megállitani a régi rendszerben viszont ez képesitheti a termelés megindulását az ujban is.

A Közvélemény.

Ezen szemszögből birálva, az Általános Sztrájk a Mun-

kásság reménye; de egyben az egész emberiségé is. Mert e módszerhez való bizodalom még akkor is teret fog hóditani, amikor már minden más elveszitette a hitelét. S ha igaz — aminthogy sokan ilyennek is vallják — hogy a gazdasági egyenlőtlenséget, csak is gazdasági egyenlőséggel lehet kiegyenliteni egy modern társadalomban, akkor az Általános Sztrájk szerepe és fontossága, minden elmult nappal nyilvánvalóbbá vállik. A szükségszerüség egyenesen megköveteli hogy a minden javak termeléséhez, előállitásához szükséges gépeket a társadalom köztulajdonába és a köz demokratikus irányitása alá helyezzük. Ezt ma már egyaránt elismerik, ugy a technikusok, mint a közgazdászok és az osztálytudatos munkások. Valamennyien megegyeznek abban, hogy változtatásra van szükség. És amennyiben mégis vannak nézeteltérések, azok csupán a módozatok és eszközök mikéntjében lelhetők fel. De mindezt tekintetbe véve az Általános Sztrájk programja oly nagy fontossággal bir, hogy a vele való komoly foglalkozást mellőzni nem lehet.

Voltaképpen arról van tehát szó, hogy olyan erő, mely kevesebb lehetőségeket helyez kilátásba, mint amilyent az Általános Sztrájk biztosit, kétes kilátásoknak néz elébe. Elvégre a közvélemény Amerikában sem jelent egyebet—még a legjobb esetben sem—mint legfeljebb annyit, hogy egy inteligensebb kisebbség méltatlankodását, vagy rosszalását regisztrálja. Legrosszabb esetben pedig — a Mindenkori Hatalom birtokosai — bárkik is azok, ugy számolnak vele mint csőcselék-lázadással, tömeg-hisztériával, amit előre látással és hideg számitással akarat szerint irányithatnak, adhatnak vehetnek piaci áron azok, akik a kellő alkalmat felismerve a legtöbbet igérik. Az olyan közvélemény, mely figyelmen kivül hagyja az osztályharcban felölelt alapigazságokat inkább nevezhető képmutatásnak, mint közvéleménynek. Itt bátran megjegyezhetjük, hogy e megállapitás ráillik a liberálisokra. Ugyan mi bizonyithatná képletesebben a liberálisok farizeuskodását, mint a gyönge sirám mellyel egy felforgatott társadalomban békéért siránkoznak anélkül, hogy a társadalom megváltoztatását kivánnák; anélkül, hogy osztálykülönbségeket a két osztály közötti kérhetetlen megalkuvás nélküli harcot meglátnák, nem is beszélve arról, hogy ők legjobban fájlalják, hogy a középosztály helyzete melyhez tulajdonképpen tartoznak, reménytelen.

Foltozgatók (Reformerek).

Az osztályharc ismerete, az emberiség történetének kulcsa, mely nélkül, a társadalom fejlődésmenetét megismerni és a társadalmi tudomány mérőerejével lemérni meddő próbálkozás, aminthogy nélküle, minden más társadalmi kérdés ismerhetősége is homályban marad. Mennyivel tisztább és minden félreértést kizáró az Industrial Workers of the World álláspontja, melyet elvinyilatkozatában imigyen juttat kifejezésre: "A Munkás osztály és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között és az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll".

A reformerek főcélja, hogy a történelmi hivatását betöltő kapitalista rendszer repedéseit dugaszolják, hogy a rohadó részeit foltozgassák.

Meglátni, vagy megérteni, képtelenek a társadalmi fejlődés egy olyan folyamatát, melyet a gazdasági törvényszerüség kényszerit a társadalomra — a fejlődés folytonosságának egymásba kapcsolódását fokról fokra a szerint amint azt a gazdasági viszonyok vas-törvénye megkivánja. Ezek az őskorba illő Uriemberek éppen azt hitték volna a rabszolgaság vagy a jobbágyság rendszerében, mint amit a kapitalista rendszer felől tartanak: hogy állandó, hogy változhatatlan, hogy előre elkészitett felsőségtől leadott terv és sugallatok szerint készült és a történelem bonckésével érintenünk nem szabad. Szerintük a bőség és nyomor nem egy könnyen megmagyarázható és orvosolható társadalmi egyenlőtlenségből, társadalmi igazságtalanságból fakadó társadalmi kérdés, hanem az emberi élet egyszerü viszonya. A munkaerő takaritás és a profitot növelő gépek feltalálása, amint ök mondják, nem a fejlődés folyamatában keresendő, hanem azt szeretnék elhitetni, hogy az egész, csupán a véletlenség müve. Gyermekes meglepetést szinlelnek, ha valakik kételkedni mernek és kétségbe vonják, mintha nekik szabadalmuk volna a föld és természeti kincsek monopóliumához. Még irók, költők, szerkesztők és professzorok közül is akadnak sokan, akik az ilyen hajmeresztő képzeletükben őket támogatják. Az I.W.W. erre vonatkozó állásfoglalása, tudományos volta mellett döntő csapásokat mér az ilyen okoskodásra. "E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai, mint osztály szervez-

kednek, birtokukba veszik a földet a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert".

Ravaszkodó Politikusok.

Nagyon kevés meggyőző erővel bir a politikusok azon okoskodása, mellyel a termelő gépezetek lefoglalását magyarázzák. Csak a legnaivabb politikai gondolkodásuak hihetik el, hogy a szavazással, avagy a törvények módositásával a hatalmas érdekeltségeket rávehetik, hogy a magántulajdon jogáról és a termelő eszközök birtoklásáról lemondjanak. Éppen ilyen abszurdum még csak elgondolni is, avagy elvárni, hogy az az osztály, mely vérrel festette meg a történelem lapjait a megszámlálhatatlan munkásharcokban (kiket egyébbként gyülölnek) hogy csupán azért fog lemondani a hatalmáról, mert azt a választók követelik. Az Egyesült Államok parazita osztályától addig nem várhatjuk hatalmukról való lemondásukat, amig olyan erőt nem teremtünk, mely annál az erőnél sokkal hatalmasabb, mint amilyen felett ők rendelkeznek. Ennél kevesebbre ők fittyet hánynak.

Minden valószinüség arra vall, különösképpen, ha a mult tapasztalatait figyelembe vesszük, hogy a szavazás körül felépitett okoskodás csak addig mozoghat szük keretei között, amig nem lépi át a neki szabott teret. Ellen esetben, akik adták, bármikor vissza is vonhatják. Még ha az állandóan esedékesnek látszó fascista diktatura bevezetésének lehetőségei el is mulnának, akkor sincs semmi oka egy olyan feltevésnek, hogy valaha is átadják hatalmukat a gazdagok a szegények osztályának csak azért, mert igy szavaztak.

Lázadozó Fenegyerekek.

A fegyveres felkelést hirdetők programja olyan, vagy legalább is annyi oldalról birálható, mint más politikai akció. Mert elsősorban, az átlagos munkás nem csak, hogy nem rendelkezik fegyverrel, de azok használatában sem bir gyakorlattal. Tizenkét repülőgép képes egy város teljes elpusztitására. Tehát valószinütlen, hogy egy-egy ilyen város állig felfegyverzett munkássága az igy felszerelt kapitalista bérencekkel a legcsekélyebb ellenállásra képes lenne. A modern háboru technikája hasznavehetetlenné tette a puskát a kézigránátokat, de még a gépfegyevereket is. Ezek puszta összenhasolitása a tankokkal, mérges gázokkal, repülögépekkel és nehéz tüzérséggel, mind ezt igazolja. A fegyve-

res felkelés hirdetése egy végzetes félrevezetést jelent, mert azt a tévhitet kelti a munkásságban, hogy egy modern ipari államban ugyan azon harcieszközök alkalmazhatók, mint egy fejlődésben elmaradt országban. Milyen eshetőség volna Amerikában a szervezetlen tömegeknek arra, hogy a jól szervezett és felfegyverzett tőkés hadsereget legyürje. Különöskép akkor, ha tekintetbe vesszük azon állandó veszélyt, melyet a fanatikusok és spiclik aknamunkája eredményezhet.

Azért is tévedés a fegyveres felkelés hirdetése, mert a hivek politikai gondolkodása és tréningje inkább az állam hatalom sem mint az iparok lefoglalását vonná maga után. A politikusok képtelenek megérteni az ipari gondolkodást. Nem képesek felismerni az ipari termelés menetét, legkevésbé értenek az iparok irányitásához. Egy olyan országban, mint az Egyesült Államok, melynek 48 állama többszáz ország és városháza van a washingtoni országház mellett, melynek valamennyie erősen védelmezett: a problémák ilyként való megoldása mellett, hogy komplikált, ugyszolván reménytelen is. A legrosszabb esetben, a fegyveres felkelésnek megkisérlése tömegmészárlásokat eredményezhetnek, a legjobb esetben pedig egy ostoba bürokráciának és még egy ennél is ostobább, kegyetlen diktátorság bevezetését vonhatná maga után. Sokkal valószinübb tehát, hogy sem a politikai elvtársak szavazó cédulái, sem pedig a lázadósdit játszók golyóinak nem fog jutni szerep. A harc végső kibontakozásának idején minden eszköztől—kivéve a gazdasági direkt akciót—megleszünk fosztva. Éppen ezért, fölöttébb szükséges a munkásságnak tanulni, felkészülni és megismerni az Általános Sztrájk fontosságát, sem mint jövőjét a szavazó cédulákra, vagy golyókra bizva abban a tévhitben élni, hogy ezek alkalmazásával szabadulni tudnak a bérrabszolgaságból.

Ipari Szolidaritás.

Az Általános Sztrájk köré a gondolkodó és cselekvésre kész emberek csoportosultak a legkülönbözőbb iskolákból. Az Industrial Workers of the World több mint egy negyed századon keresztül, hirdeti már az Általános Sztrájkot, mint a munkásosztály leghatalmasabb fegyverét az osztályharcban. Hiszen találunk, akár szocialisták, akár a kommunista párt, vagy a szabadgondolkodók között olyan csoportokat szerte a világon — sok esetben nem is kisebbségben —

akik nem csinálnak titkot abból, hogy az osztályharc végleges kibontakozása ipari és a harcban alkalmazandó taktikák közül nem a politikai, hanem az ipari cselekvések vezetnek a győzedelmes befejezéshez. Az európai politikai pártok számos vereségei a háboru alatt és a diktátorságok bevezetésének idején az erősnek látszó szocialista mozgalmak tehetetlenségei a tömeg akció haszontalanságát és a logikus felismerést eredményezték: az Általános Sztrájkot, mint legyőzhetetlen erőt igazolják.

Ugy néz ki, hogy Bill Haywood dörgő kiáltásának viszhangja eljutott Thorstein Veblen fülébe is és a hajthatatlan munkásvezér a hizelgő tudós professzorral az Általános Sztrájk hirdetésében egy platformon találkoztak.

Az igazság az, hogy professzor Veblen az IWW programját, a filozófiáját, ami az Általános Sztrájkot illeti, teljesen elismeri, sőt Amerika számot tevő technológusainak egybehangzó véleménye is mellé állt. A haladó technikusok gyakorlati tapasztalatból ismerték fel az Általános Sztrájk fontosságát. Ugy látják, hogy az átalakulási időszak alatt, a termelés és szétosztás menetét, midőn a profit rendszer összeomlása bekövetkezett, leggyorsabban, legbiztosabban, legmegbizhatóbban csak igy lehet mozgásba, tartani.

Szilárd és Dönthetetlen.

Ha az Általános Sztájkot összehasonlitjuk a politikai pártok folyton változó és ingadozó jelszavaival, olyan szilárd, mint egy hatalmas kőszikla. Olyan alapos mint az élni akarás ösztöne és olyan fundamentális, mint maga az ipar. A pártpolitikusok és a szakszervezeti reformerek okoskodásai jelentéktelen semmivé zsugorodnak össze az ipari direct akció roppant jelentőségü lehetőségeivel szemben.

A politikusok ama törekvése, mely az Általános Sztrájkot és annak jelentőségét kisebbiteni, vagy a párt akciónak alárendelni igyekszik, éppen ugy néz ki, mintha egy kutya fark csóválás helyett a farok csóválná a kutyát. Mert hiszen az Általános Sztrájk logikus és határozott kifejezett célja a kapitalizmus megdöntése, nem alkudozás, nem holmi politikai reform. Az Általános Sztrájk nem a politikai ambiciósok játékszere. Hanem inkább állandó figyelmeztetés a politikusoknak, hogy tartsák be az igéreteiket, a hatóságoknak, hogy vigyázzanak és a diktátoroknak, hogy eltünjenek. Mert az Általános Sztrájk a munkások életbiztositása az árulás ellen.

Mi lehetne logikusabb az Általános Sztrájk programjának elfogadásánál, mely a maga nagyszerüségében semleges, s közös alapot nyujt, hogy az ezerfelé tagolt egymással hadakozó munkásmozgalmi szekták egy táborba tömörüljenek. Ha valaha majd eljön az ideje és a szervezett munkásság képes lesz kinőni, vagy félre tenni az ősrégi kétélyt támasztó politikai gondolkodást, akkor az Általános Sztrájkot olyannak fogjuk valamennyien elismerni, mint amilyen — a munkásság leghatalmasabb fegyverének, a munkásság legnagyobb harcában.

Soha és sehol a világon nem volt még egy nagy arányu harc melyben az Általános Sztrájk vita tárgyát nem képezte volna a munkások között. Nem tudunk munkás szervezetről, mely egyszer-máskor nem kivánta volna alkamazni a szervezett kapzsiság és gazdasági igazságtalanság ellen folytatott szünni nem akaró végtelennek látszó harcában.

Az ösztönszerü Direct Akció.

A munkásság és a munkáltatók érdekei egymással homlokegyenest ellentétesek. Éppen ezért, mindkét hadakozófél olyan eszközöket használ az osztályharcban, melyek céljainak legjobban megfelelnek. Az iparoktól távol élő iparfejedelmek sokkal okosabbak a középosztálynál és így nem is veszik komolyan a politikusokat. Sőt e tekintetben okosabbak a munkásság nagy részénél is.

A valódi tőkés megveti, gyülöli a politikust. Csupán eszköznek használja. Tulajdon jogánál fogva vagyonának gyökerei az iparokból táplálkoznak. Jövedelmét a munkások béréből kiizzasztott profit képezi. Nem türi, hogy bérharc esetén közibük és bérrabszolgáik közzé a politikusok beavatkozzanak. Ha például ugy akarják, hogy munkásaik hosszabb munkaidőt kevesebb bérért dolgozzanak, avagy helyettük nőket és gyermekeket alkalmazzanak, bárki megkérdezése nélkül egyszerüen megcsinálják. Nem hivják a politikusokat segitségül. Ugyan minek is tennék, nincs rá szükségük. Minden egyes alkalommal, midőn elbocsájtják, vagy csoportostól lerakják munkásaikat a munkáltatók, direct akciót alkalmaznak. Minden egyes alkalomkor, ha fekete listát vezetnek be, ha kémrendszert alkazmaznak a munkán, ha sztrájktörőket, gunmeneket bérelnek, ha a munkamenetét meggyorsitják, ha a munkaviszonyokat rosszabbá teszik bérlevágással, munkaidő meghosszabbitással, a munkáltatók ipari cselekvést gyakorolnak rabszolgáikkal szemben.

A depresszió nem más, mint a munkások kizárása. Az iparok tulajdonosai, azon egyszerü oknál fogvást, mert profit harácsolásra nincsen kilátás lezárják a gyárakat. Az összes politikusok a világ minden törvényével vagy hadseregével sem képesek a gyárak megnyitását ki kényszeriteni, a munkáltatóktól ha ők nem látnak profitot. Az üzlet üzlet. A munkáltatók teljes tudatában vannak az ipari erő jelentőségnek. Hiszen állandóan alkalmazzák: sztrájkok, kérlelhetetlen kizárások és szabotázs formájában a munkások ellen. De a leghatározottabban ellenzik, hogy munkásaik hasonló eszközöket használjanak.

Ám védekezésükben, egyetlen rés eltorlaszolására mégis képtelenek: mert profitjukat kizárólag a munkások bőréből sajtolják ki. S ha a munkások "teljesitő képességük öntudatos vissza vonásával" egy bizonyos határon tul, vagy teljes egészében ellenszegülnének a kizsákmányolásnak a kizsákmányolók vajmi keveset tehetnének. Mert gépjeik: sem profit, sem más egyebek előlállitására nem alkalmasak anélkül, hogy munkások veritékével olajoznák azokat. Mindennél jobban rettegnek az Általános Sztrájktól, mert tudják, hogy az Általános Sztrájk (tulajdonképpen) általános kizárást — a munkáltatóknak, az iparokból való kizárását eredményezheti. E roppant ipari erővel szemben védekezni, ravaszságuk és erejük latba vételével sem képesek.

A Tudatlan Munkás.

Ám ahhoz van ravaszságuk és erejük, hogy a munkásságot félre vezessék és közöttük olyan széthuzást teremtsenek, mely lehetetlenné teszi a közös cselekvést. Mivel a kapitalisták irányitják a sajtót, rádiót és más: nevelés valamint a közvéleményt formáló eszközöket, a munkásságtól megvonják annak lehetőségét, hogy saját agyukkal gondolkozhassanak. Sőt mi több, vajmi kevés van a tudatlan munkás fejében, amit magáénak vallhatna. Gondolatát a polgári ujság utolsó vezércikk irója, a polgári demagóg vagy politikus birja, ki fájdalmas sebeire proletár-öntudatot ölő, butitó méreggel bemázolt flastromot rakott. Az ilyen munkás, amellett, hogy játékszerévé és eszközévé válik a kapitalizmusnak, arra is képtelen rövidlátó, hogy kiszámitsa mitörtént a fejtetőre állitott dolgok forgatagában. Ez az oka annak, hogy ők a tudatlanság bélyegét viselik.

A munkások e fajtájára, zudithat a kapitalizmus bármekkora szenvedést, kerülhetnek bármilyen nyomorba, nél-

külözésbe, saját érdekükben cselekvésre képtelenek lesznek amig nem tanulnak meg saját fejükkel gondolkozni. És te, bérrabszolga, ki még mindig mások fejével gondolkozol, vagy te kis specerájos, kit a társadalom két malomköve mint középosztályt őröl, most bizonyára vakarod fejed és azon tünődsz, hogy mit is jelenthet a te számodra az Általános Sztrájk. Először, még a gondolatától is meg ijedsz. Vagy ugy okoskodsz, hogy az általad annyira respektált dolgok fenekestől való felforgatását, fejtetőre állitását jelenti.

A Forradalmár.

Az osztálytudatos munkás nem ilyen. ő már régen leszámolt a kapitalista babonákkal és hazugságokkal. Nem hajt fejet a kizsákmányolásnak. Le fejtette magáról a középosztály hithüségét s nem hisz immár sem a politikusokban, de még a politikai akció hathatóságában sem. ő tudja, ismeri, a nagy társadalmi betegséget sőt azt is, hogy miként kell a bajokat végérvényesen megszüntetni. ő már nem tartozik a nemtörődömök és lemondók fajtájához, mikor osztályérdekekről van szó. őt már bolondá tenni nem lehet. Mert tudja, hogy mint a munkásosztály egy tagja, az iparokhoz van cövekelve és jobbléte, sorsa össze van nőve sorstársaiéval, bátor és harcra kész. Félelmet nem ismerő elszántsággal küzd, mert bizik, hogy az évszázados harcban, a társadalom parazitáit, csak összefogva, közös erő latbavevésével lesz képes legyürni. Tudja, hogy mit jelent egy világ sztrájk és nem kell neki magyarázni, hogy ez a leghatalmasabb és a legbiztosabb fegyver. Azok a forradalmárok, kik a fegyelmet és a gyakorlatot az osztályharcban szerezték meg, kik az osztályharcban edződtek harcosokká ösztönszerü meggyőződéssel a sztrájkban ismerték fel a munkásság természet adta elemi harci eszközét. ők tudják, mi az ipari erő de azt is, hogy miként kell használni. Egész életükön keresztül kényszeritve voltak kisebb ügyek elintézéséhez megragadni. Miért ne alkalmaznák hát nagyobb — mindent jelentő harcaikhoz. Gyakorlatilag, saját bőrükön tapasztalták, hogy erejük másokra való ruházása, politikusokra való bizása semhogy előnyt eredményezne, csalódásokkal árulásokkal ér véget. Rájöttek, hogy még szervezeteikben is csak a legnagyobb demokrácia gyakorlása mellett tudják a vezetőséget ellenőrizni. Meggyőződésük tehát, hogy az

osztályharcban a sztrájk az egyedüli és kizárólagosan megbizható eszköz.

A Munkásság Természet-Adta Fegyvere.

Mily egyszerü a logika. Ha a bérek tul alacsonyak az életszükségletek beszerzéséhez, ha a munkaidő tul hosszu, avagy a munkaviszonyok tarthatatlanok, nem folyamodhatunk kuruzslók, vagy politikusokhoz, hanem egyszerüen abba hagyjuk a munkát olyan számban és szoldaritással, mely az üzem beszüntetést vonja maga után mind addig, amig sérelmeink orvosoltatnak.

Minden munkás és munkásnő tudja ezen tény kétségbevonhatatlanságát. Még professzorokra sincsen szükség, hogy a sztrájkot magyarázzák. Midőn a szrtájkra alkalmas idő elérkezik, akkor sztrájkba lépnek és fütyülnek azokra kik ugy okoskodnak, hogy sztrájkolás helyett mást kellene csinálniok. Nagy általánosságban, a munkásság nem is veszi komolyan a politikát legfeljebb olyankor, mikor fizetik a szavazásért, —ami számtalanszor elő fordul— vagy ha megfélemlitik őket és csoportokban üzik az urnákhoz, a panamázó és graftelő politikai szélhámosok.

Rendszerint ugy tekintik a választást, mint egy box mérkőzést. Fogadoznak is, hogy melyik tudja jobban kiválasztani a nyerő felet. Nem igy a sztrájkal. Azt komolyan veszik, s ha egyszer a munkások felismerik, hogy a kapitalista rendszer nyujtotta bizonytalanságnak és pusztitó nyomornak, egy nagy sztrájkal éppen ugy véget vethetnek mint ahogy egy kisebbel a bérlevágást megakadályozták: hasonló eréllyel és elszántsággal bele vetik magukat a küzdelembe.

A sztrájkok természetüknél fogvást, evről évre terjedelmesebbek, folytonos tökéletesedésével és fejlődésével a kapitalista rendszer a gondolkodásnak e formáját kényszeriti a munkásságra. A munkásságnak a gépekhez való viszonya a termelésben oly hatást gyakorol gondolkozására, melyek megmutatják és ki kényszeritik a cselekvés módját az ipari harcokban. Éppen ugy mint a munkáltatók: környezetük kényszeritő hatása és befolyása a munkásokat is a közvetlen cselekvés gondolatának felismerésére birja. Erejében és méreteiben éppen ugy terjeszkedik a sztrájk mint az ipar. A sztrájk, a munkásság természet-adta fegyvere s miután az ipar folyton öszpontosodik és tökéletese-

dik, az Általános Sztrájk kilátása sokkal több mint puszta lehetőség.

Ipari Stratégia.

Webster, angol nyelv-mester a "fegyver" szót imigy definiálja: "minden olyan eszköz, mely támadásra és védekezésre alkalmas". Csak természetes, hogy a termelő gépezetet védekezésre és támadásra felhasználhatja ugy a tőkés, mint a munkás osztály. Minden sztrájk és kizárás azt bizonyitja, hogy a modern gépek irányitása és mozgásba tartása nem csak uj taktikát fejleszetett, hanem olyan roppant hatalmas fegyvereket, mely széles e világon példa nélkül való. Megkiséreljük annak bizonyitását, hogy a gépek fölötti kontrol biztositja a munkáltató osztály világhatalmát és viszont, a gépek birtoklása fogja megadni végeredményében az erőt a munkásosztálynak mellyel önmagát képesitheti a tőkések legyürésére.

A puskapor feltalálása, megváltoztatta az emberi társadalom történet-mentét, hasonlóképpen, a gőzmozdony, a repülőgép és a rádió is. A hadászati szakértők elismerik, hogy a messze frontmögötti gyárak éppen olyan fontos kellékei a háboruskodásnak mint a sáncárokba szoritott emberi ágyutöltelék. Napoleon óta a háboru Istene is helyet cserélt, nem a legerősebb karhatalomnak, hanem a legtökéletesebben szervezett iparoknak ajándékozza a győzelem babérját. A munkásság jól vésse gondolatába, hogy a gépkorszak igazi fegyvere maga a gép.

Nem egyszer hallhattuk már, hogy a következő háboruban, mindenki harcolni fog. Ez más szóval azt jelenti, hogy a gép olyan hathatós fegyver mint az ágyu. A hadseregek hasznavehetetlenek; másként számitásba nem jöhetnek hacsak, municióval élelmiszerekkel és szállitással nem biztositathatják magukat. Ugy a háboruban, mint az iparokban, az egyén kevesebbet az összesség többet számit. Az egyéni erő semmit, az összerő mindent jelent. Egy szervezetlen hadsereg nem más mint csőcselék. Ha a munkásság az iparokban szervezetlen, ugy szintén ezen kategóriába kerül. Hogy sikerrel termelhessen ipari szakértők (technikusok) és munkavezetők, szervezetekbe csoportositják. A munkásság önmagát kell megszervezze ipari szervezetekbe éppen ugy, amint a gyárakban csoportositják, ha reményt táplál ahoz, hogy gazdasági erejét, mint fegyvert, saját érdekében is használja. A kis háboruk, vagy kis sztrájkok napja örökre

eltünt. Egyetlen cél elérésébe vetett bizalom szervezett és fegyelmezett szolidaritás nélkül—amit a körülmények kikényszeritenek—a munkásság képtelen kimászni a tradicionális fertőből. A munkásság nem képes önmaga felszabaditására anélkül, hogy megismerje és megtanulja ama hatalmas fegyver használatát, melyet a termelő gépekkel való kapcsolata. vele megismertetett és kezébe adott.

Letünt és Uj Forradalmak.

A géptermelés fejlődési folyamatának sodra nemcsak a háboruskodás formáit és a benne alkalmazott taktikákat változtatta át, de átformálta nézeteinket is a forradalmi taktikákat és módozatokat illetőleg. Történt ez azért mert a régi fegyverek hasznavehetelenné, mig az ujak hozzáférhetőkké válltak. A háboruskodás valamikor müvészet volt ma pedig ipar. Az ősrégi fegyverforgatás müveszetét ma már nagyobbára csak sportból üzik. Napjainkban a háboruskodás komor üzletét egy nemzet se kezdi meg addig, mig nem az iparok kerekeit mozgásba illeszti hozzá.

A géptermelési folyamat sodra teljes egészében átformálta nézeteinket a forradalmi taktikáról és eszközökről. A modern repülőgépek, mérges, könny és gázbombák, ágyuk és gépfegyverek, jól képzett specialisták kezében, olyan kedvezőtlen helyzetbe szoritják a fegyvertelen s ugyszólván gyakorlatlan munkásságot, melynek további bizonyitgatása, szükségtelen. De még akkor is helytelen volna egy magasan fejlett ipari állam munkásságának az 1848-as klasszikus forradalmak a francia forradalom, a Párisi Kommün sőt az Orosz forradalom utánzása is, ha az arány nem volna ilyen döbbenetes. A munkásság ereje helyet cserélt: az utcáról, az iparokba került. A nép özönlését a munkán való cselekvés — a barrikád harcokat a picket-line cserélte fel. A jelen forradalom kimagasló eseménye nem a városházára feltüzött vörös lobogóval domborodik ki, hanem inkább a géptermelési folyamat, a termelés, szállitás és szétosztás példás továbbvitelében az iparok zavartalan müködésben tartásával, mint a jelenben, de azzal a különbbséggel, hogy kizártuk a parazita osztályt és lakájaikat: egy jól vivott Általános Sztrákban, végleg kicsavartuk az Ipari irányitást a paraziták kezéből.

Ez a modern felállitása azon világ-küzdelemnek, melyben a munkás osztály hivatásának magaslatára emelkedve önmagát felszabaditja az átkozott bérendszer és a vele járó

kizsákmányolás alól. A mi forradalmi nagy-napunk ipari harc lesz és történetesen: ha sikert akarunk, fegyvereink is ipari természetüek kell, hogy legyenek.

A Termelés Szintere.

Ágyuk, gépfegyverek, hadihajók. szubmarinok és aknák készülnek, hogy a kapitalista osztály bérenceinek legyen mit használni. Az ilyen eszközök, aligha használhatók a modern gazdasági küzdelemben annak eldöntésére, hogy a munkások, avagy a tőkés paraziták birják e az iparok feletti kontrolt. E harc az iparokban, a termelés szinterén történik s a küzdelemben a munkásságnak egy nagy előnye van: ők képezik a termelők hadseregét. Mert a gépek teljesen értéktelenek, ha a munkás agyak és izmok nem mozgatják.

A munkásság, startégiailag az iparokban foglal helyet. Az ipari termelési folyamatban, elengedhetetlen szerepük van, de nem olyan, mint a profit-harácsoló "tulajdonosok"-nak. A munkások a gépek mellett foglalnak helyet, mert azok nélkülük nem termelhetnek. Számbeli erejük és munkás voltuknál fogva az iparok birtokában vannak. Azt tanulják, hogy a gépekkel termeljenek, hogy a szállitás és szétosztás müveletét végezzék s éppen ezen müveletektől függ a haladás az emberiség szebb jövője és boldogulása és nem a kitartottak osztályától, kiknek nincsen más élet céljuk mint parazita rendszerük fenntartása. A munkásság ereje nagyobb tehát mint a kapitalista osztályé és háborus-kodó bérenceié.

A kapitalista rendszer csupán addig létezhet, amig a munkásság tudatlanul hozzájárul, beleegyezik és megtüri fenmaradását. A többség kizsákmányolása, a kissebbség által csak addig folyhat, amig a többségnek nincsen annyi esze, hogy a kizsákmányolásnak ellene szegüljön. Ezen ellenszegülés, vagy hozzájárulás, sehol sem fejezhető ki erőteljesebben, rikitóbban, mint az iparokban, ahol a kizsákmányolás végbe megy. Az Általános Sztrájk tehát, a munkásság ipari ellenszegülése az ipari szolgaságnak.

A kapitalista rendszerben a bérmunkás mint egyén, fegyvertelen. Ha olyan munkája van, melyet nem szeret, ott hagyhatja. De ha nincsen munkája kereshet magának egy félre eső helyet, az éhenhalásra. Megvan az egyéni szabadsága még ahoz is, hogy magát agyon igya, megmérgezze, vagy mind ennek tetejébe, golyót röpithet önfejébe,

tehet egy utolsó szivességet a munkáltató osztálynak, hogy tőle a nemkivánatostól ily könnyen megszabadult. A magánháboru, vagy egyéni forradalom a rendszer és igazságtalanságai ellen rendszerint két szó között nyer osztályozást: "garázdálkodás" vagy "sulyos testi sértés".

A modern bérrabszolga minden reménye számbeli csoportosulásában van. Az osztályháboruban, csupán a kollektiv fegyverek jönnek számitásba. Az egyénnek csak akkor lesz ereje, ha munkástársaiéval egyesiti, ha egyéni erejüket, ipari tömegerővé kovácsolják. Az osztályharc osztály-fegyvereket követel meg. Szerencse, hogy az egyéni munkást, osztályhelyzete kényszeritette arra, hogy mint bérmunkás, többes számban gondolkozzon: az "Én" kifejezés helyett, "Mi"-t használjon.

Harcias Állásfoglalás.

A modern bérrabszolgát ugy tanitották, hogy az erő gondolatát, többes számban értelmezze. Gondolatvilága a régi idők szakszervezeti munkásához viszonyitva éppen annak ellentéte. Mert a szakszervezeti munkás látóköre nem terjedt messzebb szaktudásának vagy szakmai körének és egyéniségének fontosságánál, mig ellenben a mai ipari munkás kényszeritve van az egész iparon áttekinteni, hogy társai és önbaját meglássa. Ha csak a legkissebb értelmi képességgel rendelkezik is, meglátnia kell, hogy egyéni bajai, sérelmei, hasonlóak társaiéval, egyforma a gyárakban alkalmazott százak és ezrekével, kik vele együtt dolgoznak. S midőn szembe találja magát, munkáltatói türhetetlen kapzsisával ösztönszerü gondolata, nem a szavazó urna, lövöldözés, gyilkolás és bombázás körül forog, (mint a kizsákmányolóknak) hanem sztrájkolásra gondol.

Igy volt ez a kezdetben, midőn az iparok fejlődésnek indultak és igy van ma is. A különbség csak abban van, hogy sokkal körülményesebb és több időt igényel a cselekvés ösztönszerü gondolatával nagyobb arányu mozgást kiváltani, mint kisebbet. Midőn még a kapitalizmus fejletlen volt, a sztrájk aránylag egyszerü napiesemény számban ment. Ám ma, a super-kapitalizmus korában egy sztrájk szükségszerüleg komplikáltabb kell legyen és nagyobb jelentőséggel kell birjon. Mert a sztrájkra való hajlamosság gondolatát, nem egy tucat, hanem több száz, sokezer munkásnak kell egymással kicserélni. A munkáltatók ébersége, elővigyázatossága miatt ez ösztönös hajlam kibonta-

kozása nem érintheti minden esetben a nagy tömeget és nem vált ki tömeg cselekvést. De a gondolat és hajlamosság mégis él s mozog, hogy végeredményben kiváltsa az elkerülhetetlen kibontakozást, mint történt ez a kis sztrájkok idején.

Az Osztálytudatosság és Cselekvési Hajlam.

A munkás és osztálytudat, a munkán való cselekvés és ipari cselekvés valamint a munkán való sztrájk és az Általános Sztrájk közötti különbségek csak méret különbözetek. Mert a modern ipari viszonyok közepette, minden sztrájk, az Általános Sztrájk embriója. Még az iparok decentralizálására történt ajánlat sem bir hatással az Általános Sztrájk ellen, legfeljebb a taktikák és stratégiák módositását vonhatná maga után. A munkásság semmi körülmények között nem adhatja föl sztrájk-hajlamát, akaratát, sőt hatványozza, mint az egyetlen és elengedhetetlen eszközt, a mindig sulyosodó és szélesedő osztályharcban. Más szempontból birálva a dolgot, a folyton megismétlődő sztrájkok azt is eredményezhetik, hogy a munkáltatók kényszerülnek egy gyár helyett, egész tucatot sztrájktörőkkel hozni üzembe és fegyveres bérencekkel védelmeztetni éppen akkor, mikor a nagy harc végre kibontakozik.

Eltekintve attól, hogy milyen nagyarányu a politikai elégedetlenség a munkások között, a kapitalista rendszer ellenes panaszok bázisa, minden kétséget kizárva gazdasági jelleggel bir. A munkásság a termelés szinterén van megrabolva, munkája gyümölcsétől s ott kell harcoljon a kizsákmányolási folyamat ellen. Ha lehetséges volna annak bizonyitása, hogy politikai cselekvéssel bármit elérni, vagy a munkásharcokon könnyiteni lehet, ugy annál jobb. De nem szabad a munkásságnak önmagát ámitani és a politikai cselekvés hathatóságára bizni. Mert, szavazhatnak a választáson akármilyen vörösen és választhatnak bárkit is a hivatalokba, ráfognak jönni, hogy politikai harcaik nem egyebek, mint ipari küzdelmeik árnyékai.

A politikai akció fontosságának tulsulyba helyezése veszélyt rejteget magában, mely által a munkásság azon tévhitbe esik, mintha mások is (rendszerint nem is a munkás osztály tagjai) tehetnének érte valamit, amit egy kis megértéssel és elhatározással önmaguk sokkal könnyebben elvégezhetnének, anélkül, hogy az elárulás, becsapás veszélyének magukat ki tennék. A politikai akcióban való bizo-

dalom megrabolja a munkásságot a kezdeményezés és független cselekvés jogától és olyan téves nézetet ültet agyába, mellyel egyik diktatura helyébe egy másikat hajlandó elfogadni. Az Általános Sztrájk végcélja, nem abban nyilvánul meg hogy a kapitalista járom helyett, vörös politikusok, fascisták, militaristák, vagy bárki más jármát akaszszuk nyakunkba. Ha az Általános Sztrájkot használja, felszabaditja magát a munkásság a jármok minden fajtája alól és tényleges ipari szabadságot, ipari demokráciát teremthet, mely alatt csak azon munkák elvégzésére köteles, melyet mindenkinek el kell végezni, hogy a társadalommal szembeni kötelességét lerója.

Az Ipari Erő Fejlődése.

A kapitalista rend kezdetén a szakmunkásokat, egyenként, vagy kisebb csoportokban, maga a munkáltató, vagy a társmunkáltató alkalmazta. De abban az időben még nem voltak oly magasan és tökéletesen kifejlődött, specializált iparok mint manapság. Az iparok központositott irányitása és birtoklása ismeretlen fogalom volt nem ugy mint most: mikor látni van alkalmunk, hogy egész iparok fölött egy maroknyi plutokrata rendelkezik. A kismühelyek, kisiparosok idejében a sztrájkok is kicsiny méretüek voltak.

Ám a kis mühelyek, megnövekedtek. A népek szaporodásával és a kapitalista rendszer fejlődésével, folyton nőttek és nagyobbakká váltak. A gazdasági hajtó erő kényszeritő hatása alatt, olvadtak össze s társultak hatalmas vállalatokká. A kis mühelyből gyár lett és a szövő szobából szövőgyár: a kis falusi kovácsmühelyből vasöntőde. Pittsburgh, Chicago és Detroit, maradi kis falucskákból ipari erődök lettek és a Wall Street polip-csápjai elnyultak, a világ legtávolabb eső részeibe. Ezen idő alatt a munkáltatók száma mind kevesebb és kevesebb lett és töméntelenre szaporodott a bérrabszolgáké. Az iparok tényleges irányitását technikusokra ruházták át a parazita tulajdonosok. A technikusok és munkások együtt izzadtak, robotoltak, hogy a paraziták apadhatatlan kapzsiságát, profitszomját kielégitsék.

Természetes, hogy nem ment ez olyan egyszerüen, mint ahogy látszik, de nagy általánosságban beszélve a sztrájkok mindinkább nagyobbodtak és ezzel arányosan gyarapodott a munkásosztály ipari ereje. Az osztályharc felsorakozásában immár nem a munkások egy-egy kis cso-

portja állott szemben a kismühely tulajdonosokkal, hanem nagy területre kiterjedő, egész iparokat felölelő tömegekben kerültek szemben, a számarányában aránytalanul kissebb és mégis nagyobb erővel rendelkező korporációkkal. A gyárak, bányák és szövőtelepek, mint valami járvány, ugy terjeszkedtek és árasztották el az országot és igy a kis szervezetek, kis sztrájkok napjai örökre letüntek.

Mindez hagyján volna, ha a munkásosztály erőtudatának növekedése is lépést tartott volna az iparok fejlődésével. A gép nem emelte le a robot sulyos terhét a munkás osztály vállairól, egyszerüen, csak a parazita tulajdonosok profitját növelte. A bérrabszolgák sérelmei, mind sulyosbodtak, sztrájkjaik nagyobbodtak, melyekkel szemben az ellenállás is mind elkeseredettebb lett.

A kapitalista társadalom, géptermelési folyamatában a munkások mikénti csoportositása nem csak a termeléshez kell átidomuljon, de harcképességük megköveteli a munkásoktól önsoraik átcsoportositását is. Egy-egy ország munkássága, az ott divó géptermelési folyamat, fejlett, vagy fejletlen viszonyaihoz mérten kell igazodjon az osztályharcba. Ez bizonyitja azon tényt is, hogy egy aránylag fejletlen országban mint Oroszország is, a proletariátus harcához megfelelő alkalmas harci taktikák, vajmi kevés értéket jelentenek az előrehaladott, ipar rendszerében kifejlődött országok munkásainak, mint Észak Amerika. Egyébbként magyarázat ez arra is, hogy az I.W.W. a világszerte elsőnek ismert forradalmi ipari unionizmus megtestesitője az Amerikai Egyesült Államokban alakult, hol a kapitalizmus legérettebb és legtökéletesebb formája bontakozott ki.

A Szervezkedés és az Általános Sztrájk.

Az ipari unionizmus az elképzelhető legnagyobb szervezett erővel kivánja felruházni a munkásosztályt az iparokban. Kétségtelen, hogy ezen erő legtökéletesebben, ugy a munkán, mint azon kivül az Általános Sztrájkban nyilvánul meg. Ha a mai szakszervezeteket biráljuk, hogy alkalmasak e ezen cél keresztülviteléhez, ugy a puszta összehasonlitás egészen más megvilágitásban állitja elénk a forradalmi ipari unionista mozgalmat. És megvilágitja nagy általánosságban a szerződésekre épitett szervezetek hiányosságait de különösképpen a szakszervezeti mozgalmak tarthatatlanságát. Hiszen elvégre is ha pontos méré-

tet akarunk bármely szervezet erőkifejlesztő képességéről, ugy az erő csalhatatlan mérlegét kell alkalmaznunk.

Egy pillantás a szakszervezeti mozgalomra s kétségtelen bizonyságot szerzünk, miszerint nem a munkáserők összevonására, hanem azok széttagolására épül. A szakszervezeteket nem ugy alkották, hogy a munkásságot teljes ereje használására képesitse. A szervezet e tipusa az ipari fejlődés elején keletkezett, midőn a szerszámnak és a szakmának még fontos szerepe volt. Azon időben a szakmunkás szervezett ereje abban nyilvánult meg, hogy szaktudása felett kizárólag csak ő rendelkezett a szerszámok használatához csak ő értett. Nélküle nem folyhatott a termelés. E felismerés teremtette meg a szakszervezeteket a különböző szerszámok kezeléséhez értő szakmunkások, különböző csoportositását.

A Szerszám és a Szaktudás Fölöslegessé Vált.

Ám mindez megváltozott. A géptermelés fejlődési folyamatában, fölöslegessé válik ugy a kézi szerszám, mint a szaktudás. A géptechnika fejlődése olyan helyzetbe hozta a szakszervezetet, melybe a modern viszonyok között bele illeszkedni képtelen. A szakszervezetek inkább csak szokásból maradtak fenn a modern világban, élnek ugyan, de korukat tulélték. Némelyik közülök nyugalomba vonult üzletembereknek megélhetési bázisát képezik és nem is annyira szervezet, mint a jelen rendszer támasztéka. És a szó modern értelmében, unióknak ezeket már nem is nevezhetjük. Üres burkolatát képezik a hajdani szervezeteknek, melyeknek hasznos müködésük eredményeképp a körükbe tartozó munkások számos csoportja nyert előnyt és jutott kiváltságos helyzetbe a többinek rovására, mert szó ami szó, ők a munkások osztályérdekét nem igen vették figyelembe. A kapitalista rendszer keretein belül szervezkedtek, melyről azt hiszik, hogy örökké való, gondolatviláguk nem terjed tul a rendszer határain és megdöntésére nincsen programjuk. Hasonlitsuk csak össze a szakszervezeti fogalmat, azok összetételét, beigazolt gyöngeségét az I.W.W. elvinyilatkozatának erre vonatkozó paragrafusával, mely határozottan kimondja, hogy: "Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának, mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni öszpontosulása, a szakszervezeteket, (trade unions) képtelenné teszi arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot

ápolnak, mely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák s ez által elősegitik, hogy bérharcok esetén, egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak".

Problémánk Nem Szakmai, Hanem Ipari.

Manapság, a munkásság problémája nem szakmai, hanem ipari. Egy munkásszervezet, ha azt akarja, hogy az általa használt eszközök, ugy a támadásnál, mint a védekezesnél, hathatósak legyenek, akkor a mai viszonyokhoz mérten a modern ipari berendezkedéshez nem szakmai, hanem ipari jelleget kell öltsön. Ám a szakszervezetek nem tartottak lépést a folyton fejlődő, változó világgal. Még ma is csaknem ott tartanak, ahonnan a kezdetben elindultak, noha azóta sokat változott a világ. Messze lemaradtak attól, hogy segitő harci eszközökként szerepeljenek, mint hajdanában, mert e helyett és alkalmatlanságuk folytán inkább a munkáltatóknak nyujtanak segitséget, tetézik a szolgaságot, holott a munkásosztály érdekeit volnának hivatva szolgálni.

A szakszervezetek Általános Sztrájkja, el sem képzelhető. Hiszen azért szerveződnek, hogy a munkások néhány csoportja "boldogulását" mozditsák elő a kapitalista rendszerben: összetételüknél fogva s kellő lelkesedés hiányában, képtelenek, közös cél felé haladni, egyöntetü cselekvéssel egyszerre fellépni, a közös ellenséggel szemben. Tehát ennél fogva, nagyon kétséges, hogy jelen szervezeti formájukkal képesek volnának a munkásosztály egyöntetü ipari cselekvésének előmozditására a közös ellenséggel szemben. A modern ipari küzdelem, modern ipari harcieszközöket követel meg. Ezen célra a szakszervezet teljesen tehetetlen és alkalmatlan. Azon munkások, kik a végső nagy felszabadulási harc ipari voltának felismerésére képesek, elismerik, hogy ipari voltának felismerésére képtelen szervezetek nem képesek arra és más szervezkedési formára kell tereljék figyelmüket.

Az ugynevezett független ipari szervezetek, ugyan ebbe a kategóriába tartoznak. Mert laza összetételüknél fogva, bár képesek ugyan iparilag gondolkozni és van ipari áttekintésük, mégis föl tagolják önmagukat az iparokban. Igy állunk a United Mine Workers of America-val és más

hozzá hasonló szervezettel. Ők kerületenként vannak szét-tagolva, nem szakmailag. Kerületenként kötik szerződésüket, melynek puszta volta meggátolja őket az egy időben való közös cselekvésben. Sehol nem tapasztaljuk náluk, hogy óhajuk, vagy akaratuk volna szövetkezni a szállitási, vagy más iparokban dolgozó munkásokkal, szolidaritás céljából, az Egy Nagy Szervezet alapján. A vasutasok, ruhakészitők és más hasonló, látszólagos, egész iparra kiterjedő szervezetek, éppen igy vannak széjjel tagolva U.S.A.-ban ami miatt, közös cselekvésre nem képesek.

A munkásság érdekének szemelőttartása, meg követeli, hogy előbb-utóbb, a közös cselekvés iránya felé igazodjanak. Mert nem elégséges az, hogy formailag ipariak, de elengedhetetlenül fontos, hogy minden kétséget kizárva, forradalmiak is legyenek. "Ezen maradi jelszó helyett: Tisztességes napibért, tisztességes napi munkáért", ezt a jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: "Le a bérrendszerrel", mondja az I.W.W. elvinyilatkozatának ide vonatkozó paragrafusa. S e történelmi jelentőségü jelmondatba, benne foglaltatik a lelkesedés és akaraterő, mely szükségképp, magával kell ragadja a világ ipari munkásait.

Az Általános Sztrájk és a Politikai Pártok.

Bár a munkás pártok nézetei az Általános Sztrájk elismerését illetőleg különbözők, valamennyien, nyiltan elismerik, hogy a forradalmi ujjáépités el sem képzelhető gazdasági erő nélkül. A szocialisták és a kommunisták látszólag elismerik az ipari unionizmus fontosságát, de hozzá vajmi keveset értenek. Nem is érthetnek. Hiszen nem olyan agyagból gyuródtak.

És mégis számtalan alkalommal, különösképpen Európában, ugy a szocalisták, mint a kommunisták, Általános Sztrájkért folyamodtak a munkássághoz. Több mint valószinü az is, hogy ezen esetek a jövőben ujból meg fognak ismétlődni. Lévén ezen testületek politikai pártok és nem gazdasági szervezetek, az a bajuk, hogy nem rendelkeznek olyan gépezettel, mellyel az Általános Sztrájkot foganatositani lehet. Rendszerint, amikor már minden mást megkiséreltek minden siker nélkül, akkor kétségbeesetten kiáltványoznak azért, amire az elején kellett volna gondolniuk — az ipari szolidaritásra. Ilyenkor rendszerint rákényszerülnek, hogy többé-kevésbbé, olyan konzervativ szervezetekhez apelláljanak, kik amellett, hogy ellenszenvel viseltet-

nek a haladó eszmékkel amolyan tessék-lássék kapcsolatban vannak velük. Ezen szervezetek ugy épültek, hogy szerkezetük és szellemüknél fogva, képtelenek ilyen követelésnek megadni a kivánt visszhangot.

Jól tervezett, modern összetétele kell legyen egy munkás szervezetnek, de enélkül maga a társadalom sem müködhet. Szakszervezetektől osztály-cselekvést elvárni, van legalább is olyan badarság, mint mondjuk: azt kivánni egy konzervativ politikai párttól, hogy forradalmi platformot szerkesszen magának. Ez a fejnélkül való kapkodás az Általános Sztrájkért a tizenkettedik órábani kiáltványozás mindent igazolhat csak azt nem, hogy a politikai akció hathatósságához tul sok bizodalmuk volna. Ezt bizonyitják az 1932-es németországi események is, ahol politikai szocialisták és kommunisták általános sztrájkot hivtak a fascizmus elódázására. Az 1914-es események, más következtetések levonására kellett volna birja őket. A lezajlott idő elég alkalmat biztositott, nem egy esetben követelően parancsolta, hogy legalább addig hagyják abba a politizálást, mig az Egy Nagy Szervezet alapján felépül egy erőteljes ipari mozgalom. Ez esetben, mennyire másként alakulhatott volna ki a helyzet.

Az I.W.W. megalakulása óta, szüntelenül az Ipari Demokrácia megteremtését hirdeti a munkásságnak s a cél megvalósitására az Általános Sztrájkban látja az egyetlen eszközt. Ezt félreérthetetlenül bizonyitja elvinyilatkozatának ide vonatkozó paragrafusa, melyet száz és száz millió példányban terjesztett a munkások között: "E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni, csakis olyképpen felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden az egy iparban—vagy ha kell valamennyi iparban —dolgozó tagjai beszüntessék a munkát, bármikor ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az eggyen esett sérelmet, az összeség sérelmének tekinti". Volt e valahol olyan nyilatkozat, mely ennél tisztábban igazolná a világ termelőinek egymásra való utalását, együttmüködésének szükségességét és roppant erejének, kibontakozási lehetőségét?

A fölületes szemlélők, tulságos fontosságot tekintenek azon hasonlatosságnak, mely az európai anarcho-szindikalisták és az amerikai I.W.W. között látszólag fenn áll. Ki kell hangsulyoznunk, hogy ilyen nézetet, csak azok hangoztatnak, kik csupán felületes birálói a dolgoknak. Mert

egyébbként, nagy a különbözet a két elmélet között. A különbségek oka elsősorban azon tényen alapszik, hogy az I.W.W. egy sokkal későbbi időszak és fejlettebb ipari viszonyok következtében keletkezett, mint a szindikalizmus.

Ezzel mindjárt rávilágitottunk egy másik tényezőre is arra, hogy az európai szindikalizmus, az I.W.W.-tól eltérően, nem áll az Egy Nagy Szervezet alapján, nem testesiti meg az ipari szervezet formáját, mely egymásba kapcsolódó egymással szorosan együttmüködő központositott ipari departmenteket alkot. Tudott dolog, hogy az I. W. W. a mindennapi osztályharc mellett, az uj társadalom alapját képezi, ugy a termeléshez, mint a szétosztáshoz. Mellesleg megjegyezve, az I.W.W. felfogása az Általános Sztrájkot illetőleg, csaknem annyit különbözik, az anarcho-szindikalistáéktól, mint a pártpolitikusok vagy a szakszervezetekétől. Alapjában, összetételében és céljában az I.W.W. sokkal megfelelőbb, sokkal tökéletesebb és sokkal modernebb, mint anarcho-szindikalista elődjei.

Az I.W.W. és a Technikusok.

Olyan ellenvetéseket is hallottunk, hogy az I.W.W. és a technikusok közötti kapcsolatok és együttmüködések, mögötte maradtak az Európai Szindikalistákénak. Még ha ezen állitás igaz is volna, oka semmiesetre sem abban keresendő, mintha az I.W.W. nem ismerte volna fel a technkusok fontos szerepét avagy szerpüknek értékét, hanem abban a tényben található, hogy az I.W.W. annyira le volt kötve az Amerikai osztályharcokkal, hogy az állandó és szoros öszeköttetés körülményessé vált.

Az I.W.W., a technikusokat mindig ugy tekintette, mint a dolgozó osztály fontos szerepet betöltő tagjait. Mint olyanokat, akiknek hozzájárulása nélkül a gyökeres gazdasági ujjáépités programmja keresztülvihetetlen. Az Egy Nagy Szervezet tervrajzában a technikusoknak juttatott hely teljesen összhangban van az iparban betöltött fontos szerepükkel. Az I.W.W. ugy képzeli el az Ipari Demokráciát mint a munka termelő hadseregének és az iparokat irányitó rátermett vezető erőknek, együttmüködésre egyesitett összmüködésén alapuló rendszert: amint az Egy Nagy Szervezet Egyetemes Adminisztrációjában karöltve munkálkodnak az egész társadalom jóléte és boldogulása érdekében. Az I.W.W. ugyszólván megalakulása óta, szivesen látta és alakalmat adott a technikusoknak, hogy testületeikben részt-

vegyenek. A nevelés terén nem egy technikus jutott jelentős szerephez. Az IWW mindig vértestvérének ismerte őket. 1921-ben az I.W.W.kisérletet tett egy Ipari Kutató Bizottság (Industrial Research Bureau) felállitására, olyan mérnökök vezetése mellett, kiket helyes gondolkodásuk, társadalmi nézetük és felelősség tudatuk ezen állás betöltésére képesitett. De ugy azelőtt, mint az utána következő időben is az I.W.W. a fegyelmezett szolidaritás olyan formáját hirdette és gyakorolta, amilyen nélkül, a mérnökök is elképzelhetetlennek tartják a társadalmi átalakulás után a profitnélküli termelési rendszer folyamatát.

Az I.W.W. ma is egyetért negyed századon át követett azon irányelvével, mely szerint, a modern termelés folyamatában, a munkások és mérnökök, mint nélkülözhetetlen tényezők szerepelnek. A mérnök, a szó legszorosabb értelmében munkástársunk. A gépmelletti embernek "képmása". ő szellemi erőt szolgáltat az ipar müszaki vezetéséhez, mely összhangot teremt a termelő eszközök és a termelők hadserege között. Mérnök és munkás egyformán nélkülözhetetlen midőn a kapitalista rendszer már elpusztult: mert nélkülök, semmi néven nevezendő tervezet alapján, sem indulhat meg a termelés. A vérontás és romboláson kivül, a bérrendszer megszüntetésére irányuló bármilyen terv, keresztülviteléhez, mérnök és munkás közremüködése elengedhetetlen. Jó lesz ugy a mérnököknek mint az I.W.W. tagjainak és általában mindazoknak kik a munkás mozgalmat tanulmányozzák emlékezetükbe vésni, hogy az I.W.W. által hirdetett Általános Sztrájknak ez egyik kimagasló pontja.

Ez a közös alap mint a testvériség közös kapcsolata az I.W.W. és a termelő hadsereg más iparilag gondolkozó csoportjai, valamint más munkás mozgalmak között. Már előbb bebizonyitottuk, hogy a szakmai és független ipari szervezetek a célhoz érést, valamint a munkásság teljes ipari erejének kifejtését, körülményessé, vagy teljesen lehetetlenné teszik a kibontakozást. Azt is bebizonyitottuk, hogy a forradalmi politikai pártok, a nevelés és védekezési aktivitásokon kivül az Általános Sztrájk sikerességét semhogy egyszerüsitenék, csak bonyolultabbá teszik. Éppen ezért az I.W.W. azzal a kérelemmel fordul a világ összes iparainak munkásaihoz, hogy tegyék félre az előitéletet, nézetkülönbség és faji, bőrszin, vallás vagy politikai állás-

pontra, valamint nemzeti határvonalakra való tekintet nélkül, egyesitsék ipari erejüket az Egy Nagy Szervezetbe azon célból, hogy véglegesen leszámolhassanak a világ imperializmusának láthatatlan szörnyetegével mely megalázta és rabláncra füzte minden nemzet munkásságát. Az Általános Sztrájk EGY program, melyen minden munkásnak, megegyezni kell.

Mi az Általános Sztrájk?

Sok félreértés volt már a körül, hogy tulajdonképpen mit is értünk Általános Sztájk alatt. A multban, minden nagyobb szabásu sztrájk, "Általános Sztrájk"-ként nyert megemlitést. Noha sok esetben, ezen elnevezés igazán nem illett rája. E félreértés nagyrészben az Általános Sztrájk és céljairól alkotott téves, vagy korlátolt nézetek eredménye. Az Általános Sztrájk, amint neve is jellemzi, határozottan forradalmi, vagy osztály sztrájk kell legyen és nem a viszonyok javitásáért folytatott küzdelem. Már tervezetében olyan kell legyen, hogy az élethez szükséges eszközöket a a magán kézből kicsavarja és köztulajdonba helyezze át. Nem néhány csoport, ipar vagy nemzeti csoportok harca, hanem a világ ipari munkásainak szó szerint vett értelmében való sztrájkja. Próbáljuk emlékezetben tartani, hogy az Általános Sztrájknak négy különböző formája van s akkor könnyebben megértjük, tulajdonképpen miről van szó.

1. Helyi Sztrájk
2. Általános Sztrájk, egy iparban.
3. Országos Általános Sztrájk.
4. Forradalmi, vagy osztály sztrájk — az Általános Sztrájk.

A fentiekből láthatjuk tehát, hogy: amig az első három a szónak korlátolt értelmében Általános Sztrájk, addig az utolsó, vagy a forradalmi osztály sztrájk a szó szoros értelmében Általános Sztrájk. Az első három mindegyikére tettek már kisérletet váltakozó sikerrel, de az utolsót még ezután kell megszerveznünk és érvényesitenünk.

Láttuk például a Finn és az Orosz munkásság ipari erejének megnyilvánulását 1905-ben, vagy a moszkvai lázadást, mely megdöntötte Kerensky kormányát 1917-ben, a Francia vasuti munkások harcát és a svédországi nagy sztrájkot 1909-ben, az Angol Triple Alliance sztrájkját 1924-ben, vagy a németországit mely mint a szégyenteljes Von Kapp puccs bukásnak előidézője ismeretes. Voltak még fon-

tosabb Általános Sztrájkok: Belgiumban, 1913-ban Buenos Aires (Argentina) 1920-ban, Angliában ujból 1926-ban. Ezek mind ugy nyernek megemlitést, mint "Általános Sztrájkok" és azok is, de csak az imént emlitett elemzés szerinti korlátolt értelemben.

Nevezetes "Általános Sztrájkok".

Az ugynevezett Általános Sztrájk Dániában, melyet a szocialista ellenzék hivott ki a király ellen abból a célból, hogy egy ellenszenves kormány alakitását megakadályozzon és az Olasz munkásság hiressé vállt kisérlete a gyárak lefoglalására 1922-ben, melyet a renegát vörös szocialista Mussolini szindikalista taktika alkalmazásával leszerelt és tönkretett ugy, hogy munkásokat, politikusokat egyaránt kijátszva, megvédelmezte a hazafias földbirtokosok, kapitalisták és idegen tőkepénzesek érdekeit.

Az egy iparban lefolytatott Általános Sztrájkról kellő példával szolgálnak az I.W.W. erdő irtó munkásoké, melyben 100,000 lumber jack, valamint az I.W.W. rézbányászoké, melyben 40,000 munkás sztrájkolt 1917-ben. Mig a helyi Általános Sztrájkról kellő példával szolgálnak a Seattle-i és a Winnipeg-i Általános Sztrájkok. Köteteket lehetne irni ezen sztrájkok mindegyikéről. De végeredményében, mégis csak azt lehetne megállapitani róluk, hogy nem terjedtek ki nagy területekre és nem ölelték fel a különböző iparok munkásainak megfelelő számát. És ezen sztrájkoknak sem volt a bérrendszer megszüntetése kitüzött céljuk. Másszóval csupán példával szolgálnak arra, hogy önmagáért mit tehet a munkásság, nagyobb provokálás esetén, ha nagyobb szolidaritás lelkesiti és tökéletesebb szervezettel rendelkezik.

Ez ideig még nem adatott meg az alkalom, hogy az imént felsorolt, négy fajta Általános Sztrájk bármelyikének megnyerését a megfelelő viszonyok biztositották volna. De korántsem szabad feltételeznünk, hogy miután eddig nem voltak kedvezők a viszonyok a munkásságnak arra, hogy teljes ipari erejét latba vethesse—majd a jövőben sem lesz. Jól mondja a közmondás, hogy "Egy fecske nem csinál nyarat". Mert hiszen az is igaz, hogy a fecske nem igen látogat bennünket télviz idején. Maga azon tény, hogy egy bizonyos fokig már sikereket ért el a munkásság, hatványozott erejének latba vetésével nagyobb sikereket is érhet még el.

Ha egyszer az Általános Sztrájk mibenléte, tiszta meg-

értésre talál, mint hathatós harci eszköz, melyről bebizonyosodott, hogy a munkásság sokkal inkább hajlandó alkalmazni mint bármi mást, akkor az osztályharc eme eszközével szemben, minden más eltörpül. Amint a puskapor helyettesitette az ijjat és nyilat, ugy fogja az osztályharcban a munkásság gazdasági cselekvése is helyettesiteni az elavult és érvénytelen harci taktikát a bérrabszolgaságból való fölszabadulásért folytatott végső küzdelmében. Hiszen csak a leggyöngébb elméjüek vállalkozhatnak arra, hogy a munkásokat lehangolják, vagy gátolják, végcéljának eléréséhez szükséges roppant erejének kifejlesztésében. És csak a legfelületesebb birálók képtelenek annak meglátására, hogy az I.W.W. szerkezete és szerves összetétele képesitheti a munkásságot e roppant erő kifejlesztésére, gyakorlására.

Az Általános Sztrájk Mint Épitő Eszköz.

Az I.W.W. azt vallja, hogy az uj társadalom épitése— különösképpen a társadalom vajudásának idején— van olyan fontos, mint a réginek megdöntése. Nem dogma ezen felfogás, dehogy is. Mert ha a társadalmi forradalom célja az iparok társadalmositása és demokratikus irányitása, e cél megvalósitásának legfőbb ideje a forradalmi átalakulás szakában van: és meg is kell hozzá ragadni az alkalmat, minden halogatás, vagy tétovázás nélkül, nehogy a középosztály kapjon alkalmat kisérletezésekre és baklövésekre. De történjék bármiként a dolog, mi határozottan állitjuk, hogy a forrongás közepette sem szabad célt tévesztenünk, mert ez végzetessé vállhat. Még a felületes birálóknak is meglátniok kell, hogy az amerikai munkásságnak nem minden tekintetben megfelelő az Európaiak taktikája. U.S.A.-ban, nem egy de három, egymástól megkülönböztethető kultur tipusból van összetéve a lakosság. Az iparizált kelet és közép-nyugat a még mindig feudális dél és a pionér nyugat. Minden eshetőség meg van arra, hogy az osztályháboru egy kis felbujtással, vallási, politikai, vagy fajháboruvá degenerálódhatik. Sőt még ennél több az eshetőség arra, hogy ha a fékezhetetlen tömegek rászabadulnak a magasan fejlett ipari rendszerre, be áll a katasztrófa, melynek nyomában bekövetkezhetik az általános pusztitás és káosz. El kell gondolkozzunk néha az amerikai kommunista mozgalom vezéreinek ama vekmerőségén, hogy elképzelni merik, mintha ők irányitani, vagy a medrébe terelni volnának képesek azon gonosz erőket, melyek a polgárháboru esetén kikerülhetetlenül fel

szabadulnak és, hogy éppen nekik olyan sürgős ilyesminek egy olyan országra való rászabaditása, melynek jóformán a nyelvét sem beszélik.

Az I.W.W. mindig arra az álláspontra helyezkedett, hogy egy olyan technikailag kifejlődött országban mint U. S. A. a fegyveres felkelés egészen más mint egy technikailag fejletlen ország fegyveres felkelése mint amilyen Oroszország is, melynek agrár volta mellett a háboru utáni kivételes helyzet is kedvezett. Az amerikai viszonyok természetszerüleg, szélesebb körültekintést követelnek. Munkások és mérnökök egyöntetü cselekvését azon célból, hogy az Iparbárókat és Pénzfejedelmeket kizárják az iparok birtoklási jogából. Ez egyszersmind, véget vetne a profitrendszernek anélkül, hogy a termelés és a szállitás folyamatát veszélyeztetné. Ezzel kapcsolatban, a munkanélküli munkásoknak is kijut a cselekvésből. Nekik a gyárak piketelésének szerepe jut, abban a nagy küzdelemben, melyet az I.W.W. az Általános Sztrájkban juttat kifejezésre. A dolgok másként való magyarázata, csupán zavartkeltő okoskodás. Mert a modern alkotásoknak összeroppantása játszi könnyüség, ha az összerakás problémájával hasonlitjuk össze.

A Harcosok Élcsapata.

Az I.W.W. megalakulásának idejétől fogva, mindvégig a forradalmi ipari unonizmus zászló hordozója. Az ipari felfogás megtestesitője. Az ipari erő gyakorlásának folytonos hangoztatásának eredményeképp még a szocialistáknak és a kommunistáknak is elismerniök kellett, hogy a forradalmi mozgalom élcsapatát, a harcos munkásszervezetek képezik. Ennek következtében, mindkét párt ipari összeköttetést keres ha másként nem is, de legalább elméletben elismerik az ipari unionizmust. Mindkét párt elismeri, ha nem tudnak az érvek alól kibujni, hogy a jövő társadalom alapját, nem a politikai kormányzati rendszer, hanem az ipari adminisztráció fogja képezni. A legnagyobb baj mindkét pártban abban rejlik—kétségtelen, hogy soraik nem proletár elemektől való tulzsufoltsága miatt — hogy gyönge testükre abnormális politikai fejet növeltek, mely lehuzza őket. Gondolatviláguk politikai kampányok szerint igazodik (nem is beszélve más szamárságokról) semhogy sztrájkok, piket-lineokra és uniók épitésére gondolnának, melyek a szükséges gazdasági erő megteremtését teszik lehetővé. Mivel a politikai pártok, bizonyos nemzeti határok között mozognak igy

természetszerüleg nemzeti jellegüek. Összetételüknél fogva képtelenek fölismerni a nemzetközi szolidaritást, melyet cérnaszállal, mint nemzeti csoportosulásokból való tákolmányt füznek össze.

Ezzel szemben az I.W.W., figyelmen kivül helyezi a nemzeti határokat a társadalmi problémák birálatánál és ugy tekinti a világ termelő osztályát, mint amely ország határokra való tekintet nélkül, szorosan egymásbafonódó, egymásra támaszkodó egymást kiegészitő szervesen összefüggő egészet alkot. Az I.W.W. ugy vallja, hogy "a kezek az Oceán tulsó partján" munkások és nem politikusok kezei kell legyenek. Ezen álláspont dönthetetlen helyességét legjobban a világháboru bizonyitja. Németország négy és fél millió szocialista szavazója, hasonlóképpen, Franciaország Anglia és Belgium több milliós szocialista szavazói, nem tudták megállitani azt a kapzsiságtól fütött világ-katasztrófát mely 1914-ben vette kezdetét és mind a mai napig sem ért véget. A munkásság semmit sem nyert a háboruból. De annál többet veszitett. ő fizette az árat, vérrel, javakkal és nyomorral és a számla, amint látszik még nincs kiegyenlitve. És még is ugy látszik a dolog, hogy céljának elérésétől ma messzebb áll a munkásság, mint akkor volt. Az I.W.W. 1914-ben azt állitotta és ma is vallja, hogy: ha az európai munkásság iparilag lett volna szervezve, ha megtanulta volna, hogy miként kell fegyelmezetten ipari erejét gyakorolni, nemcsak az imeprialista vérfürdő megakadályozását de önmaga felszabaditását is végre hajthatta volna.

Hogyan Müködik Egy Munkás Szervezet.

Ha a politikusok, kik unásig hangoztatják a munkásosztály megmentését, okulni tudnának a multban elkövetett végzetes hibákon és a pártpolitika döcögő szekerének vonszolgatása helyett U.S.A.-ban is egy erőteljes forradalmi ipari szervezet kiépitésén munkálkodnának, a jövő prespektivái aránytalanul biztatóbb jeleket mutatnának a biztos győzelemre.

Roppant nehézkes és körülményes annak meghatározása, hogy mennyiben vagy egyáltalán tudná-e előmozditani, a proletár jellegétől mentes, pártpolitikai vezérkar, a munkásmozgalom erőteljes kibontakozását. De, hogy mennyiben szolgálhatna, egy munkás szervezet össztagságának a saját szervezete fölötti irányitás és rendelkezés jogának gyakorlásában a politikusok beavatása, vagy a szervezet fölötti

rendelkezésnek a politikusokra való ruházása igazán érthetetlen. Mert, ha a munkás szervezetek feletti rendelkezési jogot a pártpolitikusokra bizzuk ez egyszersmind azt is jelenti hogy a szervezett munkásság képtelen, saját ügyeinek irányitására. Annak puszta elismerése, hogy az ipari szervezet a poltikai párt függeléke, egy másik elismerést vonna maga után és pedig azt, hogy az ipari erő kevesebb fontossággal bir, mint a politikai. Továbbá ugy állitaná be a munkások szervezetét, mint amely nem egyéb az ambiciós politikusok játékszerénél, szatócs-vezérek eszközénél. Ha ez volna az álláspont, akkor mi szükség egyáltalán szervezetre? Akkor miért ne helyezkedhetnénk a "Sárga" szocialisták háboru előtti álláspontjára akik azt hitték, hogy a munkás szervezetek nemhogy segitenének, hanem hátráltatják a munkásság haladását, mert szervezkedésükkel a munkásság figyelmét vonják el a szavazástól. Ha jelent valamit az "Ipari Demokrácia" ugy jottányival sem jelent kevesebbet,—minthogy a tényleges munkások—saját szervezeteik felett rendelkezve képesitik önmagukat saját ügyeik intézésére, minden külső beavatkozás nélkül.

A Munkások Fejlesszék Ki Ipari Erejüket.

Ha a politikai pártok, a munkásosztály figyelmét az ipari unionizmus irányába és annak hasznosságára felhivnák szükségszerü és hasznos munkát végeznének. Ellenben ha az ipari mozgalom feletti rendelkezés és irányitásra törekszenek, akár kivülről akár belülről, sulyos hibát követnek el. Mert az I.W.W. még nem felejtette el, az 1914-es leckét.

Meg kell már egyszer érteni, hogy nem tartozik és nem is tartozhatik a politikai pártok hatáskörébe, sem az Általános, sem más fajta sztrájkok megszervezése, legkevésbbé azoknak sikerre vitele. Hirdethetik, serkenthetik, kérhetik a munkásság ipari erejének latbavetését, de ilyen cselekvések keresztülvitelére, kizárólag csak az iparokban müködő szervezet képes. A politikai párt-gépezet, sem sztrájkbahivásra, sem a sztrájkolásra nem alkalmas. Ezért párt, a politikai párt és ezért nem munkás szervezet. Mert csakis uniókba szervezett munkásság tudja megállani helyét: támadó és védelmi célok mindennemü végrehajtására egyedül ő alkalmas.

Ezért tehát ha a munkásság, valamennyi országban véget akar vetni a kizsákmányolásnak és a bérrabszolgaságnak legelső teendője, hogy teljes erejének összevonására

törekedjen, meg kell teremtse az Egy Nagy Szervezet ellenállhatatlan erőt képviselő mozgalmát olyan alapon, mint azt az Industrial Workers of the World, (I.W.W.) hirdeti. És ha nem akarják feladni a demokrácia elvét, holmi diktaturáért, ki ne adják kezükből a szervezetük feletti irányitás jogát; se a politikusoknak, lettlégyen azok bármilyen szinüek, se a proletár köntösben vezérkedő szatócsoknak.

Egy Nagy Sztrájk A Munka Szinterén.

Bár ellenvetésképpen azt is fel lehet hozni, hogy az Általános Sztrájk irányitása is lehet olyan körülményes, a szállitási eszközök esetleges megbénulása következtében, és éppen annyi szenvedést okozhat, mint a polgárháboru. Nos és, ha az államhatalmat nem foglalja le a munkásság a tőkésosztály fegyveres erejével nem-e letörheti a sztrájkot? És ez végredményében nem-e a tömegek szenvedését és a szervezetek széttörését vonná maga után?

Mindezekre válaszként azt mondjuk, hogy az I.W.W. a munkások és mérnökök egy oly tökéletesen megszervezett Általános Sztrájkját tudja elképzelni mely lehetetlenné tenné a tőkés osztály fegyveres bérenceinek ellátását—municióval és élelemmel — és szállitását. A Seattle-i (Wash.) és Winnipeg-i (Canada) sztrájkok, némileg meg mutatták, hogy mire képes a munkásság: ezen sztrájkokban a piketelés és a rend ellenőrzés mellett, a városok népének élelmiszerekkel való ellátását a sztrájkbizottság végezte. Ami a gépfegyvereket, thankokat, repülőgépeket és a bombák, számos fajtáját illeti, nem szabad elfelejteni, hogy mindezekhez, csak ugy lehet hozzájutni, ha először a munkások megcsinálják és elszállitják, rendeltetési helyükre. Azt sem szabad figyelmen kivül hagyni, hogy az ország iparai, gyárai körül elhelyezkedett munkássággal szemben az ilyen eszközök használata sokkal kockázatosabb és körülményesebb, mert igy nincsennek olyan szabadon kitéve, mint a nagyvárosok munkásgettóiban összeverődött tömegek.

A modern gondolattól fütött Általános Sztrájkban egy jól szervezett osztály mozgalomban ilyesmi egyébbként is fölöslegessé vállna, mert nem feltétlenül szükséges, hogy a dolgozó munkásság elhagyja helyét. Éppen ellenkezőleg: a törekvés oda fog irányulni, hogy a munkások bekerüljenek az iparokba, hogy azok kerekeit mozgásban tartsák. Másszóval az Általános Sztrájk, mint eszköz, nem a népek kiéheztetésére, hanem azok élelmezésére volna fölhasználható.

Ebben domborodik ki az I.W.W. állásfoglalása, a MUNKA SZINTERÉN VALÓ SZTRÁJKRÓL. Annyiban változnék a helyzet, hogy a müszaki termelő és vezető erők irányitása mellett a kifeszitett gyárkapukon keresztül a munkanélküli milliók is a termelésbe kapcsolódnának. A termelő gépezet kerekei, csak ugy mozognának mint annak előtte, persze kizárólag a társadalom szükségleteinek kielégitésére és nem a profit-éhes kitartott osztály részére.

Az Általános Sztrájk tehát azt jelenti, hogy a termelők hadserege, megfelelő technikai vezetés irányitás mellett bent marad az iparokban és folytatja a termelés, szállitás s szétosztás müveletét, de nem a parazita osztály részére, hanem megtagadja a további profit termelést és kizárólag a szükségletet elégiti ki. Az Általános Sztrájkból, Általános Kizárás lehet igy. A heréknek végleges kizárása, akik a "magán tulajdon" jogán, bitorolják a gépeket, melyeknek birtoklásától függ az egész emberi társadalom léte és boldogulása.

A Tömeg Ellenszegül A Kizsákmányolásnak.

Az Általános Sztrájk a munkásság akaratától függ: az ő nyakas elszántságán fog mullani a kizsákmányolási folyamat vége, ő dönti el meddig lesz PROFIT és mikor veszi kezdetét a SZÜKSÉGLETRE való termelés. Eltérően a kissebb sztrájkoktól az Általános Sztrájk sikere nem feltétlenül a teljes termelő erők visszavonásától, a gépek megállitásától, hanem inkább a munkásság ama képességétől függ, hogy erejének csak olyan hányadát veti latba, melynek visszavonása, vagy megtagadása által a parazita tulajdonosok, teljesen el esnek a profittól

Az Általános Sztrájk végcélja, a béreket illetőleg a munka teljes gyümölcse. Magasabb bérek követelése, csak akkor kap forradalmi jelleget ha a követelés magában foglalja, a munkásság kizsákmányolásának teljes megszünését. A munkásság kizsákmányolása, a munka szinterén a termelésnél megy végbe. És kizárólag a munka szinterén hajthatja végre a munkásság abbeli akaratát, hogy a semmittevő, az iparoktól távol henyélő heréknek CSAK annyit juttasson amennyit (semmit) ők termelnek. Mert az igaszságos gazdasági rendszer biztositéka: minden részesedés teljes megvonása, mindazoktól, akik nem veszik ki részüket a termelésből. A kapitalista rendszer alatt, számos elkeseredett küzdelmet vivott a munkásság a tarthatatlan viszonyok megjavitásáért, de ezen küzdelmek bármilyen elengedhetetlen volt is a követe-

lésük aligha nevezhetők forradalminak. Mert még az Ipari Demokrácia rendszerében is lesznek kivánságok, melyek olyan sorrendben kell teljesüljenek, amint a felismert szükségszerüség azokat megköveteli.

Rövidebb Munkaidő MINT Forradalmi Követelés.

Mindemellett, a rövidebb munkaidő követelése önmagában, forradalmi. Mert a nyolc órás munkanap mellett, kevesebb mint három óra szükséges ahoz, hogy a munkás saját munkabérét megkeresse; igy a nap többi idejét a munkáltató profitjának növelésére szenteli. Ahány órával rövidítjük a munkanapot, annyi órával kevesebb a munkáltató profitja, mert a munkán alkalmazott minden munkás egy órával kevesebbet robotol, egy órával rövidebb időn át zsákmányolják ki. Egyben ez magyarázza azon tényt is, hogy a munkáltatók minden időben a legnagyobb ellentállást fejtettek ki a rövidebb munkaidő teljesitésével szemben: sokkal szigorubbat, mint a viszonyok javitása, sőt még a munkabérek emelésével szemben bármikor is tanusitottak.

Ennek oka egyszerü és világos: Mert a hat és nyolc órás munkanap közötti különbség számokban kifejezve a három és öt órák közötti különbség, illetve az, hogy a munkás öt órán át kiveritékezett hasznot, vagy három órai robotot izzad-e ki bőréből a munkáltatónak. Avagy másszóval és még könyebben érthetően, a hat és három órás munkanapok közötti különbség összehasonlitása azt mutatja, hogy hat órás munkanap mellett három órán át profitot izzadunk a munkálatónak, mig három órás munkanap mellett, csak önmagunknak termelünk és a munkáltatónak semmit sem. Éppen ezért, ha a munkáltató továbbra is a munkások nyakán akar élősködni (és hogy akar az kétségtelen) éber szemmel kell vigyázzon és ragaszkodjon a hosszu munkaidőhöz. Ettől függ a munkáltató jogtalan haszna sőt ennél sokkal több: léha életének biztositása és kiváltságos helyzetének megtartása.

Az Általános Sztrájk főkövetelése a fennti megállapitások logikája alapján egy olyan általános napi munkaidő bevezetése volna, mely a termelési eszközök fejlettségének arányában profit mentes alapon napi három, vagy még ennél is kevesebb órai munkaidő alatt, a társadalom szükségletét kielégitené. Minden követelés között, ez a legforradalmibb követelése a munkásságnak, mert a profitot és a pro-

fit-harácsolási lehetőségeket egyik osztálynak a másik osztály általi kizsákmányolását, fölszáritja, annak gyökerében. Egy jól tervezett ipari társadalomban, hol az emberiség rendelkezik a tökéletesitett modern termelő eszközök fölött (nem a kiváltságos osztály mint ma) még ha a jelenben alkalmazott irányitó erők és közegek kezében maradnának is, (a profit rendszertől eltekintve) semmiképpen sem volna megindokolható, hogy miért kelljen a munkásságnak, napi két és fél esetleg három óránál többet dolgozniok. Ennél hosszabb napi munkaidőre nem azért van szükség, hogy a társadalom szükségletét állitsuk elő, hanem azért, hogy: a már amugy is disznó-kövérre hizlalt iparbárók, jobban hizzanak és tovább élvezzék parazita életüket. A három órás munkanap megteremtésének célkitüzésével kapcsolatban, egy Általános Sztrájk, nemcsak a munkanélküliségnek vethetne véget, hanem a munkába osztott és a jelenben munkanélkül sinylődő munkások mellé, oda kerülnének munkába a Nagytőke Rablólovagjai is. E helyen megemlithetjük, mint egy felevenités képpen az észak nyugati erdőirtó munkások sztrájkját az I.W.W. irányitásában, akik egyszerüen elvették maguknak a nyolcórás munkanapot, mely nem igényelt nagyobb fáradságot, miután e célból önmagukat megszervezték, mint a szervezet egy-egy tagjának sipolását, figyelmeztetésül, hogy letelt a nyolc óra. Erre a jelre, mint egy ember, valamennyien abba hagyták a munkát a bószok és hajcsárok legnagyobb dühe és tehetetlensége mellett.

Az Általános Sztrájk és az Általános Piketelés.

Az I.W.W. érdeme, hogy az ipari harcokban eredményesen alkalmazható, elengedhetetlen taktikákat vezetett be az amerikai munkásmozgalomba: a munkán való sztrájkot és a munkanélküliek tömeg-piketelését. Mert ezek mindegyike elengedhetetlen fontossággal bir az Általános Sztrájk megvivásánál. Sőt mi több; a mozgalom sikere (eltekintve a megfelelő technikai irányitó erőktől) azon szolidaritástól függ, mely a még dolgozó és munkanélküli munkások között fenn áll. Az osztály sztrájkban ezen szolidaritás nélkülözhetetlen, mert csak is a közös cselekvés és a közös megértés eme értelmi magaslata nyujt garanciát arra, hogy a munkaidő kellő megröviditésével, együttesen veszik föl a munkát. Könnyü elképzelni azon hatást, melyet a kapitalista rendszernek éreznie kell abban az esetben, ha a munkanélküli milliók, a gyárakat piketelik a rövidebb munkaidő beve-

zetéséért. Mert azt cselekedve, a munkanélküliek, nem csak gyökerében támadnák a munkanélküliség okát (hosszu munkaidő) hanem gyökerében támadnák, magát a kizsákmányolást is. (A magántulajdon bitorló jogát.) Fölmerülhet azon ellenvetés is, hogy: habár nagyszerü az Általános Sztrájk gondolata, nagyon kevés a kilátás arra, hogy valaha is lesz alkalom annak gyakorlására. De rövid válaszunk az, hogy: Igen is lesz. Mert minden jel annak bizonyitására szolgál, hogy az Általános Sztrájkkal sokkal inkább megvan a lehetősége a munkásosztálynak a győzelemre jutáshoz, mint a szavazó urnánál, vagy az uccai harcokon keresztül a fegyveres felkeléssel. Ennek dacára, mégis el kell ismernünk, hogy alkalmazási lehetősége állandóan veszélyeztetve van a politikusok megátalkodott okoskodása miatt, kikkel egy követ fujnak a lázadó "fenegyerekek" éppen ugy mint az ipari gondolat megértésére képtelen reformerek holott sokkal kevesebb energiával, de erélyes neveléssel és forradalmi propagandával, az ipari unionisták álláspontja értelmében terjeszteni kellene a gondolatot az elgáncsolás helyett. S ha minden erőt latba vetve nem iparkodunk azon, hogy az állandóan növekedő elégedetlenséget, az osztály-öntudat medrébe be terelve ipari gondolatokká fejlesztve, az Ipari Demokrácia megteremtésének szorgalmazására Általános Sztrájká fejlesszük, ehelyett más dolgok fognak bekövetkezni. A legközelebbi eshetőség csőcselék zavargásokat vagy a diktatura egyik-másik formáját helyezi kilátásba. A munkásságnak mindent el kell követnie, hogy megszerezze amit akar, ám azt tartjuk, hogy nem ártana, határozottan biztosnak lenni abban hogy tényleg akarják-e.

Az Uj Társadalomnak Jönni Kell.

A kapitalista rendszer, a maga rothadt mivoltában is, olyan sajátossággal bir, melyek fölött csak ugy egyszerüen átsiklani nem lehet. Az állam fegyveres erőinél sokkal inkább számolnunk kell a vipera-sajtóval és a hirszolgálat más eszközeivel és a félrevezetés osztály-propagandájával. A kapitalista sajtó és az általuk kontrolált rádió szolgálat, talán legerősebb védbástyáit képezik a fennálló rendnek. Ezen eszközök segitségével, a munkás gyülölet és tömegtéboly, bármikor lázas felelőtlen őrületté korbácsolható fel olyan méretekig, hogy akik a rendszer ellen szót emelni mernek, akár mint egyének, avagy mint csoportok, ezzel kell számolniok. Ám emlékezünk esetekre, amikor napilapok-

nál alkalmazott munkások — Seattle Wash.-ban megtörtént — megtagadták a kiszedését és nyomását olyan irásoknak, melyek a harcoló munkásokat gyalázták és ellenük uszitottak. Tehát ezen a téren is éppen ugy, mint a munició gyártási, valamint szállitási iparban, a munkások gazdasági ereje, a munkások előnyére hasznára fordithatő.

A még mindég erőteljesnek látszó kizsákmányolási rendszer gyökerei, gazdasági tudatlanságból táplálkoznak. Fütik a maradi hagyományok, szokások, nem tudnak szabadulni az átkozott individualizmustól, melynek jegyében, a csavarmenet folytonosságára berendezett agyu politikusok, részükre lerendezik a választási cirkuszokat. És még is, mindezen szemlélhető előnyei dacára, a rendszer és fenntartói egy vesztett küzdelmet verekednek. A kapitalista rendszer kiélte magát és mint társadalmi rend, pusztulása elkerülhetetlen. Fennállása csak átkot jelent az egész emberiségre. Mert történelmi létjogosultságának bizonyitása érvek nélkül való. A maga valóságában, utjába került a társadalom haladásának. Pusztulásra itéltetett az örökfejlődés vasszigoru törvényei által. Amint a rabszolgaság helyet kellett adjon a jobbágyságnak és a jobbágyság a bérrabszolgaságnak — ez utóbbi is kénytelen lesz a békés fejlődés, valamint a forradalmi erők nyomása alatt, átadni helyét a tudományos industrializmusnak, az Ipari Demokráciának. Ám e tények holtbizonyosságának folyamata is könnyen elgáncsolható, ha tekintetbe vesszük az uralkodó osztálynak, a rendszerhez való félreérthetetlen ragaszgodását és hajlamosságát arra, hogy semmint utat engedjen, inkább szétzülleszti és felforgatja az egész világot. E céljukat is elérhetik, ha sürgősen nem teszünk lépéseket, hogy megakadályozzuk őket.

Jöjjön Hát Aminek Jönni Kell.

A balkezes irányitás miatt bekövetkezett éhség és nyomor következtében, az egész világ, már is egy forrongó katlanhoz hasonlit. Nincsen olyan egyén, de még szervezet sem, mely előre megjósolhatná, hogy a végkimerülésben vergődő társadalmi rendszer utolsó napjait élő civilizált országok egyike vagy másika, az események forgatagában milyen irányokat követhet, avagy egy-egy elméletet, előre lefektetett tervrajzok szerint foganatosit. A társadalmi tudomány világitó sugarai mellett, annyit azonban mégis látunk, hogy az iparokat azok kell átvegyék, akiknek szükségük van rá, akik benn vannak és élnek: az iparokat mindenek felett mozgás-

ba kell hozniok, hogy a profit kikapcsolásával, közszükségletre kezdjék el a termelést. A termelés, szétosztás és szállitás társadalmositásától függ az egész emberiség léte s éppen ezért a társadalmositás elkerülhetetlen. Ennek végrehajtására, csak a munkások képesek és kötelességük, hogy MINDEN ÁRON eleget tegyenek hivatásuknak. Nincsen olyan erő, vagy hatalom, mellyel a helyesen szervezett és kellőképen fegyelmezett munkásságot visszatartani lehetne, hogy önmagának — a mindenségnek — urává legyen.

Az I.W.W. elvinyilatkozata utolsó fejezetében, tudományosan beigazolt, dönthetetlen érvekkel alátámasztott programjának konstruktiv (épitő) jellegét idézzük tehát, melynek ékesszólása és bizonyitó ereje, ma erőteljesebben hangzik, mint valaha: "A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül".

"Semmik Voltunk S Minden Leszünk."

"Az iparok lefoglalása" sokat jelentő jelszót, még a jelenben is gunyolják, félre értik és főként félremagyarázzák oly annyira, hogy olyan téves beállitásnak tüntetik fel, mintha e folyamatnak, a gyárakon kivül kellene végbe menni. De beszéljünk erről magyarul vagy ha kell magyarán: miért kellene a munkásoknak olyasmit "lefoglalniok" mely fölött ők rendelkeznek, ami a kezükbe van?

Hiszen a hét minden munkanapjában, amikor dolgoznak; az iparok a munkások birtokában vannak. Igy tehát a nagy probléma nem abban rejlik, hogy miként kell az iparokat "lefoglalni", hanem, hogy hogyan kell azt állandóan megtartani. A tudományosan megszervezett és levezetett Általános Sztrájknak egyszerübb és ésszerübb jelszót, programot kell ajánlani a dolgozó munkásoknak: "Tartsátok birtokban az iparokat de ugy, hogy profitot ne termeljetek a munkáltatóknak". Mig a munkanélkülieknek ugyanakkor azt javasolja, hogy: "Piketeljék (sztrájk őrszem) az iparokat, tagadják meg a sztájktörést és gondoskodjanak arról, hogy a sztrájktöréstől mindenkit visszatartsanak".

A nyersanyagok és gépek jelen "tulajdonosainak" szükségük van a munkásságra, akik nélkül a termelés menete el-

képzelhetetlen. A forradalmi átalakulások időszakában, a munkások szerepe nem kevésbbé fontos s éppen ezért felkészülve kell legyenek, hogy a gépek fölötti kontrolt megtarthassák, a kezeikből ki ne adják sem a "tulajdonosnak", de még a sztrájktörőknek, vagy a fegyveres bérenceknek sem.

Mi nem kételkedünk abban, hogy a munkásság még fogja védelmezni érdekeit. Az I.W.W. harcolni tanitotta és tanitja a munkásságot ma is — nem könyörgésre ó dehogy is — hanem arra, hogy követeljenek, hogy ne kérjenek, hanem vegyék el amit akarnak. S ahoz, hogy a társadalmat megszabaditsuk a parazitáktól, a küszöbön álló végső küzdelem megvivásához, félelmet nem-ismerő bátorságra, tiszta öntudatra van szükség, melynek megszerzése és gyakorlása, sokkal kivánatosabb ma, mint bármikor ezelőtt.

Tudatában annak, hogy az iparok fölötti kontrol megszerzésére és megtartására a termelő osztály csak akkor számithat, ha erejét e célból kellőképpen megszervezte, az I.W.W. egy olyan Általános Sztrájkot hirdet, melyben a munka szinterén alkalmazott munkások táborát, a munkanélküliek szervezett, áttörhetetlen forradalmi picketvonala erösiti és alátámasztja. A magántulajdon rendszerének helyébe — minden kétséget kizárva — a köztulajdon rendszere fog lépni, mely átalakulási folyamat simán alligha mehet végbe. Ám, hogy a pusztulás, pusztitás és vérontás veszélyét elháritsuk, vagy a minimálisra csökkentsük, ez valamennyiünknek érdeke és kötelessége.

A munkásosztálynak mindent el kell követnie a cél megvalósitására. A forradalmi mozgalom erejét és hullámzását, minden igyekezetünkkel át terelnünk kell az utcáról, az iparokba. A forradalmi harc értelmezése, magyarázása és megvivása, ipari cselekvésben kell kidomborodjék — az iparok feletti kontrol megszerzése — támadás és védekezés — valamint a termelés további folytatása, a forrongó osztályharcnak éppen ugy, mint a végső küzdelemnek minden fázisát felöleli, magában foglalja, mert a szállitás, szétosztás és a termelés feletti rendelkezés az osztályharc ütköző pontja. Minden valószinüség arra vall, hogy elkeseredett, nehéz küzdelem vár reánk, de végső kimenetele kétségenkivül a munkásság győzelmét eredményezi és a munkásságé lesz a világ ipara.

Jöjjön hát, aminek jönni kell és ne számolgassa a munkás, hogy milyen lesz az ár, amit fizetni fog érte. Mert az

Általános Sztrájk által okozta szenvedések és nélkülözések kilátásba helyezése, még a legrosszabb esetben sem kíván tölünk olyan áldozatokat, mint a kapitalista rendszer által ránk zuditott és mind sürübben jelentkező depressziók. S ha az áldozatot, amit megkövetel, az 1914-ben kezdett halotti torral hasonlitsuk össze és az általunk adott drága emberi életet tesszük a mérleg serpenyőjébe, akkor egy kis ünnepnek tünik fel az egész. Az Általános Sztrájk ésszerübb a fegyveres felkelésnél és célszerübb, biztosabb a pártpolitikai akciónál. Végső kimenetelében pedig — miután a vihar elült — tudományosan tervezett, békére berendezett világrendhez jutattja, biztonságot és bőséget teremt a martiromság golgotáját bejárta emberiségnek. Lehet-e, szebb nemesebb és érdemlegesebb célkitüzése a bátor és harcias férfiaknak és nőknek, mint az osztálynélküli társadalom ideálizmusa, az Ipari Demokrácia, melyért az I.W.W. immár több, mint negyed századon át oly elszántan, hősiesen harcol és küzd?

ELVINYILATKOZAT

A MUNKÁSOSZTÁLY és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között, s az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

E KÉT OSZTÁLY között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai, mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

UGY TALÁLJUK, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni öszpontosulása a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) képtelenné teszi arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, mely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon elősegitik, hogy bérharcok esetén egymást verik le. A szakiparban dolgozó, másik csoport ellen uszitsák s ezáltal szervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

E SZOMORU állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olyképp felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden az egy iparban — vagy ha kell valamennyi iparban — dolgozó tagjai beszüntessék a munkát, bármikor, ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az eggyen esett sérelmet az összeség sérelmének tekinti.

E MARADI jelszó helyett: "Tisztességes napibért tisztességes napi munkáért". ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: "Le a bérrendszerrel"!

A MUNKÁSOSZTÁLY történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül.

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Hajsza a munka után.

Munkástárs:—

Önhöz szólunk, aki már hetek óta minden reggel azon reményben hagyja el otthonát, hogy valahol majd csak munkát kap. Önhöz, aki hetek óta minden délután nehéz szivvel megy haza, mert tudja jól, hogy otthon is elszorult szivvel várják, vajjon kapott-e munkát? És az asszony meg a gyermekek kérdő pillantására nem tud biztató választ adni, mert ma éppen olyan eredménytelenül járkált, mint tegnap, tegnapelőtt s teszi már napok óta.

Igaz, az asszony jó, megértő, nem tesz szemrehányást. Tudja jól, hogy ön szivesen dolgozna, csak munkát kapna. Azonban mindez nem sokat segit a dolgon. A házbért fizetni kell, akár dolgozik, akár nem. A füszeres, a pék, a mészáros nem igen hiteleznek szegény munkásembereknek! Aztán cipő kell, ruha kell a gyereknek is. És semmi kilátás arra, hogy honnan szerzi meg ezeknek a költségeit!

Munkástárs, nem ötlött még önnek az eszébe, az, hogy nem jól van ez igy? Nem gondolt még arra, hogy nagy igazságtalanság történik önnel meg a családjával, amikor nélkülözniök éhezniök kell, holott ön szivesen vállalna bármilyen munkát is!

Talán nem ismerjük önt személyesen, de azért tudjuk, hogy amikor dolgozott, nem keresett annyit, hogy a munkanélküliség idejére számottevő összeget félretehetett volna. Éppen csak annyit fizettek önnek, amennyiből szükösen megélhetett. Hiába takarékoskodtak, alig néhány heti munkanélküliség után már szükséget lát. És minél nagyobb a család, annál nagyobb a szükség. Hogy honnan tudjuk ezt?

Onnan, hogy minket is csak ugy jutalmaztak. Mi is osztozunk az ön sorsában. Egyforma a sorsunk mindannyiunknak, akik a munkások nagy családjához tartozunk.

Örökös rettegés.

Igen, a munkanélküliség minket, bérmunkásokat, egyformán sujt. Nem igen van közöttünk olyan, aki egész éven át egy huzamban ugyanazon munkán dolgozna. Ha van, az csak véletlen és oly kevés, hogy számba sem vehető. Ellenben annál nagyobb azoknak a száma, akik háromszor, négyszer, sőt annál is többször kénytelenek uj munkaalkalom után futkosni.

Amikor dolgozunk, akkor is a munka elvesztésétől kell rettegnünk. Az egész életünk olyan, mint az üldözött vadé; nem tudjuk mikor sujt le ránk a munkanélküliség. De nemcsak akkor sujt bennünket ez a rettegett veszedelem, ha közvetlenül bennünket ér, hanem akkor is, ha testvér, rokon vagy barát esik áldozatául. Olyan ez, mint a szerencsétlenség, amely megdöbbenést és fájdalmat okoz az összes rokonok és ismerősök körében. És miként a szerencsétlenség alkalmával támogatjuk rokonainkat, barátainkat, ugy a munkanélküliség esetén is csak mi, munkások segitjük ki egymást. A munkanélküliek eltartása a munkában levőkre háramlik. Igy a munkanélküliség csapás a munkában levőkre is.

Munkástárs, ön nem először van munkanélkül. Sokszor megjárta már a munkakeresés kálváriáját. Gondolt-e valaha is arra, hogy mi ennek az oka? Hogy miért kell önnek időről-időre ilyen nélkülözéseket átszenvedni. És aztán azt is látja, hogy nemcsak ön, hanem munkástestvéreinek mindegyike megjárja ezt a kálváriát? Nem gondolt-e arra, hogy ezen talán segiteni is lehetne?

Azonban ha valami bajon segiteni akarunk, ugy kell tennünk, mint a jó orvos, aki előbb kikutatja a baj okát és csak akkor ajánl orvosságot. Meg kell tehát ismernünk a munkanélküliség okát is és akkor

megmondhatjuk, hogy vajjon lehetne-e a munkanélküliséget megszüntetni, hogy vajjon lehetne-e mindenki számára a munkát biztositani.

A munkanélküliség okai.

A munkanélküliség nem uj dolog. Hiszen jól tudja ön, hogy még a háboru alatt is sokan voltak munkanélkül, noha akkor a háborus munkák nagyon sok embert foglalkoztattak. A háboru előtt pedig egészen általános volt az, hogy a munkások százezrei állandóan munka után futkossanak. Voltak azonban olyan évek, amikor nem százezrekre, de milliókra ment a munkanélküliek száma. Ma is ilyen idők előtt állunk.

A munkanélküliségnek az az oka, hogy a gyárakat, a bányákat, a földeket, szállitási eszközöket csak néhány ember birja. Nem dolgozhatunk tehát csak akkor, amikor ezek a tulajdonosok megengedik. Hiába a mi munkaerőnk az, amely az anyagokat használható tárgyakká formálja, nem dolgozhatunk, mert ahoz, hogy valamit készitsünk anyagra, szerszámra és helyre van szükségünk. A természet örök törvénye, hogy semmiből nem lehet valamit készitени. Igy a munkás is csak anyagok feldolgozására képes. De ezen munka elvégzéséhez szerszámokra, gépekre van szüksége. Szüksége van azonkivül valamilyen helyre, ahol ezt a munkát elvégzi. Azonban ime azt látjuk, hogy a nyers anyagokat szolgáltató földet, bányákat, vizeket, továbbá a gépeket és a munkatelepeket elzárták a munkások elől.

A javak termelése fölött csak az a néhány ember rendelkezik, akik tulajdonosai a termelés eszközeinek. Ezeknek az engedelme nélkül nem lehet élelmiszereket termelni, ruhát készitени, lakásokat épiteni. És ezt az engedelmet busásan meg kell fizetnünk. Megfizetjük azzal, amit termelünk. Mi készitjük az élethez szükséges javakat, de ezek a javak azoknak a tulajdonába mennek át, akik a termelés eszközeivel rendelkeznek és nekünk csak any-

nyit adnak belőle, amivel életünket eltengethetjük. A termelt javak nagy részét önmaguknak tartják meg azért a kegyességért, amellyel megengedik nekünk, hogy dolgozhassunk.

Termelés a profitért.

A tőkések, — mint ahogy általában a termelő eszközök tulajdonosait nevezzük, — nem nézik azt, hogy a termelt árucikkekre van-e szükség, avagy nincs. Termeltetnek, ha abból hasznuk, **profitjuk** van. És megszüntetik a termelést, mihelyt nincs kilátás további profitra, hiába van nagy szükség az árukra.

A tőkés termelési rendszerben tehát nem azért készitjük az árucikkeket, hogy azokat az emberek elhasználják, hanem azért, hogy a tőkésnek profitjuk legyen belőle. De honnan származik ez a profit? Onnan, hogy a tőkés a munkásnak nem fizeti vissza az általa termelt árucikkek értékét, hanem csak annak egy részét, a többit megtartja magának. Mármost ha az egész munkásosztályt és az egész tőkésosztályt nézzük, akkor azt látjuk, hogy az összes javakat, az ezek előálliátására szolgáló gépeket és gyártelepeket is beleértve, mind a munkásság készíti. Azonban a tőkésosztály ezért csak a készitett javak értékének egy részét adja vissza bér alakjában.

Ezzel a bérrel aztán a munkás képtelen visszavásárolni az általa termelt árukat. Igy a termelt javaknak egy része fölöslegben marad. És ez a rész sokkal nagyobb, mint anmennyit a tőkésosztály maga el tudna fogyasztani. El kell tehát adnia idegen piacokon. Mikor aztán a fölös termelvény már olyan nagy, hogy a piacok sem képesek megvásárolni, akkor beáll a tultermelés és beszüntetik a munkát, mert a tőkésosztálynak egyidőre nincs kilátása ujabb profitra. Az ilyen időszakokat **pániknak,** vagy **krizisnek** is mondják.

A munkanélküliség a krizis idejében emelkedik igen nagyra. Lassanként azonban a fölös árut fel-

használják és a termelés megint megindul. Bizonyos idő multán megint fölös termelés lesz és ujabb krizis áll be. És minél tökéletesebbek a gépek, annál gyorsabban következik be a krizis, mert a munkások többet tudnak termelni. Az Egyesült Államok munkássága a polgárháboru óta öt-hat nagy krizisen ment keresztül.

A tőkés csak a profittal törődik.

A tőkések a krizisek elkerülésére idegen piacokat kerestek. Miután a profit-eshetőségért a tőkések között verseny van, az ilyen idegen piacokat gyakran csak a háboruk árán szerezhették meg, mig végre a piacok utáni hajsza a borzalmas világháboruhoz vezetett. És dacára a világháboru borzalmainak, ma ismét krizis előtt állunk.

A jelenlegi pánik azonban jóval különbözik az előzőktől. Ma van elég piac a fölös áruk elhasználására, hiszen naponként halljuk, hogy Európa népei milyen rettenetes nélkülözés közepette élnek. Nagyon is rá vannak tehát szorulva az amerikai árucikkekre. Azonban a háboru anyagilag ugy tönkretette őket, hogy képtelenek megvásárolni a kivánt dolgokat. Másszóval képtelenek profitot adni az amerikai tőkéseknek és igy nélkülözniök kell.

A kapitalista azonban nem törődik az emberiség szenvedéseivel. Legfeljebb arra kapható, hogy néhány centtel hozzájáruljon az ingyen kenyér osztogatáshoz és egyéb hasonló jótékonykodáshoz, amelyek lemoshatatlan szégyenfoltjai a civilizációnak. De nem törődik a kapitalista a munkásainak jólétével sem. Addig, amig profitot hajtanak, alkalmazza őket. De mihelyt nincs többé kilátása profitra, az utcára dobja munkásait is.

De azt is tudjuk, hogy minél többet fizet a gyáros a munkásainak, annál kevesebb marad neki, vagyis kevesebb lesz a profitja. Azonban mint mondottuk, a tőkést csak a profit érdekli, igy arra törekszik, hogy az minél nagyobb legyen, vagyis munkásainak a lehető legkisebb fizetést adja. És ehez megint

szüksége van arra, hogy sok munkanélküli legyen. Minél többen állnak reggelenkint a gyár előtt a munkakeresők, annál biztosabban leszállithatja a gyáros a munkabéreket.

Kedvükre van a munkanélküliség.

A tőkés tehát jó szemmel nézi a munkanélküliséget. Ha nem volna munkanélküli, akkor kénytelen volna megadni munkásainak azt a bért, amit azok követelnek. Igy azonban a munkások között verseny van a munkaalkalmakért és a tőkés ezt a versenyt kihasználja a bérek lenyomására, a profit emelésére.

A munkanélküliség hozzá tartozik a tőkés termelési rendszerhez. Ebben a rendszerben a munkásoknak küzdeniök kell azért, hogy dolgozhassanak. A munkáltató éppenugy veszi a munkások munkaerejét, mint egy árucikket. Éppen ugy, mint például mi a füszeresnél vesszük a cukrot, sót vagy más árut. Mi is odamegyünk vásárolni, ahol olcsóbban kapjuk az árut. A munkáltató is azt a munkást fogadja fel, aki olcsóbban adja oda munkaerejét.

Azonban a füszeres meg a munkás között ebben a tekintetben nagy különbség van, mert amig a füszeres boltjában teljes értékében megmarad a cukor, só és egyéb áruk abban az esetben is, ha nem adja el azokat, addig a munkásnak a munkaereje elfogy, ha fentartásáról állandóan nem gondoskodik. A közönséges árucikkek meg a munkaerő között tehát az a különbség, hogy az árucikkeket elraktározhatjuk, amig a munkaerőt állandóan táplálnunk kell. Éppen ez az, ami a munkást arra kényszeriti, hogy a munkaerejét bizonyos idő multán el kell adnia, olyan árért, amilyet kinálnak érte.

A munkára való képesség nem más, mint az egészség, — maga az élet. A létfentartás ösztöne kényszerit bennünket arra, hogy táplálkozzunk, ruházkodjunk és fedél alatt vonjuk meg magunkat. A munkanélküliség ezen tényezőket vonja meg tőlünk, azért erősebb korbács ez, mint a rabszolgatartó kor-

bácsa volt, amellyel a lassu rabszolga hátát véresre hasogatták. A munkanélküliség réme sokkal erősebben nyomja járomba a munkást, mint a rabszolgatartók kegyetlenségei. Ezt azonban nem látjuk olyan tisztán, mint a rabszolga látta a rásuhintó korbácsot és éppen azért a munkások nagy része nem is tudja, hogy mi okozza szenvedéseinek nagy részét. Mindaddig, amig a munkások egymással versenyeznek a munkaalkalmak elnyeréséért, a tőkések profitja biztos és kizsákmányolják a munkásságot.

Tagadják a valódi okot.

Dacára annak, hogy a munkanélküliség már óriási méreteket öltött, a tőkések által kitartott ujságok vagy egyáltalában nem foglalkoznak ezzel a kérdéssel, vagy pedig ha már megemlitik is, azt akarják elhitetni az olvasóval, hogy ez csak ideiglenes. Mindig találtak valami okot annak kimagyarázására. Előbb azt mondották, hogy az elnökválasztás az oka. Ez az állapot csak az elnökválasztásig fog tartani és akkor ujult erővel indulnak meg az iparok. Meg választották az elnököt és az iparok meginditása helyett a gyárak ujabb százait zárták le. Hamar előállottak ekkor azzal a kifogással, hogy ez a pangás csak ujévig tart. Leltárakat állitanak össze a gyárakban, azért kellett lezárni azokat. Elmult az ujév is és ime, a gyárak még mindig csukva vannak. Aztán azt hirdették, hogy csak az uj elnök székfoglalóját várják. Biztosak lehetünk, hogy azután meg majd valami más kifogást fognak kitalálni.

A valódi okot nem fogják megmondani. Nem fogják megirni lapjaikban, hogy a jelenlegi nagy munkanélküliségnek a profitra való termelés az oka. Nem fogják megirni, hogy a tőkések még a nagy munkanélküliségből is hasznot huznak, mert ennek segélyével leszoritják a munkabéreket. Ehelyett inkább mindenféle kifogásokat tesznek, hogy félrevezessék a munkásokat, mert tudják, hogy ha a munkások felismernék a valódi okokat, akkor hamar véget vetnének a profit kedvéért való termelési rend-

szernek és vele együtt a tőkések és bérenceik uralmának is.

A mai termelési rendszer tarthatatlanságát mutatja a nagy drágaság is. A kenyér, hus, főzelékféléknek és más fontos tápszereknek alig ment le valamivel az ára. A lakbérek pedig magasabbak, mint azelőtt. De még drága pénzért is nagyon nehéz lakást kapni. A szenátus vizsgáló bizottsága ismerte el, hogy az Egyesült Államokban legalább egy millió lakásra volna szükség azonnal, hogy csak némileg is el lehessen helyezni azt a 18 millió egyént, akik a lakásinség miatt ma nem lakhatnak tisztességes lakásokban.

A rendszert kell megváltoztatni.

Bátran kérdezhetjük tehát, mit fog csinálni ez a millió és millió éhező és lakástalan munkás? Ácsorogni fognak a telitett áruraktárak előtt, hogy legalább szemüket hizlalják, ha már vásárolni nem képesek? Csodálattal fogják bámulni a gazdagok palotáit, amelyek üresen állnak, mert tulajdonosaik most Florida fürdőhelyein mulatnak? Avagy ösztönüket követve onnan veszik az élelmet, a lakást, ahol találják? Ha ezt tennék is az éhezők, nem lehetne őket korholni érte.

A kérdés azonban az, segitenének-e ezzel véglegesen? Avagy csak pillanatra enyhitenének nyomorukon? Az eddigiekből láthattuk, hogy a munkanélküliségnek meg a velejáró minden nélkülözésnek a profitra való termelés az oka. **Ezt a termelési rendszert kell tehát megváltoztatni, különben megmarad a munkanélküliség is. Ez a rendszer az oka minden szenvedésünknek, mert csak azon kevés egyén érdekét szolgálja, akik a termelő eszközökkel rendelkeznek.**

Ha a munkáltató észreveszi valamely munkásról, hogy képtelen elvégezni a rábizott feladatot, minden ceremónia nélkül elküldi. Ez egészen természetes a munkások előtt is. De akkor azt is be kell látniok, hogy ugyanigy kell tennünk azzal a termelési rend-

szerrel, amelyről felismertük, hogy nem képes bennünket ellátni az élet javaival. És mint a munkáltató az elbocsájtott helyébe megfelelő embert vesz fel, nekünk is a mai termelési rendszer helyett olyan rendszert kell megteremtenünk, amely képessé tesz mindnyájunkat arra, hogy megtermelhessük magunknak mindazt, amire szükségünk van.

Ez nem lehetetlenség! Beláthatja mindenki, aki egy kicsit gondolkodik e dolog felett. Hiszen jól tudjuk, hogy a föld gyomra tele van a feldolgozásra váró nyersanyagokkal. A munkanélküliek között mindenféle szakmáju munkás és hivatalnok van. De van elég üres föld is s igy a munkanélküliek meg tudnák termelni maguknak az élelmet, el tudnák készíteni a ruházatot és még lakásokat is tudnának épiteni maguknak, — ha engednék őket.

A munkások nagy többsége soha sem gondolt arra, hogy ez lehetséges volna. Azt hiszik, hogy miután eddig csak a tőkések számára dolgoztak, ennek mindig ugy is kell lenni. Hogy ezen a rendszeren nem lehet változtatni, bármilyen sok szenvedést hozzon is. Nem ismerték fel azt, hogy ők csak a profit érdekében dolgoznak és igy nem is gondolhattak arra, hogy a profitot ki is lehetne küszöbölni a termelésből.

A szervezkedés.

Azonban akadtak egyes emberek, akik már régen észrevették, sőt hirdették is, hogy magát a termelési rendszert kell megváltoztatni, még pedig ugy, hogy az iparokat maga a munkásság uralja. Ehez nem kell semmi egyéb, mint az, hogy a munkások **szervezkedjenek.** Hiszen nagyon jól tudja minden munkás, hogy a legjobban felszerelt gyárban sem lehet egy tüt sem elkésziteni munkás nélkül. De ha munkások készitenek mindent, nekik is kell rendelkezni magával az egész gyárral és a gyár termelvényeivel is.

Szervezkedés az a varázsszó, amely ezt a változást létrehozza. Azonban nem elég az egyszerü

szervezkedés. Hogy ilyen nagy változást keresztülvigyünk, ahoz nem elég csupán szervezkedni, hanem arra kell nagy sulyt helyeznünk, hogy **helyesen** szervezkedjünk. A munkások már jó száz éve szervezkednek, de nem sok eredményt értek el, mert nem helyesen szervezkedtek.

A régi munkás szervezetek, az ugynevezett trade vagy szakszervezetek ahelyett, hogy egyesitették volna a munkások erejét, elforgácsolták számos egymástól független unionokban. De ezek a szervezetek nem is tüzték ki célul a mai társadalmi rendszer megváltoztatását, csupán a meglevő rendszerben akartak könnyiteni a munkások helyzetén, ugy, hogy magasabb béreket és rövidebb munkaidőt követeltek a munkáltatóktól. Ezek meg is adták a magasabb béreket, de ugyanakkor feljebb emelték a termelvények árait és a munkások megint csak nem nyertek semmit.

Az uj union, az **Industrial Workers of the World,** (Világ Ipari Munkásai) a régi unionok hibáinak kiküszöbölésére alakult. Alapitói megfigyelték magát a termelési rendszert és belátták azt, hogy csakis az a szervezet képviselheti valóban a munkások érdekét, **amely a mai tőkés termelési rendszer megszüntetésére törekszik.** Ezért az Industrial Workers of the World szervezet célja a tőkés termelési rendszer megszüntetése.

Az uj társadalom épitése.

Azonban ez a szervezet nem elégszik meg azzal, hogy megszünteti a jelenlegi termelési rendszert, mert tudatában van annak is, hogy a lerombolt rendszer helyébe másikat kell épiteni. **Az Industrial Workers of the World ezen uj termelési rendszer megalakitására szervezi a világ bérmunkásait.** Sőt a mai rendszert is csak azért kivánja lerombolni, hogy a másikat felépithessük annak a helyén.

Az az uj termelési rendszer, amelynek felépitésére az Industrial Workers of the World törekszik, **ipari demokrácia** név alatt ismeretes. Nem egyéb ez, mint

a munkásoknak oly módon való megszervezése, **hogy az iparokat átvehesse a mai tulajdonosaitól és tovább folytathassa a termelést.** Ez a szervezet nem különiti el a munkásokat egymástól független szakszervezetekben, hanem egyetlen ipari szervezetben csoportositja az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó összes alkalmazottakat és az egész bérmunkásosztályt **Egy Nagy Szervezetben** egyesiti.

Ilyen ipari szervezkedés mellett sztrájk vagy kizárás esetén nem egyes szakmák, de az ipar összes munkásai vagy ha kell az összes iparok összes munkásai abbahagyják a munkát, mert tudják azt, hogy **egynek a sérelme mindnek a sérelme** és csakis ilyen egyesitett erővel lehet felvenni sikeresen a harcot a jól megszervezett munkáltatókkal.

De azonkivül az egyik ipari szervezetből a másikba minden nehézség nélkül át lehet menni. Aki egyszer belépett az I. W. W.-ba, annak a tagsági kártyája jó minden ipari szervezetben és ha más iparban talál foglalkozást, akkor minden nehézség nélkül átirják azon ipar szervezetébe. Ez teljes szabadságot biztosit a munkásoknak és nem zárnak el egy ipart sem senki elől.

A termelés átvétele.

Az I. W. W. oly módon szervezi a munkásokat, mint ahogy azok a mühelyekben, gyárakban, bányákban és egyéb ipartelepeken dolgoznak, hogy azokat lefoglalhassák és a termelést zavartalanul tovább végezhessék. Az együtt dolgozó munkások a szervezetben is együvé tartoznak. Nem kell külön bizonyitani, hogy ma is a munkatelep alkalmazottai és nem a tulajdonos végzi a munkát. A tulajdonos csak a profitot vágja zsebre. Az a szervezet tehát, amelyben együtt vannak a munkatelepek összes alkalmazottai, a munkáltató kikapcsolásával is el tudja végezni a munkát. Sőt ekkor tudnak csak igazán dolgozni, mert akkor nem a profit kedvéért gyártanák az árucikkeket, hanem azért, mert arra szükségünk van. És amint egy munkatelepet igy

meg lehet szervezni, meg lehet az egész ipart, sőt az összes iparokat is. Az I. W. W. az iparoknak ily módon való megszervezésére törekszik.

Munkástárs, gondolkozzon az itt elmondottak fölött. Bizonyosak vagyunk benne, hogy be fogja látni, miszerint csak ez az egy helyes ut van arra, hogy a munkanélküliség rémétől örökre megszabaduljunk. Mert ha a termelést a munkások veszik át, akkor ugy szabályozzák a munkaidőt, hogy mindenki dolgozhasson. Sőt kötelessége is lesz mindenkinek dolgozni, mert akkor nem lesz profit és senki sem élhet a másik munkájából. Érvényre jut az a jelszó, hogy **aki nem dolgozik, az ne is egyék.** Ma bizony éppen forditva van. Aki sokat dolgozik, annak jut a legkevesebb és a semmi hasznos munkát nem végzők, az élősdiek, duslakodnak a javakban.

Az I. W. W. azonban nemcsak a munkásságot, de magát a munkát is szervezi. Olyan rendszer megteremtésére törekszik, amelyben az ipari szervezetek tagjai a lehető legkevesebb munkaerő felhasználásával a javak legnagyobb tömegét termelhetik. Megállapitja a szükségletet és annak megfelelőleg szabályozza a termelést. Igy nemcsak a nélkülözést szünteti meg, hanem a munkanélküliséget is. MINDENKI RÉSZÉRE BIZTOSITJA TEHÁT AZ ÁLLANDÓ MUNKÁT, AKI HASZNOS MUNKÁT AKAR VÉGEZNI.

Azonban bármennyire helyes is az I. W. W. által kijelölt ut, sem az I. W. W. sem más szervezet nem segithet önön, ha ön nem akarja. **Az I. W. W. megmutatja a helyes utat és önnek kell azon tovább haladni. Amerika munkásságának kell kölcsönözni azt az erőt, amely az I. W. W.-t képessé teszi célja elérésére.**

Ön egyike eme munkásoknak. Ön átélte már a munkanélküliség idejének keserveit. Hányszor akar még hasonló helyzetbe kerülni? Meddig akarja még ezt az állapotot továbbra is fentartani? Mert ön és a többi olyan munkások, akik nem törődtek a saját

sorsukkal, akik nem igyekeztek véget vetni a kizsákmányoltatásuknak, tartják fenn ezt a rendszert. Hiszen a munkáltatók osztálya olyan kicsi a munkások osztályához képest, mégis elnyomják őket. Miért? Azért, mert a munkásság tudatlanságát kihasználják.

Bérmunkások szervezete.

A munkáltató osztály tudja jól, hogy a munkások nagy tömegei hiszékenyek. Azért az I. W. W.-ról olyan hireket hoz forgalomba, hogy elrémitse tőle a munkásságot. Talán ön is hallott már mindenféle rágalmakat az I. W. W.-ról. A kapitalisták és a bérenceik jól tudják, hogy az I. W. W. által ajánlott szervezkedési móddal hamar meg lehet törni a hatalmukat, azért igyekeznek annyira gyalázni az I. W. W.-t.

A józan gondolkozásu munkás azonban nem ül fel ezeknek a rágalmaknak, hanem saját maga szerez magának információt arról a szervezetről, amelyet a munkáltató osztály annyira gyülöl. Ezt könnyen megteheti, hiszen az I. W. W. számos lapot, füzetet és könyvet ad ki. Azonkivül az ország minden részében vannak szervezetei, amelyeknek gyülésein szivesen látnak minden érdeklődő bérmunkást. Készséggel felelnek minden kérdésre s igy mindenkinek módjában áll, hogy erről a szervezetről megalkossa a **saját véleményét** a munkásbolonditó ujságirók és egyéb kapitalista bérencek rágalmazásai dacára is.

Az I. W. W. a bérmunkások és bérmunkásnők szervezete. Helyet biztosit minden hasznos munkát végző egyén számára abban a társadalomban, amelyben nem egyesek, de a dolgozó milliók javára termelik az élet javait. Munkástárs, ha ön hasznos munkát végez és munkája után biztos megélhetést akar, amelyet nem keserit el az örökös munkanélküliség, akkor az I. W. W.-ban van a helye.

ELVI NYILATKOZAT.

A munkásosztály és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincs. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között s az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni összpontosulása a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) képtelenné teszi arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharcok esetén egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden egy iparban dolgozó — vagy ha kell valamennyi — tagja beszüntesse a munkát bármikor, ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekinti.

E maradi jelszó heyett: "Tisztességes napibért tisztességes napi munkáért," ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: "Le a bérrendszerrel."

A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszer. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül.

Munkástárs! Ezen füzet előállitásának a költségeire munkások adták össze nehéz munkával megkeresett centjeiket, hogy a magyar munkások tanitását szolgálják. Ne dobja el tehát ezt a füzetet, ha kiolvasta, hanem adja tovább olyan munkástársának, aki még nem olvasta.

deacid - Bookkeeper 11-2006

AZ I. W. W. AZONNALI KÖVETELÉSEI.



A KOR SZELLEME.

Kiadja
AZ I. W. W. EGYETEMES VÉGREHAJTÓ BIZOTTSÁGA
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

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CHICAGO

A Világ Ipari Munkásai Szervezetének az **azonnali** követelésekre vonatkozó állásfoglalását elvinyilatkozatunk utolsó szakaszának idézésével fogjuk alant röviden ismertetni:

"A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget **nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni,** hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül."

Azonnali követelések elsősorban. Végső követelések másodsorban.

Ha elvinyilatkozatunk ezen szakaszát gondosan megvizsgáljuk látni fogjuk, hogy az I. W. W. teljesen felismeri a munkáltató osztály ellen folytatandó mindennapi harc szükségességét. Az elvinyilatkozat irói valójában egészen magától értetődőnek tartják, hogy egy munkásszervezet első hivatása a munkabérek, munkaidő és a munkaviszonyokra vonatkozó követelések támasztása és az ezek kivivására irányuló harc folytatása; második: helyet adva a végső funkciójának, t. i., az ipari szervezetek kiépitésének, hogy azok egy uj társadalomban a termelés és szétosztás szerveiként szolgáljanak.

Az uj társadalom még néhány évig nem fog bekövetkezni.

Az elvinyilatkozat megirása óta nagy változások voltak. A tőkés rendszer és annak termelő és szétosztó szervei egyik országban a másik után roha-

mosan törtek le, azaz a tőkés rendszer már vagy igen hiányosan, vagy teljesen képtelen müködni.

Nevezetesen ez a helyzet Oroszország, Németország és Ausztriában, az utóbbiban az összeomlás különösen annyira teljes, hogy az ipari összeomlás a jövedelem hiányában maga után vonta már a kormány bukását is, mely eléggé bizonyitja az I. W. W. által már oly sokszor hangoztatott állitás igazságát, hogy a munkásság azon törekvése, mely a tőkés kormányok megdöntésére vagy elfoglalására irányul, teljesen fölösleges időpazarlás.

De, még az egyesült Államokban, a tőkésrendszer ezen utolsó fontos erődjében is észlelhető már a régi termelési és szétosztási szervek nagy és folyton növekvő rendetlenséggel való funkcionálása. A közelmultban lefolyt nagy sztrájkok és munkabeszüntetések olyan fontos iparokban, mint a szénbányászat, acéltermelés, huspakolás és a vasutiszállitási iparok, mind biztos jelei a fokozatos összeomlásnak itt is. A világ tőkésrendszerének szervei lassu, de fokozatos léptekkel közelednek ugyan a pusztulásuk felé, ennek dacára azonban kétségtelenül el fognak élni még néhány évet itt is és több más országokban is. Ilyen körülmények között az I. W. W.-nak második funkciója — az uj társadalomnak a régi társadalom keretein belül való épitése — sokkal nagyobb fontosságot ölt, mint azt az I. W. W. elvinyilatkozatának irói valaha még csak remélni is merték volna ilyen rövid idő alatt és ha a dolgokat a társadalmi gépészmérnök vagy a bölcs társadalomtudós magas állásából szemléljük, kinek ajtaján soha sem kopogtatott még be a szükség, aki nem tudja mit jelent éhezni, rongyokat viselni és hajléktalanul kóborolni, akkor az I. W. W. második funkciója mellett az első funkciója valósággal jelentéktelenné válna. És nagyon fontos, hogy az I. W. W. végső célja folyton szemünk előtt lebegjen. Abban a pillanatban, melyben a végső célt szemünk elől elveszitjük, az I. W W. hajója letér helyes utjáról, és veszélyes vizekre fog kerülni.

A munkásság szükségletei nem várhatnak.

A végcél elérése, amelyről bár soha sem szabad megfeledkeznünk, még a legjobb esetben is legalább néhány évet fog igénybe venni.

Olyan óriási müvet, mint a világ gazdasági gépezete, nem lehet egy nap, egy hónap, vagy egy év alatt átalakitani. Nem lehet semmiféle felülről jövő rendeletekre sem megváltoztatni. A társadalom egy élő szerves összetétel, mint maga az ember és nem egy halott épitmény, mint egy ház vagy egy piramid. Nem lehet semmiféle önkényes tervek vagy dogmatikus tanok kivánalmai szerint sem épiteni. A társadalom éppen ugy, mint egy növény vagy egy állat, a fokozatos fejlődésen, a természet kivánalmainak megfelelőleg és nem az ember vágyai szerint alakul ki. Hosszu évek kellenének még ahhoz, hogy a nagy tömegek megtanulhassák a társadalmat a természeti törvények kivánalmaihoz illeszteni és az uj társadalmi rendszert jó müködésbe hozni, még akkor is, ha már megértették és elfogadták volna is azon természeti törvények magyarázatát, melyet az I. W. W. programja foglal magában. A tények azonban azt bizonyitják, hogy ezideig a népnek csak egy csekély részével voltunk képesek megértetni a gazdasági változást jelentő eszméinket. Ha képzeletünk távcsövén szemlélődve annyira elengednők magunkat ragadtatni, az uj társadalom ábrándképe által, hogy minden egyébről megfeledkeznénk, ugy nagyon hamar fölrázna bennünket ábrándozásainkból egy erélyes tiltakozó üres gyomor.

Éppen ezért, feltétlenül szükséges, hogy amig vigasz és reménymerités céljából a bennünket a jövőtől elválasztó függöny mögé pillantunk, lábainkkal szilárdan a könyörtelen valóság földjén maradjunk. A munkásságnak egy pillanatra sem szabad a munkáltatók ellen folytatandó mindennapi harcról megfeledkezni, mert csak ezen harc erélyes folytatásától remélhetjük a bérrabszolgaság rendszerének eltörölhetését. Ha ezen harcot kikerülve csak elmél-

kedésekkel akarunk foglalkozni, akkor az uj I. W. W. társadalom örök időkre egy képzeletbeli álom

Ilyenformán az I. W. W. kettős szerepe, — az azonnali és a végső követelések — karöltve járnak, egymás kiegészitői és mindkettő egyformán szükséges.

Azonnali szükségletek — azonnali követelések.

Ha a munkaidő és a munkafeltételek aránylag kielégitők lennének is, csak igen ritkán történik meg, hogy a munkás eleget kap ahhoz, hogy abból családját tisztességesen eltarthassa és gyermekeit ugy iskoláztathassa, ahogy szeretné, vagy ahogy azokat iskoláztatni kellene.

A munkásságnak kilencvenkilenc százaléka olyan viszonyok között él és dolgozik, amely viszonyokon kellene és lehetne is javitani; mig ezek közül milliók és milliók vannak — férfiak, nők és gyermekek — kiknek helyzetük elképzelhetetlenül gyalázatos. Ezen viszonyok azok, amelyek a munkásságot erkölcseikben s egészségükben egyaránt aláássák, rohamosan szolgáltatva ki őket a bünözési hajlamok és a betegségek különböző nemeinek, melyek aztán sok esetben az egyedüli örökség, amit utódaikra hagyhatnak — ha ugyan a családalapitás nem lesz teljesen lehetetlenné téve számukra, mint ahogy az ezideig számos esetben megtörtént. "Egy madár a kézben felér tizzel a faágon," mondja a közmondás. Éppen igy vannak az **azonnali segitséggel** is azok a munkások, kik utban vannak a pusztulás felé. Ezek számára a jelenben való segitség többet ér tiz paradicsomi életnél is a távol jövőben. Mert mi hasznát veheti a földi paradicsomnak az a munkás, aki elpusztul a rossz viszonyok következtében mielőtt odajuthatna, mit ér annak, aki testileg és szellemileg már annyira lezüllött, hogy a paradicsomi életet már élvezni sem tudná, mit érne továbbá azon leszármazottaknak, kik ugy testileg, mint szellemileg satnyák, s távolról sem érik el az emberi fejlettség átlagos mértékét? Hogy megaka-

dályozhassuk ezen őrületes versenyt, mely halálos biztonsággal rohan lefelé a pusztuláshoz vezető lejtőn (A közelmultban például a chicagoi egészségügyi osztálytól Dr. Bundesen által összeállitott hivatalos statisztika kimutatja, hogy minden 8 férfi közül 5 szenved nemi betegségben, mielőtt 28-ik életévüket betöltötték volna),**egy jobb élet és munkaviszonyokért való azonnali követelés.** A meggyalázott és kétségbeesett proletáriátus tizmillióit kellene hogy felrázza és harcba állitsa.

"Föl és rajta!" ez kell, hogy legyen a munkásság állandó jelszava, a munkáltatókkal való viszonyainknál. Ha a munkásság csendben fogja türni a létező viszonyokat a munkáltatók soha sem fogják az ujjukat sem megmozditani azok javitására. A munkabéreket fel kell emelni, hogy jobb élelmiszerhez, ruházhoz és lakáshoz juthassunk s hogy családot alapithassunk magunknak, s megakadályozhassuk a családi életrendszer szétbomlását. A munkaidőt le kell szállitani, hogy több időnk legyen a pihenésre, a tisztálkodásra, tanulásra, az egészséges üdülésre és szórakozásra. A mulatóhelyeket az egészségi szabályok legmagasabb kivánalmai szerint kell berendeznünk s a munka terhét oly módon felosztanunk, hogy egészségünket s életünket előmozditsa ahelyett, hogy arra, mint jelenleg, káros és pusztitó hatással legyen.

Az I. W. W. Jó példával szolgál e téren.

E tekintetben az I. W. W. már régen megadta a példát. Azok, akik elég idősek ahhoz, hogy vissza tudnak emlékezni például azon élet és munkaviszonyokra, melyekben e század első éveiben és előbb a vándor munkások a fatelepek, buza és komlóföldeken s az épitéseknél dolgoztak — még mielőtt az I. W. W. megszületett — lehorgasztott fejjel, borzadva fognak visszaemlékezni azon rémes nyomoruságra, melyben e telepeken munkástársaikkal együtt élniök kellett. Egy ilyen munkát vállalni abban az időben egyet jelentett magába a pokolba

való leszállással s menekülni remény nem mutatkozott sehonnan. Aki vándormunkásnak felcsapott az bucsut mondhatatt végleg az életnek.

Ekkor jött aztán **az I. W. W., mint az igazi megváltó,** egy gyermek, kinek atyja a kegyetlen gazdasági szükségesség, anyja pedig a munkásosztály áradó öntudata volt.

Az öntudatos és ipari szervezkedést hirdető tanai — mint valami isteni sugallat hatotta át a munkásságot, s a reményvesztett és számkivetettek tömegei előtt ujból kiderült a remény kék ege. Néhány év leforgása alatt az I. W. W. üzenete lassan, de biztosan az ország majdnem minden munkatelepére eljutott. A gazdasági nyomástól hajtatva, a munkások szervezkedni kezdtek az I. W. W.-ba, és mihelyt szervezett erejük hatalmát felismerték, s férfiasságuk tudatára ébredtek, olyan munkaviszonyokat s olyan munkabéreket követeltek a munkáltatóktól, amelyek az ujonnan nyert emberiesebb állapotokkal jobban megegyeztek; és követeléseiket rendszerint meg is kapták.

Bár ezen munkásoknak a helyzete még nem olyan jó, amilyennek lennie kellene, az azonban tagadhatatlan tény, hogy az I. W. W. az azonnali követelések utján véget vetett a vándormunkások életének a legrosszabb rémeinek s a küzdelemből egy jól felszerelt harcias szervezettel kerültek ki, mely készen áll a további azonnali követeléseknek, akár kényelmes ágy, tiszta ágytakaró, törülköző, féregnélküli hus, a szemre ártalmas lámpavilág mellett való munka ellen, vagy kissé nagyobb munkabérért, hogy lerongyolódott ruháikat néhanapján jobbakkal cserélhessék fel.

Az I. W. W. korai harcaiból egy általános következtetést vonhatunk le, és ez az, hogy a munkáltatók támadásánál a rossz bánásmódok beszüntetését kell elsősorban követelni, mert ez oly természetes, hogy ezen követelés támogatására még a legtudatlanabb munkást is könnyü szerrel megnyerhetjük.

Ha egyszer sikerült a munkásokat egy ilyen kisebb ügyben a közös cselekvésre igy összehozni, akkor már csak mint a közmondás mondja, "Addig kell ütnünk a vasat, amig meleg." Mielőtt az első kisebb győzelmet elfelednénk, ujabb azonnali követelésekkel kell előállni. Minden ilyen harc a munkán nagyobb remény és fokozódó életerőhöz juttatja a szervezetet.

Igy téve fel azonnali követeléseinket, melyeket a közös felszólalásban rejlő nyomással támogatva és egy kevés egységes szolidaritást mutatva, sok esetben nyertek meg követeléseket anélkül, hogy nyilt harcra került volna a dolog. Voltak esetek azonban amikor a sztrájkot, bojkottot vagy a "munkán való sztrájkot" kellett igénybe venni.

A kitartó törekvés és az I. W. W. zászlója alatt folytatott erélyes nevelési agitációnak tulajdonitható, hogy ma már a vándormunkások emberséges viszonyok között élnek és dolgoznak, holott roszszabb bánásmódban volt részük a régebbi időkben, mint amilyenben a fekete rabszolgákat valaha is részesitették.

A nyolc órás munkanap és a "tisztességes fizetés."

Ezen sik res azonnali követelések tették azután lehetővé, hogy a fa és általános épitkezési iparban a munkások eljutottak azon ponthoz, amelynél már elég erősekenek érezték magukat ahhoz is, hogy a nyolc órás munkanapért és egy "tisztességesebb fizetésért" (bármi legyen ez) is harcba szállhassanak.

Az azonnali követelések ily gyors felhalmozása a mezőgazdasági munkásokat is olyan helyzetbe segitette, amel lyel a munkaadókat oly kényszerhelyzetbe hozhatják, hogy ezek már egész bizonyosra veszik, hogy az I. W. W. által támasztott követelések elől "nincs menekvés", legyenek azok mint rövidebb munkaidő és nagyobb fizetéseknek a kivivására.

Az I. W. W. befolyása folyton mélyebb lesz, s mind nagyobb térre terjed ki, aszerint, amily mértékben lesz képes a munkásságnak bebizonyitani, hogy szervezett erővel "kiharcolhatják" minden követeléseiket. Dacára minden nyilt és titkos ellenségeinek, az I. W. W.-nak évről-évre nagyobb lesz a befolyása a már részben megszervezett iparokban is, mint a faipar, ércbányászat épitési és tengerhajózási iparokban és e befolyása gyorsan terjed ki uj és részben uj terekre is mint az olajmezők, szénbányászat huspakolás, vasuti szállitási ipar, stb. A jobb viszonyokért, rövidebb munkaidőért és a nagyobb munkabérért való azonnali követelések csatakiáltások, melyeknek segitségével felrázhatjuk a még alvó munkásokat s magukhoz nyerve nevelhetjük őket, hogy segitségünke legyenek egy magasabb rend — az uj társadalmi rend — kiépitésénél.

Az I. W. W. a gazdasági szükségesség törvényét követi.

A természetben minden az alkalmazkodás irányát követi, hüen engedelmeskedve azon alaptörvénynek, melyet természettudományi nyelven "vonzó-törvénynek" nevezünk. Minden kisérlet, mely ezen alaptörvénynyel összeütközésbe kerül, csak ideiglenes, korlátolt és álsikerrel végződhet.

A v o n z e r ő-t ö r v é n y társadalmi térre átültetve a "gazdasági szükségesség törvénye" lesz. Adott viszonyok között a gazdasági szükségesség irányitja az emberiség mint egésznek, s ugyszintén az egyéneknek életfolyamatát is, éppugy, mint adott viszonyok között a vonzóerőtörvénye irányitja a havas hegycsucs felolvadt hóvizeit a tenger irányába.

Az emberi haladás legfőképpen a "természet" ellenállhatatlan akaratának kikutatása, megfejtése és követéséből áll. A társadalmi bajok, melyek néha oly katasztrófális jellegüek, mint amilyenben a világ ma is szenved, kizárólag annak tudhatók be, hogy az emberek intézményeiket folyton ellentétbe helye-

zik a gazdasági törvények kivánalmaival.

Ezen gazdasági törvény a jelenben a magántulajdon és a profitra való termelés és a szétosztási rendszer megszületését s azoknak a nép által való átvételét s kezelését követeli. A gazdasági szükségszerüség törvényét igy értelmezve, az I. W. W. a munkásságot gazdasági szervezetekbe igyekszik tömöriteni, mely szervezetek a termelés és a szétosztás szerveiként fognak szolgálni és a munkásság megszervezésében is a gazdasági okokra s nem az üres frázisok és elméletek hangoztatására támaszkodik.

A munkásságnak minden kisérlete, melylyel szervezeteiket bármi egyéb, mint szigoruan gazdasági alapokra akarják épiteni, el fog bukni, mint ahogy elbukott a dogmák és az elméletekkel összeszőt politikai szocializmus is, mely a társadalmat felülről lefelé a vezérek spciális érdekeiknek és nem alulról felfelé a nagy tömegek szükségletének megfelelőleg akarta átalakitani.

Austria, Németország és Oroszország borzalmas például szolgálnak arra nézve, hogy mi történik az olyan néppel, amely a kérlelhetetlen gazdasági törvényt megszegi. Nem más ez, mint a természettel való ujjhuzás, mely mindig csak balsikerrel végződhetik. Kivánatos lenne, hogy a többi nemzetek tanulnának a fönti országokról.

Az I. W. W. kezdettől fogva mindig hüen alkalmazkodott a gazdasági szükségesség törvényéhez. **Az azonnali követelések** azok amelyek ezen gazdasági szükségszerüség törvényeinek a megfogható megnyilatkozásai. Az a rettenetes ellentállás, melylyel az I. W. W. lépten-nyomon találkozik, nem természetes, hanem mesterséges. Azok részéről jön, akik még mindig abban a tévhitben élnek, hogy a gazdasági fejlődést börtönök, szuronyok, dogmák és elméletekkel megakadályozhatják.

Semmi kétség sem lehet afölött, hogy kiket fog a jövő igazolni. Addig, amig az I. W. W. a gazdasági erők nyomásának következtében, gazdasági

alapra, nem pedig a dogmák és elméletekre építi szervezeteit, addig sziklára épit s teljesen harmóniában áll a természeti törvényekkel. Innen van az, hogy a poklok minden ereje sem képes az I. W. W.-t elpusztitani, mig a dogmatikus mozgalmak a már közelgő veszélytól tartva, hogy zavaros elméleteiket megmenthessék, ugy a népet, mint a gazdasági viszonyokhoz nem alkalmazkodó szakszervezeteket is, egyaránt hajlandók feláldozni.

A munkás agya a gyomrán át közelithető meg.

Ennélfogva, **mindig és mindenhol, amikor a bérrabszolgaság járma nagyon nyom bennünket,** lépjünk fel a gazdasági szükségszerüség törvényének engedelmeskedve, az azonnali követlések sorozatával annak enyhitésére. Bizonyos, hogy ez több figyelmet fog nyerni mint az elméletek és a könyvek egész halmaza.

Amikor a munkás közvetlen anyagi érdekeire hivatkozunk ezzel fölkeltjük érdeklődését, s velünk fog tartani. Az azonnali követelésekben a munkás saját szavát hallhatjuk. Minden tiz munkás közül kilencnek (amint azt a nevelésügyi statisztika bizonyitja) képtelen az agya felfogni a társadalom világra szóló forradalmi ujjáalakitásának a tervét. Ennek megértéséhez fokozatosan fognak csak később eljutni. De az összetartásra való hivatkozásnál bizonyára érhetünk el sikert, föltéve, ha azt jobban a gyomor és nem az értelmi képességhez intézzük. Azok az isteni eszmékkel született munkások, akik a saját közvetlen gazdasági jólétüket is hajlandók az összemberiség jólétének érdekében feláldozni, igen könnyen megszámlálhatók. A tulnyomó többség **önző materialista,** kiket éppenugy, mint egy bölény csordát csak a gazdasági nyomás képes megmozditani. Az önzetlen társadalmi látóképességet csak fokozatosan lesznek képesek elsajátitani. De azonban mégis ezen munkásokból kell az uj társadalom kiépitéséhez szükséges anyagnak kikerülni, ha azt egyáltalán kiakarjuk épiteni.

A felszabaduláshoz vezető ut az azonnali követelésekkel van kirakva.

E sorokat főként azon munkásokhoz intézzük, kiknek már sikerült a tudásukat annyira fejleszteni, hogy tudatos és intelligens törekvésükkel segédkezhetnek a bérrabszolgaság rendszerének az eltörlésében.

Reméljük, hogy e sorok olvasóit is sikerült meggyőznünk arról, miszerint a gazdasági szükségesség törvénye annyira életbevágó tényező, hogy ezt figyelmen kivül hagyva semmiféle meghatározott embercsoport vagy politikai párt nem lenne képes a bérrabszolgaság rendszerét eltörülni csupán csak azzal, hogy kooperálnak vagy összeesküsznek, bizonyos politikai állások vagy kormányépületek elfoglalására. Ezen eljárással a nép semmit nem nyerne mást, mint egy uj uralmat; egy hivatalnoksereg önkényuralmát.

Reméljük, hogy az olvasó éppen olyan tisztán látja, mint mi, hogy a társadalom gazdasági szerkezetét nem lehet sikeresen felülről lefelé megváltoztatni, hanem azt alulról fölfelé kell végeznünk; más szóval, "a munkásság felszabaditása csak magának a munkásságnak a müve lehet".

Hisszük, hogy az olvasó munkástársak abban is megegyeznek velünk, hogy csakis a munkán való szervezkedéssel lesz a munkásság képes az élősdieket elkergetni, csakis ugy, ha azonnali követelések egész halmazával árasztja el a munkáltató osztályt, végre fokozatosan hatalmukba keritve az összes iparokat, éppoly aktuális munkával, amilyen munkával kellett az erdők vadjait hátrálásra késztetni, mig az ember végre birtokába keritette a földet.

Ez szerves társadalmi fejlődés, ellentétben az erőszakos hóditással.

Kizárólag munka alkalmazásával és nem háboru vagy politikával lett a föld az oroszlánok, tigrisek és medvéktől elvéve. Az I. W. W. irányát követve,

mint munkások és nem mint politikusok vagy katonák, fogunk ujból birtokába jutni a földnek.

Mint politikusok és katonáknak talán sikerülne hatóságilag vagy a szuronyok segitségével birtokunkba keriteni egy könyvtárat, de azt az ismeretet, amely a könyvtárban rejlik, csak szerényen leülve a könyvek szorgalmas tanulmányozása után szerezhetjük meg. Mint politikusok és katonák, erőszak alkalmazásával talán lefoglalhatnáng az iparokat is, melyek azonban a valóságban egy hivatalnoksereg tulajdonát képeznék mindaddig, amig azok kezelését a szervezeteink által kiharcolt **azonnali követelések** utján meg nem tanulnánk.

Mindazok, akiḱ a munkásságnak a bérrabszolgaságból való felszabaditásukat bármi más uton igérik, egyszerüen csak ámitják őket, s ezt azon célból teszik, hogy ezáltal saját magukat segithessék hatalomra.

Az azonnali követelésekért sikeres harcokat folytatva, ezek és nem a "forradalmi" frázisok és politikai dogmák lesznek azok a fegyverek, melyekkel felszabadulásunkat kiharcolhatjuk.

Az iparok fölötti igazi ellenőrzést nem szorunyokkal, hanem tudással és helyesen szervezett gazdasági akcióval szerezhetjük csak meg.

Nem szabad soha egy pillanatra sem megfeledkeznünk a végcél — az uj társadalomnak a régi keretein belül való kiépitéséről — de az azonnali követelésekért folytatott sikeres harcok és győzelmek alkotják azon cementet, mely egybeforrasztja mindazon szervezeteket, melyeknek összességéből épithetjük majd fel az uj társadalom szerkezetét.

Amellett, hogy ily módon az iparok fölött fokozatos ellenőrzéshez jutunk, egyszersmint a világ ügyeinek intézésében is iskolázzuk magunkat, ami szintén szükséges.

Általános és különleges követelések.

E rövid sorokban az azonnali követeléseket három csoportra — a munkabérek, munkaidők és a munkafeltételekre — osztjuk.

A fönti általános alapon tett követeléseknek a gyakorlatba való vitele azonban a különböző ipariszervezetek és csoportok tagságára hárul. Mindeniknek ki kell dolgozniok a szervezeteik követeléseit.

Munkások! Szervezkedjetek s hallassátok szavaitokat. Tegyetek fel egy egész sor, olyan azonnali követelést a munkaadóknak, melyekkel képesek lesztek megakadályozni az ezek részéről jövő folyton fokozódó elnyomatást.

Használjátok ki az ilyen mozgalmakból eredő előnyöket arra, hogy munkástársaitokat is behozhassátok az ipari szervezetekbe, hogy aztán segitségtekre legyenek e követelések kivivásában s ujabbak föltevésében. Ezen irányt követve, szervezeteinken át eltörülhetjük a bérrabszolgaságot s utunk végén az uj ipari társadalom fog reánk várni.

Halmozzátok el a munkáltatókat az azonnali követelések egész sorozatával.

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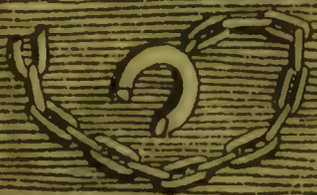
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Ezerkilenncszáznégy őszén a forradalmi munkásmozgalom hat tevékeny tagja értekezletet tartott. Véleménycsere s azon állapotok megvitatása után, melyek előtt az Egyesült Államok munkásai akkor állottak, az értekezlet ugy határozott, hogy felhivást bocsájt ki egy nagyobb összejövetel érdekében.

Az értekezleten résztvett munkások a következők voltak: Isaac Cowen a Nagy Britániai Gépészek Egyesült Szövetségének (Amalgamated Society of Engineers of Great Britain) amerikai képviselője; Clarence Smith, az Amerikai Munkás Egyesület (American Labor Union) egyetemes titkár-pénztárosa; Thomas J. Hagerthy, az Amerikai Munkás Egyesület hivatalos lapjának, a "Voice of Labor"-nek szerkesztője; George Estes, a Vasuti Alkalmazottak Testvéri Egyesületének (United Brotherhood of Railway Employees) elnöke; W. L. Hall a Vasuti Alkalmazottak Testvéri Egyesületének egyetemes titkár-pénztárosa és Wm. E. Trautmann, az Amerikai Egyesült Sörfőző Munkások (United Brewery Workers of America) hivatalos lapjának, a "Brauer Zeitung"-nak szerkesztője.

Ezután meghivókat küldtek még harminchat oly egyénnek, akik az Egyesült Államok radikális munkásszervezeteiben és szocialista politikai mozgalmában tevékenységet fejtettek ki s meghivták őket egy, 1905 január 2-án, Chicagoban tartandó titkos értekezletre.

A harminchat meghivott közül csak kettő utasitotta vissza a meghivást: Max S. Hayes és Victor Berger — akik mindketten szocialista politikai párt- és szakszervezeti orgánumok szerkesztői voltak.

Az értekezlet — amelyen harmincan jelentek meg — összeült és megszerkesztette az Ipari Unionisták Kiáltványát, melyben az Egyesült Államok munkásait egy, 1905 junius 27-én, Chicagoban tartandó nagy gyülés tartására hivták fel abból a célból, hogy a Kiáltványban közzétett elveknek megfelelő szervezetet alakitson.

A Kiáltvány forgalomba bocsátásának munkáját az értekezlet végrehajtó bizottsága, az American Labor Union és a Western Federation of Miners végezték.

A Kiáltvány több nyelven, széles körökben lett elterjesztve.

A kitüzött napon a konvenció egybegyült. Harmincnégy állami, kerületi, országos és helyi szervezetből 186 küldött volt azon jelen, akik körülbelül 90,000 tagot képviseltek.

A megjelent küldöttek nem mindegyike volt jóhiszemü. E ténynek ismerete arra késztette a Kiáltvány aláiróit, hogy ideiglenes igazoló bizottsággá alakuljanak.

Ez ideiglenes igazoló bizottság kimondta, hogy szervezetek képviseletének csak azon esetben lehet alapja az illető szervezetek taglétszáma, ha a küldötteket szervezeteik felhatalmazták arra, hogy a képviselt szervezeteket az Ipari Union-ba — mint annak alkatrészeit — beiktassák, amikor az Ipari Union megalakul. Ily meghatalmazással nem biró küldöttek csak egy szavazatra jogosultak.

A megjelent küldöttségek egyike az Amerikai Egyesült Bányász Szövetség Illinois Állami Kerületének (Illinois State District of the United Mine Workers of America) küldöttsége volt. E kerület taglétszáma abban az időben körülbelül 50,000-re rugott. A fenti szabály értelmében e küldöttség tagjai egyenként egy-egy szavazattal lettek felruházva. Ez a képviselt tagok számát leszállitotta 40,000-re.

Több szervezet, mely a konvención küldöttekkel képviseltette magát, jó részben csak papiron létezett s igy elég jó becslésnek tekinthető, ha azt mondjuk, hogy az első konvención képviselt munkások száma 40,000 volt.

A következő számok meg fogják mutatni, hogy egyedül a Kiáltvány aláiróinak óvóintézkedései akadályozták meg az ipari union mozgalom ellenségeit abban, hogy uralják a konvenciót és meggátoljanak minden olyan törekvést, mely a szervezet megalakitására irányult. Tény, hogy sok az első konvención résztvett küldött s azon szervezetek, melyeket ezek képviseltek, az első konvenció berekesztésétől a mai napig elkeseredett harcot folytattak az I. W. W. ellen.

A szervezetek, melyek az uj szervezetet, mint annak alkatrészei megalakitották, a következők voltak:

Western Federation of Miners 27,000 taggal; Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, 1450 taggal; Punch Press Operators, 168 taggal; Longshoremen's Union 400 taggal; United Metal Workers 3000 taggal; American Labor Union 16,500 taggal; United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, 2087 taggal.

A konvenció tizenkét napig tartott. Megállapitotta alapszabályait a következő elvi nyilatkozattal és megválasztotta tisztviselőit:

Az I. W. W. eredeti alapelve.

"A munkásosztály és a munkáltató osztály közt semmi közösség nincs. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, mig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói közt és az élet összes javai ama kevesek birtokában vannak, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

E két osztály közt küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig az összes munkások tömörülnek ugy politikai, mint gazdasági téren; birtokukba

veszik és megtartják azt, amit munkájukkal termelnek, a munkásosztály egy gazdasági szervezete utján, bármely politikai párttal való kapcsolat nélkül.

A gyors vagyonfelhalmozódás és az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kézbe való összpontosulása képtelenné teszi a szakszervezeteket arra, hogy felvegyék a harcot a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával szemben, mert a szakszervezetek oly állapotot ápolnak, mely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját ellene uszitsák az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó munkások egy másik csoportjának, elősegitve ezáltal, hogy egymást verjék le bérharcok esetén. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkásosztálynak a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megvédeni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, hogy minden egy iparba tartozó — vagy ha kell valamennyi — tagja beszüntesse a munkát bármikor, ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekintve."

Az elméletek és programok mindenféle árnyalata képviselve volt az első konvención megjelent küldöttek és egyének között. A legfőbbek mégis a következők voltak: Parlamentárista szocialisták két fajtája: az impossibilista és az alkalmazkodó; marxista és reformista; anarchista; ipari unionista; és a munkásszervezeti fakir. Ez ellentétes elemek egyesitését kisérelte meg a konvenció. Az erre való törekvés ismerete könnyebbé teszi megértenünk az eredeti elvi nyilatkozatban látszó ellentmondásokat.

A szervezet első éve e különböző elemeknek a vezetésért folytatott belső küzdelmével telt el. A

szocialista politikusok két tábora az I. W. W.-t csak oly csatatérnek tekintette, mely a saját érdemük és gyalázatuk feletti kérdés eldöntésének a helye. A munkás fakirok pedig igyekeztek rátapadni a szervezetre, hogy az uj union sikere esetén továbbra is exisztálhassanak. Az anarchista elem nem igen avatkozott a belügyekbe. Ez irónak csak egy esetről van tudomása: New York városban szövetkeztek a politikusok egy gárdájával arra a célra, hogy uralják a kerületi ipari tanácsot.

Azonban dacára az ezen akadályoknak, az uj szervezet tett némi haladást; vivott néhány sikeres harcot a munkáltató osztállyal s meginditott egy havi lapot, az "Industrial Worker"-t. És az I. W. W. volt az a szervezet, mely legelőször bocsátott ki felhivást Moyer, Haywood és Pettibone védelme érdekében, ezzel a cimmel: Meggyilkolják-e testvéreinket?"; alakitott védelmi ligát és az I. W. W. által felébresztett érdeklődésnek tulajdonitható, hogy más szervezetek is felsorakoztak a harcban, megvédeni a Western Federation of Miners tisztviselőinek életét, mely harcnak eredménye azok megszabadulása lett.

Igy a Western Federation of Miners-nek az I. W. W. megalakitására forditott erőkifejtése vissza lett fizetve.

A második konvenció.

A második konvenció 1906 szeptember havában lett megtartva. Az azon megjelent 93 delegátus 60,000 tagot képviselt.

Ezen konvenció leleplezte, hogy az I. W. W. oly egyének kezeiben van, akik nem értenek egyet a szervezet forradalmi programjával. Az egyetemes tisztviselők közül csak kettő volt őszinte — az egyetemes titkár, W. E. Trautmann és a végrehajtó bizottság egy tagja, John Riordan.

A konvenció a szervezet irányitásáért való harcban két csoportra oszlott. A szavazatok többsége a forradalmi táborban volt. A reakciós tábor, — az elnök az ő táborukból való lévén — hátráltató taktikát alkalmazott a konvenció feletti ellenőrzés megszerzésére. Azt remélte, hogy az által elnyujthatja a konvenciót addig, mig elegendő küldött kényszerül hazautazni s igy megváltoztathatja a konvenció irányitását. A forradalmárok keresztül huzták ezt a számitást azáltal, hogy eltörölték az elnöki tisztséget és ülésvezetőt választottak a forradalmárok közül.

Ebben a küzdelemben a szocialista politikusok két vetekedő csoportja ellenkező táborokban vonult fel.

A második konvenció módositotta az elvi nyilatkozatot a következő szakasszal bővitvén ki azt:

"Ennélfogva anélkül, hogy elismernénk bármely politikai pártot, vagy bármely politikai párt részéről az elismerést a magunk számára kivánnók."

Uj végrehajtó bizottság lett választva. A konvenció lezártával a régi tisztviselők az egyetemes központot tulajdonukba vették és azt rendőrök és detektivek segitségével meg is tartották s igy a forradalmárokat uj iroda szervezésére kényszeritették. Ezt megtenni képesek is voltak, dacára annak, hogy a szervezet tőkéje nem volt kezükben és a pénzsegélyt illetőleg az osztályokra voltak utalva.

Az I. W. W. régi tisztviselőit egy ideig a W. F. of M. tisztviselői támogatták pénzzel és hivatalos lapjuk befolyásával. A W. F. of M. radikális tagjai végül képesek voltak kényszeriteni a tisztviselőket a segélyezés megvonására. Az I. W. W. régi tisztviselői ekkor feladták minden igényüket arra vonatkozólag, hogy szervezetük van.

A szervezet második évének kezdetén még nehezebb harc előtt állott, mint aminőt az elsőben

kellett megküzdenie. Azonban sikerült uj központot létesiteni és hetilapot kiadni a havilap helyében, melyet a régi tisztviselők lefoglaltak.

A második év alatt a tagok több, jobb viszonyokért folytatott kemény küzdelmet vivtak.

A szervezet harmadik konvenciója eseménynélküli volt. De ezen a konvención lett szemmel látható, hogy a szocialista politikusok, kik a szervezettel maradtak, saját céljaik szolgálatába akarták hajtani az I. W. W.-t; s egy gyenge kisérlet történt a politikusok hátra utasitására.

A negyedik konvenció a politikusok és az ipari unionisták szakadásával végződött, mert az előbbieknek nem engedték meg a szervezet feletti uralkodást.

Az elvi nyilatkozat a következőkép lett módositva:

"A munkásosztály és a munkáltató osztály közt semmi közösség nincs. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, mig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói közt és az élet összes javai ama kevesek birtokában vannak, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

E két osztály közt küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint egy osztály szervezkedik, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

A vagyon gyors felhalmozódása és az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kézbe való összpontosulása képtelenné teszi a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) arra, hogy felvegyék a küzdelmet a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával szemben, mert a szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, mely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját ellene uszitsák a munkások egy másik csoportjának, elősegitve ezáltal, hogy egymást verjék le bérharcok esetén. A szakszervezetek segitenek

a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani azt a tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden egy iparban dolgozó — vagy ha kell, valamennyi — tagja beszüntesse a munkát bármikor, ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekintve.

E maradi jelszó helyett: "Tisztességes napibért, tisztességes napi munkáért," ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk zászlónkra: "Le a bérrendszerrel."

A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nem csak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedés által az uj társadalom strukturáját épitjük a régi társadalmon belül."

A politikusok kisérletet tettek egy másik szervezet felállitására s azt állitották róla, hogy az az igazi ipari mozgalom. Azonban nem egyéb az, mint politikai pártjuk másolata s egyáltalában nem müködik. A "civilizált egyengetés" programjához van kötve, t. i. a parlamentarizmushoz. Kiadványaik egy politikai csoport hivatalos lapjai, mely csoport minden alkalmat felhasznál, hogy ártson a forradalmi munkásoknak midőn azok a kapitalista osztály valamely részével harcban állanak. Kedvenc módszerük megvádolni a forradalmárokat mindazon bünténnyel, melyet csak gyáva képzelődés felidézni képes. Dinamitozók, merénylők, gyilkosok, tolvajok, stb. a megszokott szójárásaik.

A lawrencei szövőmunkások sikeres sztrájkja után az S. L. P. politikusok ismét mint az I. W. W. képviselői kezdtek bemutatkozni.

Ez által sikerült is nekik Patersonban, Passaicon, Hackensackben, Newarkon, Astoriában, Long Islandon több ezer szövőmunkást becsapni és tőlük felvételi és tagsági dijakat felszedni.

A politikus fakirok minden alkalommal becsapták a munkásokat és a gyárosokat szolgálták, a munkások ama törekvése pedig, hogy maguknak jobb megélhetést biztositsanak, kudarcot vallott. Patersonban és Passaicon az S. L. P. a rendőrséggel szövetkezett, hogy megakadályozza az I. W. W. szervezőinek, hogy őket a munkásság előtt leleplezzék.

Azonban saját cselekedetük árulta el őket és ma már abban a kerületben teljesen bizalmatlanok irántuk a munkások.

A politikai mozgalom másik szárnya egy ideig titokban folytatta aknamunkáját. A lawrencei sztrájk végeztével azonban — nehány kivételével — a Socialist Party lapjai is megkezdték az I. W. W. elleni harcot és ugy a szervezetet, mint annak aktiv tagjait rágalmazzák. Támadásaik saját tagjaikat is érik, ha azok az I. W. W. aktiv tagjai vagy annak pártolói.

Az I. W. W. szerkezete.

Következtetéseit a mult tapasztalatára alapitva, az I. W. W. azt tartja, hogy fontos, hogy a szervezet oly formával és szerkezettel birjon, mely megkönnyiti a munkások osztályvonalakon való összetartásának növekedését. Ha a szervezet szerkezete nem tart lépést az ipar fejlődésével, lehetetlen biztositani a munkálkodó osztállyal folytatott harcainkban annyira szükséges összetartást.

Avult formákkal biró szervezetnek, formái-

nak megfelelő idejétmult eszközeivel le kell törnie. Módszerük használata harcok esetén zavart idéz elő, mely vereséget eredményez.

Az I. W. W. azt tartja, hogy bármily bátrak és lelkesek legyenek is a munkások, ha ósdi harci eszközökkel és idejétmult formával biró szervezettel kénytelenek harcolni a munkáltató osztály modern szervezeteivel szemben, az ily körülmények mellett folytatott bármely harcnak csak egy eredménye lehet — vereség.

Az I. W. W. felismeri a munkásosztály összetartásának szükségességét. Hogy ezt megtehesse, az osztályharc elismerését ajánlja a szervezet alapelvéül és kijelenti, hogy célja vivni e harcot mindaddig, mig az iparok igazgatása nem lesz a munkásosztály kezében.

Alapelvében az I. W. W. a forradalom szellemét idézi fel és forradalmi ellenállásra ösztönöz, ami annyira szükséges része a munkások minden oly szervezete felszerelésének, mely azok gazdasági függetlenségéért küzd. Egy szóval, az I. W. W.-t alapelve harcos szervezetté teszi. A szervezetet meg nem szünő harcra készteti az iparok magántulajdona ellen.

Az I. W. W. a munkáltató osztállyal csak egy alkut kész kötni, az pedig, hogy — AZ IPAROK TELJES KEZELÉSÉT ÁTADJA A SZERVEZETT MUNKÁSOKNAK.

A mult tapasztalatai bizonyitják, hogy a tömegszervezet — mint a Knights of Labor — erőtlen és alkalmatlan.

A szervezkedés szakszervezeti formája, a szakma autonomia és a munkáltatóval való érdekközösség elveivel szintén tévesnek bizonyult. Nem szolgál a munkásosztály számára hathatós fegyverül. Igaz, hogy a szakképzett munkások számára képes volt jobb viszonyokat teremteni, de a szakszervezet szük körre szoritott szerkezete folytán az osztályérdeket régen elvesztette szem elől s

tagjainak cselekedeteit csupán szakmaérdekek irányitják. Végeredményben a szakszervezet a munkások nagy tömegének, a szakképzetleneknek kárán tudott csak tagjainak jobb viszonyokat teremteni azáltal, hogy szerződést kötött a munkáltató osztállyal s távol tartotta magát a szakképzetlen munkások harcaitól. A munkáltatók szövetségeseivé lettek a munkások nagy tömegének szolgaságban tartására. Az I. W. W. nem ismeri el a szakszervezeti mozgalmat munkásmozgalomnak. Tagadjuk, hogy lehet vagy lesz belőle munkásmozgalom.

Ma, ha a munkásosztály bármely része az Egyesült Államok bármely nagyobb iparában jobb viszonyokért harcba száll, magával az egész kapitalista osztállyal száll szembe. A sztrájk költségeit a szervezett munkáltatók viselik, akik, tekintet nélkül arra, hogy közöttük még megmarad a verseny, arra egyesülnek, hogy a munkásokat továbbra is szolgaságban tartsák, mert valamenynyiöknek közös érdeke az olcsó munkaerő biztositása.

Ez állapotnak megfelelően az Industrial Workers of the World ajánlata:

1. A szervezet egyede az IPARI SZERVEZET, "osztályozva az adott ipar követelményeinek megfelelően." Némely esetben az Ipari Szervezet felölelheti egy adott ipar összes munkásait, mig más iparokban néhány Ipari Szervezetre lehet szükség, külön hatáskörrel, ha az ipar körülményei azt ugy kivánják. A tengeri szállitási iparban például egy szervezet szükséges a Nagy Tavakon, egy az Atlanti Oceánon, egy a Csendes Oceánon, egy a Mississippi folyamon — mindegyik a sajátos helyzet külön követelményeinek megfelelően osztályozva.

2. A szorosan rokon iparok Ipari Szervezetei Department Szervezetet alkotnak. Például a fent emlitett tengeri szállitási ipar munkásainak Ipari Szervezetei a vasuti szállitási ipar munkásainak

Ipari Szervezeteivel, a községi szállitási ipar munkásainak Ipari Szervezeteivel, motor kocsi szállitókkal és az aviátorok szervezeteivel a Szállitási és Forgalmi Department-be lennének egyesitve.

3. Az Ipari Departmentek az Egyetemes Szervezetben egyesülnek, mely viszont kiegészitő részét képezi egy hasonló Nemzetközi Szervezetnek és a nemzetközi szervezet által összetartást és összmüködést létesit a különböző országok munkásai között.

A szervezet alkatrészei.

Tekintetbe véve a technikai különbségeket, melyek az iparok különböző osztályaiban vannak és a szükségleteket ott, hol munkások nagy számban vannak foglalkoztatva, a helyi ipari szervezet e követelményeinek megfelelően osztályokra, branchekre oszlik. Ha a szervezet egy adott ipar összes munkásait magában foglalja Ipari Osztályok vagy Branchek létesülnek a munkások kényelmének leginkább megfelelő központokban.

Ezek az Ipari Osztályok továbbá felosztatnak még:—

1. Nyelvi osztályokra, hogy a munkások a szervezet ügyeit anyanyelvükön tárgyalhassák.

2. Mühelyi osztályokra, hogy egyes mühelyek munkásai saját mühelyeik ügyeit kezelhessék.

3. Azokban a nagy iparokban, melyekben departmentek vannak, a szervezeti ügyek kezelésének megkönnyitésére és rendszeresitésére Department alosztályokra.

4. Kerületi alosztályokra, hogy a tagok a gyülésekre eljöhessenek anélkül, hogy hosszabb utat kelljen megtenniök. Ezen osztályok csak nagy városokban szükségesek és azon iparokban, melyek nagy teret foglalnak el.

5. Kerületi tanácsokra, azon célból, hogy egy adott ipari kerületben teljes összetartás legyen a kérület összes iparainak munkásai között. A kerü-

leti tanács egy kerület összes ipari szervezeteit egyesiti. Azok képviselőiből van alakitva. Általa egységes cselekvés folytatható a kerületben.

Az alosztályok müködése.

A mühelyi és nyelvi alosztályok CSAKIS az ipari osztály, vagy ipari unió által tárgyalnak a munkáltatóval. Igy bár az egyes alosztályba tartozó munkások határoznak a szorosan őket illető ügyekben, mégis összhangzásban cselekszenek az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó összes munkásokkal az Ipari Osztály és a Szervezet által.

Amint az angol nyelv ismerete általánosabbá válik, a nyelvi osztályok elfognak tünni.

Az iparok állandó fejlődését és azok tulajdonának állandó összpontosulását az ipari szervezetek és ipari departmentek számának hasonló összpontosulása követi. Ez alatt azt értjük, hogy a szervezetnek minden időben a kor szükségleteihez kell alkalmazkodnia, mert csak egy kifejlett hatalmas szervezet képes a munkásosztály szükségleteit kielégiteni.

A szervezet igazgatása.

Az Ipari Szervezetek maguk intézik el a saját ügyeiket; maguk választanak tisztviselőket, határozzák meg azok fizetését és azt is, hogy tagjaik mily összeg tagsági dijat fizessenek. Azonban az egyetemes szervezet nem engedi meg egy szervezetnek sem, hogy havi járulék fejében 1 dollárnál, felvételi dij fejében pedig 5 dollárnál többet szedjen.

Az Ipari Szervezet alosztályai, kötelesek egy vagy több delegátust küldeni az Ipari Szervezet központi bizottságba. Ezen központi bizottság az Ipari Szervezet igazgató testülete. Az alosztályok tisztviselői titkár, pénztárnok, ülésvezető és bizalmi férfiak.

Az Ipari Szervezetek tisztviselői, a titkár, a pénztárnok, ülésvezető és végrehajtó bizottság.

Egy adott kerület összes Ipari Szervezetei és Ipari Osztályai kötelesek egy vagy több delegátust választani a kerületi tanácsba (District Council). A kerületi tanács tisztviselői a titkár-pénztárnok és bizalmi férfiak. Ezen tisztviselőket a kerületi tanácsba választott küldöttek választják meg.

Helyi testületek összes tisztviselőit az össztagság választja.

A kerületi tanácsban nem aránylagos a képviseltetés. Minden egyes alosztálynak és helyi szervezetnek ugyanannyi küldöttje van. Minden küldött egy szavazattal bir.

Az Ipari Szervezetek évi konvenciót tartanak. Az Ipari Szervezet konvenciójára küldött osztályok delegátusai a képviselt osztály taglétszáma szerint egy vagy több szavazáttal birnak.

Az Ipari Szervezet jelöl tisztviselőket a konvención és a konvención legtöbb szavazatot nyert három jelölt az össztagság elé terjesztetik választás végett.

Az Ipari Szervezetek tisztviselői a titkár, pénztárnok és végrehajtó bizottság. Valamennyi Ipari Szervezet küldöttet választ azon Department-ba, melyhez tartozik. E küldöttek választása éppen ugy történik, mint a tisztviselőké.

Az egyetemes konvenció delegátusai az ipari department konvencióján jelöltetnek. Az egyetemes konvenció delegátusai jelölik az egyetemes szervezet tisztviselőit. Ezen egyetmes tisztviselőket a szervezet összes tagjai választják.

Az Egyetemes Végrehajtó Bizottság az ipari departmentek egy-egy tagjából áll, kiket az ipari department tagjai választanak.

Egyetemes konvenciók évenként egyszer tartatnak.

Tisztviselők a szervezet valamennyi részében k. b. oly fizetést kapnak, mint amennyit kapnának, ha saját iparukban dolgoznának.

Az I. W. W. harcmodora.

Az Industrial Workers of the World forradalmi szervezet lévén, céljai elérésere az eszközök tekintetében nem válogatós. Harcaiban felhasznál bármilyen és minden alkalmas eszközt, amelyek által a legrövidebb időn belül célját elbirja érni. Az "igazolt" és "igazságtalan" kérdése bennünket nem háborgat.

Semmiféle megegyezés a munkáltatóval nem végleges. Amig a bérrendszer fennáll a béke csak ideiglenes fegyverszünet. A harc jobb viszonyok elérése érdekében bármely alkalmas időben ismét fölveendő.

Amint a szervezet befolyása nő az iparokban és a munkások fölismerik erejüket és ezen erőt az iparokban alkalmasan használni fogják, akkor a hosszu sztrájkok a mult emlékeivé válnak.

A hosszu sztrájk fölületes szervezkedésre vall, vagy pedig arra, hogy oly időben történt, mikor a munkáltatónak nem nagy kárára válik, ha üzemét lezárja — vagy bizonyitja mindkettőt. Rendes körülmények közt, ha egy sztrájk 4—6 hét alatt nincs megnyerve, azonfelül nem igen szokott sikerrel végződni.

Szövetséges iparoknál a gyáros könnyebben tud ellenállani egy hathónapos sztrájknak, mint nat különböző sztrájknak ugyanoly időn belül.

A szervezet egyetlen egy része sincs felhatalmazva, hogy a munkáltatókkal bármely időre is szerződést kössön. Az I. W. W. sztrájkjait oly időben törekszik megvivni, mikor a munkáltatók nem igen zárhatják le üzemeiket, tehát mikor sok a munka és olyképpen, hogy az az iparnak valamennyi ágára kiterjedjen.

Az Industrial Workers of the World szervezete

azt állitja, hogy a munkáltatók a munkásosztálynak semmiféle követelését nem adják meg, ha csak a munkások azt a szervezettségben rejlő erejükkel ki nem kényszeritik. Ezért nem köt az I. W. W. szerződést a munkáltatókkal.

A gépeknek fejlődése és azoknak mindinkább való használata a munkanélküliek seregét gyarapitja. E tény megakadályozására az Industrial Workers of the World rövidebb munkanap és jobb munkaviszonyok megteremtéséért törekszik, hogy ezáltal több munkást lehessen alkalmazni.

Magas fölvételi dijak és havi járulékok megvannak tiltva, nehogy az hátrányára legyen a mozgalomnak.

Sztrájkoknál a mühelyek, gyárak vagy bányák a sztrájkolók folytonos fölügyelete alatt állanak, nehogy a munkáltató sztrájktörőket alkalmazhasson. Azon mühelyekből, ahol sztrájk van, semmiféle kellékek nem szállitandók. Ugyancsak nem szállitandók küldemények ily mühelyekbe. Sztrájktörők bármely módon távol tartandók.

Röviden: Az I. W. W. célja elérésére, erejéhez képest, a legmesszebbmenő "direkt akciót" hirdeti.

Nevelés.

A szervezetnek a jelenben 12 organuma van; Angol 5, spanyol 1, magyar 1, olasz 1, bolgár 1, orosz 1, svéd 1, finn 1.

Az egyetemes szervezet erejéhez képest kiad különböző füzeteket és arra törekszik, hogy az oktatást minden nyelvben a legmagasabb szinvonalra emelje.

Az osztályok fölolvasásokat tartanak termekben és az utcákon. Nagyobb osztályok állandó helyiségek és olvasótermekkel rendelkeznek, amelyek különböző olvasmányokkal vannak ellátva.

Bizonyos iparok szervezése céljából a mühelyek előtt gyülések tartatnak.

Az I. W. W. harcai.

1906-ban a hotel és restaurant munkások Goldfield, Nevadában megnyerték a nyolcórás munkanapot.

Ugyanazon évben a fémmunkások Youngstown, Ohioban elvesztették sztrájkjukat az American Federation of Labor sztrájktörése miatt.

1907-ben Skowhegan, Maineben 3000 szövőipari munkás lépett sztrájkba, mert a szervezet aktiv tagjait a munkából elbocsátották. A sztrájk négy hétig tartott, amely a munkások teljes győzelmével és jobb viszonyok megszerzésével végződött. John Golden, az United Textile Workers (A F. of L.) elnöke megpróbálta a sztrájkot megtörni, az által, hogy sztrájktörőkkel látta el a gyárakat.

Portland Oregonban 3000 fürészmalmi munkás lépett sztrájkba a 9 órai munkaidőért és 40 százalék béremelésért. Az akkori rendkivüli jó munkaviszonyok miatt abban a kerületben a munkások nagyrésze máshol kezdett dolgozni és igy a sztrájk hat héttel később megbukott. A fürészmalmok azonban csak hónapok után jöttek ismét a rendes kerékvágásba és a gyárosok indirekte kényszeritve lettek magasabb bérek és jobb viszonyok megadására.

Bridgeport, Connecticutban 1200 csőmunkás volt sztrájkban. Ezen sztrájk az A. F. L. sztrájktörő taktikája miatt elbukott.

Ugyanazon évben Lancaster, Pennsylvaniában 800 selyemmunkás volt sztrájkban. Ezen sztrájk az 1907-iki ipari válság miatt bukott el, amely röviden a sztrájk megkezdése után köszöntött be.

1907 március 10-től április 22-ig a Western Federation of Miners és az I. W. W. tagjai sztrájkban állottak Goldfield Nevadában a bányatulajdonosok, üzletemberek és az A. F. L. ellen, szervezetük fentartása érdekében. Ezen harcnak meg-

alkuvása lett a vége a W. F. M. központi tisztviselőinek árulásai folytán. Azonban a sztrájk megszakitásokkal folyt április 22-től szeptember haváig és a kiegyezés által elveszitett követeléseket megszerezte és a sztrájktörő chartert, amelyet a harc alatt az A. F. L. adott ki, megsemmisitette. Ez a sztrájk a munkáltatóknak 100,000 dollárba került. A W. F. M. 1907 októberi sztrájkja az akkori válság miatt elveszett és a szervezet korlátozása abban a kerületben megszünt.

Az I. W. W. korlátozása alatt Goldfielden a minimális napibér bármely munkáért $4.50 volt. A nyolc órai munkaidő pedig általános. Az I. W. W. és W. F. M. Goldfielden a tevékenység tekintetében oly magas fokra jutott, amilyenre még más munkásszervezet előtte soha.

Bizottságok a munkáltatókhoz sohasem lettek küldve. Az uniók határozták meg a munkabéreket és szabályozták a munkaidőt. A titkár ezeket a szervezet helyisége előtt kifüggesztette és ez volt a **törvény.** A munkáltatók kénytelenek voltak a szervezet bizottságait fölkeresni.

1909 julius hóban kezdődött a McKees Rocks, Pa. Pressed Steel Car Co. munkásainak sztrájkja 8000 munkás vett benne részt, akik tizenhat különböző nemzetiségből valók voltak. Ezideig ez volt a legnagyobb sztrájk, amelyet az I. W. W. valaha vivott. A sztrájk 11 hétig tartott. Mint rendesen, a munkáltatók ismét állami segélyért folyamodtak. Az állam ki is küldte a Pennsylvania State Constabularyt, vagy másnéven az amerikai kozákokat, hogy a munkásokat visszakorbácsolják a munkába. Ez a rendőrség a nép salakjából kerül ki; brutálitásukról ismeretesek. Fennállásuk óta Pennsylvania állam minden sztrájkját megtörték. Megérkezésüket itt is az ismert brutálitás jelezte. Végre egy kozák megölt egy sztrájkolót. A sztrájkbizottság erre figyelmeztette a kozákok vezetőjét, hogy minden egyes sztrájkoló munkás

életéért vagy megsérüléséért ugyancsak egy kozáknak kell lakolnia. És hogy nem nagyon lesz válogatós abban, hogy melyik kozák fizet életével, de életért életet vesz el. A sztrájkolók szavukat be is tartották. A rendőrség következő támadásakor néhány rendőr életét vesztette és több megsérült. A kozákok kénytelenek voltak az utcákról a gyárterületekre menekülni. Ugyanannyi sztrájkoló vesztette életét és körülbelül 50 sebesült meg ebben a harcban. Ez megszüntette az emberölést és a sztrájk további ideje alatt több vérengzés nem történt. A kozákok létezése óta ez volt az első eset, hogy tehetetlenekké váltak. A McKees Rocksi sztrájk a munkások teljes győzelmével végződött.

1909 november 2-án Spokane, Wash. rendőrsége megkezdte az I. W. W. utcai szónokainak letartóztatását. A localok Free Speech fightot kezdtek, amely 1910 március 1-ig tartott. Az I. W. W.-nak azóta meg van engedve az utcai gyülésezés. Ötszáz ember, férfi és nő egyaránt, lett a harcból kifolyólag a börtönbe vetve. Kétszázan közülük éhségsztrájkba léptek, mely 11—13 napig tartott, azután pedig 30—45 napig mással nem táplálkoztak, mint kenyérrel és vizzel; ⅛ font kenyeret ettek naponta. Négy tag életét vesztette a harc alatt a rendőrség brutálitása következtében.

A spokanei harc után az I. W. W. még több helyen vivott free speech fightokat, amelyek közül a fresnoi (California) a legnevezetesebb. Itt a hatóság szövetkezett a munkáltatókkal, hogy az I. W. W. agitációját megszüntesse. Ugyanis az I. W. W. szervezni kezdte San Yoaquin Valley, California leggazdagabb gyümölcstermelő vidékének szakképzetlen munkásait. Az utcai gyülések be lettek tiltva Fresnoban. Az I. W. W. ismét a "direkt akciót" használta és megtöltötte a börtönöket utcai szónokokkal. A harc négy hónapig tartott és kétszáznál több volt bezárva 2—3 hónapig. A letartóztatott tagok nem fogadtak ügyvédet, ha-

nem saját maguk védték ügyüket, vagy a szervezet valamely tagja volt ügyvédjük. Később azonban a vidéki osztályok vették kezükbe a harcot és az I. W. W. tagjai tömegesen érkeztek Fresnoba, Spokane, Portland, Denver és más helyekről. Ennek következtében a fresnoi hatóság elhatározta, hogy neki már elég volt s megadta magát. A szólásszabadság ismét meg lett szerezve és az I. W. W.-t azóta nem háborgatja a fresnoi hatóság.

1911 telén Brooklynban, N. Y. a cipőmunkások léptek sztrájkba, mely négy hónapig tartott. Ez a sztrájk makacs harc volt mindkét oldalról és néhány mühely munkásaira jobb viszonyokat eredményezett.

Sztrájkok 1912-ben.

Local Union No. 10, a villanyszerelő munkások sztrájkja Tremontban, O. E sztrájkot 30 munkás rendezte. Megbukott, mert nem voltak képesek a sztrájkot tovább terjeszteni és a gyárat azáltal lezárni.

Local Union 161 és 169, szövő- és cipő munkások Haverhill, Mass. Két sztrájk 572 munkás belevonásával. Összesen hét hétig tartott. Mindkét sztrájk meg lett nyerve. Hatvan tag lett letartóztatva, közülök 15 elitélve és 1—4 hónapig lezárva.

Local Union 194 szabómunkások, Seattle, Wash. Tiz kisebbszerü sztrájk, melyek egy órától két hónapig tartottak. Egy kivételével mind sikeresen végződött. Tizenöt tag lett letartóztatva, egy elitélve. A sztrájkoló munkások száma nincs megadva.

Local Union 326, vasutépitő munkások, Prince Rupert, B. C. Két sikeres sztrájk; a sztrájkolók száma 2350; 12 tag lett letartóztatva és hat hónaptól három évig terjedő börtönre itélve. Ez az osztály ugyancsak segitett egy szervezetlen munkások által rendezett sztrájkot megnyerni Shenna Crossingban.

Local Union 327, vasutépitő munkások, Lytton, B. C. Héthónapos sztrájk; a sztrájkolók száma 5000; 300 tag lett letartóztatva, 200 elitélve és 1—6 hónapig bezárva. Ezt a sztrájkot a local union beszüntette, mert nem volt képes a munkát az egész vonalon megakasztani. A kontraktorok azonban kénytelenek voltak a munkásoknak magasabb bért fizetni és jobb munkaviszonyokat adni.

Az erdészeti és épületfa ipar munkásainak országos szervezete két sztrájkot rendezett, hét helyi szervezet, és 7000 munkás bevonásával. Az egyik sztrájk két hónapig tartott, a másik pedig három hétig. A letartóztatott tagokról nincs jelentés, de voltak néhány százan. Három tag el lett itélve 1—3 havi fogházra. A sztrájkolóknak részben sikerült magasabb béreket biztositani abban az iparban.

Az épületfa munkások szervezetének tovább terjesztése a déli épületfaterületeken nagyon nehéz, mert a munkáltató osztály oly részével kell felvenni a harcot, amely Amerika első gyarmatositása óta zavartalanul uralkodott.

Ezek az ipari bárók orgyilkosokat fogadnak fel, hogy a szervezőket megtámadják és megöljég. A munkáltató osztály akarata törvény azon a területen.

1912 julius 7-én a Galloway Lumber Co. őrsége megtámadott egy munkás-gyülést, mely Grabow, La. országutján volt megtartva. Három ember esett el és negyven megsebesült. A támadás után A. L. Emerson a szervezet déli kerületének elnöke és 64 tag lett letartóztatva. A vád ellenük gyilkosságra való összeesküvés volt. Azonban dacára a gyárosok erőlködésének, nem sikerült a letartóztatottak felakasztása. Emerson és kilenc társa a törvényszéki tárgyalás után szabadlábra helyeztettek; a többiek pedig minden tárgyalás nélkül kapták vissza szabadságukat.

Local Union 436 Lowell, Mass. Két sztrájk; az egyik sikeres volt, a másik sikertelen; a sztrájkolók száma 18,000. A sztrájk alatt letartóztattak 26-ot, mindannyian elitéltettek 1-6 heti fogházra.

Local Union 557, zongoramunkások, Boston, Mass. Egy sztrájk; a sztrájkolók száma 200 volt. A harc öt hétig tartott és elbukott.

Local Union 20, szövőmunkások, Lawrence, Mass. Öt sztrájk; a sztrájkolók száma 29,000; 333 lett letartóztatva s ezek közül 320 1—100 dollár és egy évi fogházra lettek itélve. Azonban a munkások ügye megfelebbeztetett és nagy részük szabadlábra bocsájtatott.

Local Union 157, szövőmunkások, New Bedford, Mass. Kizárás; a kizárt munkások száma 13,000. A letartóztatottak száma nincs kimutatva.

A fent megnevezett harcokon kivül volt még több kisebbszerü sztrájk is, azonban a localok és tagok, kik azokban részt vettek, nem tudatták arról a központot részletesen és igy nem közölhetjük az adatokat.

Az összes pénz, mely segélyekre és másféle kiadásokra lett forditva $101,504.05 volt; a sztrájkokba 75,152 munkás és azoknak családtagjai voltak bevonva; a sztrájkok időtartama 74 hetet tett ki. A letartóztatottak száma 1446-ra rugott, ezek közül 577 lett elitélve.

Az I. W. W. a jelenben.

A szervezet ma, (1917 január) hat ipari szervezetből áll: Vizi-szállitó munkások, Fém- és Gépipari munkások, Mezőgazdasági munkások, Vasbányászok, Erdei- és Épületfa munkások és Vasuti munkások Ipari Szervezeteiből, ezenkivül 50 branch és 200 unió más iparokból, a 100 toborzó szervezettel együtt, amelyik az egyetemes szervezettel van közvetlen összeköttetésben.

A tagok tulnyomó része szakképzetlen munkás. A tagság többsége a következő iparokból van: szövő, acél, épületfa, bánya, farm, vasutépitő és vizi-szállitó. Ezen iparok munkásai—a szövőipart kivéve — egyik helyről a másikra utaznak, ahogy azt a munkaszezon megkivánja. Ezért ők némelykor hónapokig nincsenek a szervezettel öszeköttetésben. A jótálló tagok száma a jelenben 60,000. A fent megnevezett okok miatt csak ennyi a jótálló tagok száma egy időben. Azonban az egyetemes központ kiadott összesen 300,000 tagsági könyvet, mely k. b. a jótálló és nem jótálló tagok száma.

Az I. W. W. helytelennek tartja tagjai számának nagyitását, mely általánosan használva lesz más szervezeteknél, mert a szervezet arra törekszik, hogy az őket érdeklő kérdéseket tisztán lássák. Ez feltétlenül szükséges, hogy erejüket ismerjék, ha valamely tervezett dolgot sikeresen keresztül akarnak vinni.

Amint láttuk, a szervezet a multban folytonos harcokban állott és ezeknek nem éppen jelentéktelen részét belharcok képezték, melyeket ellenkező elvek idéztek elő és különböző inditó okok vezéreltek.

A jövő még nagyobb harcokból fog állani. Mi máskép nem is akarjuk. A belharcok, tudjuk, továbbra is meglesznek. A munkáltató osztály tudja, hogy ha egy forradalmi gazdasági szervezet erejét meg akarja törni, annak tagjait belharcokkal kell elfoglaltatni.

Amint a tagok tapasztalatokat nyernek, osztálykérdéseik aktuális érintése által meg fogják tanulni, hogy egymást ismerjék és a belharcok ezáltal elfognak tünni. Akkor a kapitalista osztály ezen eszköze hasznavehetetlenné vált, mert a tagok nem fognak szétoszlani ott, hol osztályérdekeik forognak kockán.

A jövő az I. W. W.-é. A szakképzett munkások ideje letünt. A géptermelés a szakképzetlen munkást tette az ipar fő-tényezőjévé. A mai kifejlett ipari társadalomban a munkások képtelenek cselekedni, ha kisebb csoportokra vannak tagolva. Szervezkedniök és cselekedniök kell, mint osztály.

Nincs messze az idő, mikor a világ szervezett proletárjai összegyülnek és elhatározzák, hogy mennyit fognak dolgozni és az ő általuk termelt javakból mily részt adjanak a munkáltatóknak.

A FELSZABADULÁS

Az I. W. W. hivatalos
magyar nyelvü lapja.

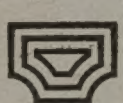
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1001 W. Madison St. Chicago, Ill.

¶ Ha meg akarja ismerni az I. W. W.-t; ha tudni akarja, melyek azok a fegyverek, melyek a munkásság felszabaditási harcában sikerrel forgathatók, vegye meg és olvassa el az alábbi füzeteket:

Ipari Szervezkedés a Szabadsághoz Vezető Ut.

Irta: **Joseph J. Ettor.**

Forditotta: **Bartha Lajos.**

Ára 10 cent.

Forradalmi I. W. W.

Irta: **Grover H. Perry.**

Ára 10 cent.

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